FROM TEATO SHINING SEA:

A Primary–Document Based Unit
On the Boston Tea Party
For
A.P. United States History

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OVERVIEW

GOAL: Students will engage in a series of exercises centered around primary sources relating to the Boston Tea Party. They will discern the several different economic, political, and social strands that created the tension leading up to the Tea Party. Students will culminate their analysis of documents by first engaging in an oral debate in front of their peers and teacher(s) and then by writing an argumentative essay that draws from the many documents we discussed in class.

PROCESS

- 1. Setting the Stage Students will make a timeline of the events leading up to the Tea Party of 16 December 1773. Students will have about one class day to make their part of the time line and start discussing it in class. (See Introduction: "From Tea to Shining Sea.") As part of the background information, I have created a **power point presentation** that can be used to support the time line. It introduces some key economic information as well as key people in this time period.
- 2. *Documents* are divided into five sections. There are a few possible ways to proceed with the activity.
 - o In an Advanced Placement class that is already short on time, I will assign the students one section of documents to analyze. However, I may make all students read Document Section 5: "Tea Party Perspectives."
 - o If there are no restrictions with time and you have the luxury of really allowing the students to see the process unfold, take the students through each set of documents. You can place them in reading groups but you can have the class do the pre-reading activities together. Then the groups can work on the documents of the day answering the Document Analysis questions and the "Consider" questions.
 - O Students can spend homework time reading the documents and using the document analysis sheet to help take notes. The next day in class, students will meet with their groups to discuss the documents and the "consider" questions that I have placed throughout the documents in each packet. I will go around and solicit comments and try to get the groups to engage in thoughtful discussion.
 - Use the last part of class to do an activity or exercise to get students thinking about the documents (See *Activity Ideas* in appendix.)

ASSESSMENT: At the end of the "discussion phase", there will be a debate question that each group has to prepare. A reading group will divide in half, each preparing one side of the debate. Groups will present the debates in front of the class for a grade. (See sample rubric in appendix.)

Introduction to the Boston Tea Party:

From Tea to Shining Sea: What were the key events leading up to the Boston Tea Party?

GOAL: Students will create a timeline of the key events that precede the Boston Tea Party.

FOCUS: Place the term "Boston Tea Party" on the board. Have the students take five minutes to brainstorm what they remember about the Tea Party from other history classes. Students can use this time to pose any questions they may have as well (such as "when did they start calling it the Boston Tea Party?")¹

Show students the **powerpoint** "From Tea to Shining Sea: The Origins of the Boston Tea Party."

SUBJECT:

- 1. Students will work in small groups (2 to 3 students).
- 2. Each group will receive an index card with a term/event on it. (See attached list.) Students will research the term using their textbook and other available resources.
- 3. Each group will be given a piece of the timeline. (This can just be a piece of paper with line drawn through it.)
- 4. Groups will place the name of their event on top of the line with the date and description below the line. As an alternative, have students provide an illustration of the event.
- 5. Students will be able to explain to the class how their event played a role in leading to the Boston Tea Party. They should communicate causation and effect of their event/term.
- 6. Students will present their timeline in order. The class has to work together to determine the order of events and presentation.

TRANSITION/WRAP-UP: Have students discuss which event(s) were key in creating an environment for the Boston Tea Party.

What are student impressions of the solidarity of the patriots in Boston at this time?

HOMEWORK: Assign document groups. Have students read documents at home and take notes.

¹ The first reference to the happenings of Dec. 16th as a "tea party" is not until the 1830s. (Alfred Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party*, Boston, 1999: 88)

TERM/EVENTLIST

Place on index cards for students to research.

Seven Years War
Proclamation of 1763
Pontiac's Rebellion
Sugar Act
Stamp Act
Repeal of Stamp Act
Declaratory Act
Townshend Acts
John Dickinson – Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania
Daughters of Liberty
"Circular Letter" from Massachusetts House (1768)
Hancock's Liberty seizure
Boston Massacre
Indemnity Act of 1767
Tea Act
Virtual v. Actual Theory of Representation

Document Section 1

A Taste for Tea

GOAL: Students will comprehend the various strategies that the colonists used to put pressure on England in the face of rising taxes. In particular, students will assess the practicality of changing consumer tastes to meet political and economic goals.

FOCUS:

- 1. Imagine that your favorite food is ice cream (not too difficult to imagine) and that the government, in an effort to raise money, is adding a tax to your favorite dessert.
 - a. Who do you think will bear the brunt of the tax? (First, think about who the possibilities are.) Why?
 - b. If your pocketbook is affected, what kind of things would you do? What are the options? Brainstorm. Put ideas on the board. Give examples (substitute another dessert, lose weight, make more money, etc.).

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS:

- 1. Distribute documents to students, if you have not already done so, and place students in document groups.
- 2. For time-management, it may make sense to allow students within one group to divide the documents (or, alternatively, assign reading at home).
- 3. Students are to read documents and use a document analysis sheet (see appendix) to help them peruse the documents.
- 4. Students will discuss the "consider" questions that appear before several of the documents. One student or more should record possible answers.
- 5. After discussion, students will complete preparation for debate (see below.)

DEBATE QUESTION:

Students will divide into two groups. Each side will prepare one debate question and present it to the class.

Imagine that you are a famous merchant of 1767. Your peers respect your knowledge so much that they have asked you to give them some advice on how to boycott British goods.

- 1. Argue in favor of a merchant boycott of English goods over a consumer boycott of English goods (make certain you know the difference . . . ask for help if you need it).
- 2. Argue that no boycott would work.

A Taste for Tea: Documents

Document #1

"Address to the Ladies" Boston Post-Boy, 16 November 1767.

View a digital image of this document at: http://www.masshist.org/database/onview-full.cfm?queryID=413

CONSIDER: As you read the following document, consider the audience of this message. How does this "audience" correspond to the Tea Market? What tactics are used to try to change demand? How effective do you think they might be?

Address to the LADIES

Young ladies in town, and those that live round, Let a friend at this season advise you: Since money's so scarce, and times growing worse Strange things may soon hap and surprize you: First then, throw aside your high top knots of pride Wear none but your own country linnen; Of Economy boast, let your pride be the most To show cloaths of your own make and spinning. What, if homespun they say is not quite so gay As brocades, yet be not in a passion, For when once it is known this is much wore in town, One and all will cry out, 'tis the fashion! And as one, all agree that you'll not married be To such as will wear London Fact'ry But at first sight refuse, tell 'em such you do chuse As encourage our own Manufact'ry. No more Ribbons wear, nor in rich dress appear, Love your country much better than fine things, Begin without passion, 'twill soon be the fashion To grace your smooth locks with a twine string. Throw aside your Bohea, and your Green Hyson Tea,² And all things with a new fashion duty; Procure a good store of the choice Labradore,³ For there'll soon be enough here to suit ye: These do without fear and to all you'll appear Fair, charming, true, lovely and cleaver; Tho' the times remain darkish, young men may be sparkish. And love you much stronger than ever.

² Bohea was one of the most popular teas among American tea drinkers. Bostonians imported most of this tea via England. (Benjamin Woods Labaree, *The Boston Tea Party*, New York, 1964: 8).

³ Labradore tea was gathered from the banks of New England's rivers. Labaree claims that its taste was very questionable. (Labaree, 27).

Document #2 Letter from Robert Harris to Caleb Davis, August 1768

CONSIDER – The Non-Importation agreements are signed in August 1768 to stop the import of certain English goods – like tea. Do you think Bostonians are willing to give up their favorite drink so easily? Are Merchants willing to give up a source of revenue? Why or why not?

Sr.

I don't know but I shall tire yr. patience but I intend to make you easy as soon as I can leave home. But must ask the [favor] of yr send[ing] me 1 [barrel] best & 1 [barrel] midling sugar & 2 case raisons and make up the rest of their loads in Rock Salt. I have sent down 2 load cyder you may have if you please at the comm. price. If I cant gett 3 [barrels] for it, beg you'd store it for me. Desire to know the extent of price for flax seed and the lowest I can have tea by the chest and you'll oblige yr. obliged Friend and Humble Servant, Rob.t Harris

Robert Harris to Caleb Davis, August 1768, Caleb Davis Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #3 Receipts and Accounts of Tea Purchases, 1768

Needs transcriptions and links to images? Work with Nancy on digital images – embed into page.

Receipts and accounts of tea purchases, 1768, Caleb Davis Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #4 John Adams, Autobiography [excerpt]

The Physicians told me that close Application to a School and to Studies by night and by Day had [thickened?] and corrupted the whole Mass of my blood and juices, and that I must have recourse to a Milk Diet according to the Theory and Practice of Dr. Cheyne, at that time the height of the Fassion in Medicine. I had read the Writings of Dr. Cheyne and now read them again, renounced all Meat and Spirits and lived upon Bread and milk, Vegetables and Water. I found my head more at Ease and thought I pursued my Studies to more Advantage: but was tormented with a heart burn every afternoon, which nothing but large potions of Tea at Evening could extinguish. I pursued this course for Eighteen months, six or seven of which passed at my fathers house, with the Advice of Dr. Savil and Dr. Hearsey [Hersey], who were both unqualified Admirers of Cheyne's in Theory, though not in their own practice. My excellent Father at last by his tender Advice at sometimes and a little good humoured ridicule at others converted me again to the Use of a little meat and more comforting Drink, but in both of these I was extreamly sparing for many Years after, and indeed untill I became a Member of Congress and a Traveller, when long journeys and Voyages made a more generous Regimen essential to my being[...]

John Adams, autobiography, part 1, "John Adams," through 1776, sheet 5 of 53 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive,* Massachusetts Historical Society, http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams

Document #5 John Adams, Diary, 29 June 1770

JUNE 29. 1770. FRYDAY.

Sat out on Began my journey to Falmouth in Casco Bay. Baited my Horse at Martins in Lynn, where I saw T. Fletcher and his Wife, Mr. French &c. Dined at Goodhues in Salem, where I fell in Company with a Stranger, his Name I know not. He made a Genteell Appearance, was in a Chair himself with a Negro Servant. Seemed to have a general Knowledge of American Affairs, said he had been a Merchant in London, had been at Maryland, Phyladelphia, New York &c. One Year more he said would make Americans as quiet as Lambs. They could not do without Great Britain, they could not conquer their Luxury &c.

Oated my Horse and drank baume Tea at Treadwells in Ipswich, where I found Brother Porter and chatted with him 1/2 Hour, then rode to Rowley and lodged at Captn. Jewitts. - Jewitt had rather the House should sit all the Year round, than give up an Atom of Right or Priviledge. -- The Governor cant frighten the People, with &c.

John Adams, Diary, 29 June 1770 [electronic edition], *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*, Massachusetts Historical Society, http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/

Document #6 Letter from Thomas Hutchinson to William Palmer, 28 April 1768

CONSIDER – Thomas Hutchinson, acting governor of Massachusetts from 1769-1774, writes to William Palmer about his business order. What role do you think tea has for him and his family? What sense of value of tea do you get from this document?

To: Palmer Boston, 28 April 1768

Sir

I shall inclose Captain Bretts receipt for 350 Ounces Bullion and 2[] half Joannes which you will dispose of at the best prices and carry the proceeds to my Credit also Frances Lecams draft on Richard Forman for 13£ sterling. I am going out of Town and expect to be absent three or four weeks shall desire my sons to ship more by Scott unless they can procure bills. I design before the Fall to make 1500 £ more over and above the 1000£ last winter so that when Tea is at the lowest you will secure to the amount of 3000£ more on the joint account to be shipped between this and winter more or less on every Vessel. The profits of these adventures will depend on your buying on the best terms for then they will have a quick sale and you will have a quick return. About a third part of the smooth Tea if not inferior to what you have now shipped may go off, but the best customers know the difference. The half Chests if they are not dearer it will be well to have a few of. I am

Sir Your very humble Servant

Thomas Hutchinson to William Palmer, 28 April 1768, Thomas Hutchinson Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #7 Bromfield Family accounts, undated

CONSIDER – What role did tea play in the family budget? What in the budget would be considered "complements" to tea? What bearing would the price of tea have on the complements?

What are the expences of an ordinary family composed of six persons by the year?

	£	\mathbf{S}	D
House rent	20	0	0
25 Cords of Wood at 12s a Cord	15	0	0
Six Barrells of Cyder at 10s	3	0	0
Seven Barrells of Flower at 31s	10	17	0
Three Bushells of Malt at 6s	0	13	6
Twelve Gallons of Molasses at 2s 6d	1	10	0
Ten Gallons of Spirit at 46	2	5	0
Ten Gallons of Wine at 6s 8d	3	6	8
25 lbs. Loaf Sugar 1s 6d	1	17	6
150 lbs. Brown Sugar	4	10	0
Half a hundred of Rice at 1s 6d	0	12	6
1 lb. Green Tea	0	12	0
4 lb. of sochong at 5s	1	0	0
6 lbs. of Chocolat	0	16	0
15 lbs. of Coffee at	0	18	0
50 lbs. of Candles at 8d per lb.	1	13	4
Ten Gallons of Vinigar at 1/	0	10	0
Two bushels of Salt	0	6	0
1 lb. pound of Pepper	0	3	9
Spices at 9/	0	9	0
12 bushells of sand at	0	6	0
Brooms brushes and mats at 12/	0	12	0
Repair of furniture	20	0	0
For cow and horse keeping	10	0	0
For Fruit	1	10	0
4 lbs. of Honey at 9d	0	3	0
150 lbs. of Butter 8d	5	0	0
50 lbs. of Cheese 2s	1	1	0
110 hundred lbs. of meat	15	12	0
Vegitables	1	10	0
Maids wages	6	10	0
A Mans [ditto]	6	0	0
Medicine and attendance	3	0	0
Travelling expenditures	6	0	0

Undated accounts, Bromfield and Clarke Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document Section 2

Non-importation and the Boston Merchant Crisis

GOAL: Students will understand the economic boycotts and apply their understanding to the Non-Importation agreement.

FOCUS: Put on the board:

- 1. Give an example of an economic boycott with which you are familiar (Cuba, South Africa in the 1980s, etc).
- 2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of economic boycotts? (T chart) Do you think they work why or why not?
- 3. Show what happens to the market of a highly demanded good (Cuban cigars?) when it is no longer allowed in the country.

SEGUE: Remind students of the background of the Non-Importation agreement of the summer of 1768 (see Power Point – it was formally agreed upon in August.) There are a few documents in the packet – John Greenough's letters - that deal with the Tea Crisis in 1773. Make certain students understand the conflict between the smugglers and the smaller importers of London goods. Also, review the concept of "Consignee."

You may want to show part of the power point that deals with Non-Importation at this juncture if you have not already.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS:

- 1. Distribute documents to students and place students in document groups.
- 2. For time-management, it may make sense to allow students within one group to divide the documents (or, alternatively, assign reading at home).
- 3. Students are to read documents and use a document analysis sheet (see appendix) to help them peruse the documents.
- 4. Students will discuss the "consider" questions that appear before several of the documents. One student or more should record possible answers.
- 5. After discussion, students will complete preparation for debate (see below.)

DEBATE QUESTION:

Students will divide into two groups. Each side will prepare one debate question and present it to the class.

- 1. It is 1773 and you are John Greenough. Using what you have learned about the non-importation crisis of 1768-1770 and what you have read in the transcripts, argue that your actions were justifiable.
- 2. It is 1773 and you are the leading patriot Samuel Adams. Argue why John Greenough should not have collected the tea for the Clarke family. Argue in favor of economic boycotts and the importance of compliance.

Non-Importation/Game Theory Documents

Document #1
John Rowe, Diary, 1768 [excerpt]

CONSIDER --John Rowe was a prominent Boston merchant. He participated early on in the patriotic effort of non-importation. How does his recounting of the Non-Importation Agreement of 1768 in March compare with John Mein's recounting of it in August? Are there any differences?

Mar. 4. [...] The Committee of Merchants appointed at their meeting March 1rst 1768, having duly considered what they had in charge, do Report the following Resolutions viz In consideration of the Great Scarcity of money which for several years has been so Sensibly felt among us & now must be Rendered much Greater not only by the immense Sums absorbed in the Collection of the Duties lately Imposed but by the great checks given thereby to Branches of Trades which yeilded us the most of our money & means of Remittance, _____ In consideration also of the great Debt now standing against us, which if we go on Increasing by the excessive Import we have been accustomed to while our Scources [sic] of Remittance are daily drying up, must terminate not only in Our Own & Our Country's Ruin but that of many of our Creditors on the other side of the Water--

In consideration farther of the Danger from some Late Measures of our losing many Inestimable Blessings & advantages of the British Constitution which Constitution we have ever Rever'd as the Basis & Security of all we enjoy in this Life, therefore Voted

1st That we will not for one Year send for any European Commodities excepting Salt, Coals, Fishing Lines, Fish Hooks, Hemp, Duck, Bar Lead, Shot, Wool Cards & Card Wire &c & that the trading towns in the province & other provinces in New England together with those in New York, New Jersey & Pennsylvania be Invited to accede hereto –

- 2nd That we will encourage the Produce & manufactures of these colonies by the use of them in Preference to all other manufactures --
- 3rd That in the Purchase of Such Articles as we shall stand in need of, we will give a Constant Preference to such Persons as shall subscribe to these Resolutions –
- 4th That we will in our Separate Capacitys inform our several Correspondents of the Reasons & point out to them the necessity of withholding our usual Orders for their Manufactures the said Impediment may be removed & Trade & Commerce may again flourish –
- 5th That these Votes or Resolutions be Obligatory or binding on us from & after the time that these or other Singular or tending to the same Salutary Purpose be adopted by most of the Trading Towns in this & the neighboring Colonies--
- 6th That a Committee be appointed to Correspond with merchants in the before mentioned Towns & Provinces & forward to them the foregoing Votes, & that s'd Committee be Impowered to call a meeting of the merchants when they think necessary (153-155)

Oct. 16. This morning I waited on Colo. Robertson who came with Gen. Gage. He received me very Politely. I had a full hour's discourse with him abo the troops. I find him to be a Gentleman of Great Abilities & very cool & dispassionate. I took a walk & met Gen. Gage & Colo. Dalrymple. Gen. Gage engaged me to wait on him tomorrow morning.

Oct. 22. Waited on Colo. Maitland Adj't General to provide a Division for the King's Gunpowder in the Magazine. This forenoon was held a Gen. Court Martial on a soldier of the 14th who deserted. Colo. Dalrymple sat a President. I also attended Gen. Gage & Colo. Roberston. (177-178.)

Ann Rowe Cunningham, ed., *Letters and Diary of John Rowe: Boston Merchant, 1759-1762, 1764-1779,* (Boston, 1903), 153-155, 177-178.

Document #2 John Mein, *Boston Chronicle*, August 1769

John Mein, a bookstore owner whose shop Adams frequented, defends himself against the merchants' accusations that he has imported banned items. John Mein was also the publisher of the Boston Chronicle. Mein is often considered a Loyalist or Tory; however, the political content of his newspaper was very similar to other newspapers of the time. He printed letters and opinions from Whigs such as John Dickinson. John Mein, however, did have an increasingly hostile relationship with the Boston Gazette's patriotic publishers Benjamin Edes and John Gill. The Gazette's publishers refused to reveal the author of an article criticizing the Chronicle. In August 1768, merchants and traders entered into an agreement to ban imports of certain English goods that would last from 1 January 1769 to 1 January 1770. On 11 August 1769, John Mein was added to the list of importers who had broken the agreement. Here is Mein's defense of his own actions and accusations of the Patriots.

CONSIDER – What is Mein trying to prove? What evidence does he give to show that the patriots are hypocritical? Do you see any problems or shortcomings of his evidence?

Boston Chronicle, 17-21 August 1769

View a digital image of this document at http://www.masshist.org/database/onview.cfm?queryID=396

Copy of the Articles of Agreement concerning Non Importation, entered into and signed August 1768.

First. That we will not send for or import from Great Britain, either upon our own account, or upon commission, this fall, any other goods than what are already ordered for the fall supply. **Secondly**, That we will not send for or import any kind of goods or merchandize from Great Britain, either on our own account, or on commissions, or any otherwise, from the 1st of January 1769 to the first of January 1770. EXCEPT

Salt, Coals, Fish-Hooks, Lines, Hemp, Duck, Bar-Lead, Shot, Wool Cards, and Card-Wire.⁴

^{4.} According to John Tyler "The patriots, on the other hand, who were eager to bring as many participants into the agreement as possible, were prepared to overlook small quantities of contraband goods. Likewise, they intended the burden of the boycott to fall on British-made textiles and the particular goods chosen for the new Townshend duties. They were ready, then, to tolerate importations of some types of hardware, without which they found it hard to live. The patriots also condoned a third category of items, such as medicines and gunpowder, that were clear necessities and that had been omitted from the hurried framing of the original agreement. Mein, however, recognized none of these distinctions, portraying all violations of the agreement as equally serious" (John W. Tyler, Smugglers and Patriots: Boston Merchants and the Advent of the American Revolution (Boston, 1986), 123)

Thirdly, That we will not purchase of any factor, or others, any kinds of goods imported from Great Britain, from Jan. 1769, to Jan. 1770.

Fourthly, That we will not import, on our own account, or on commission, or purchase of any who shall import from any other Colony in America, from January 1769, to Jan. 1770, any Tea, Glass, Paper, or other goods commonly imported from Gr. Britain.

Fifthly, That we will not, from and after the1st of January 1769, import into this province any Tea, Paper, Glass, or Painters colours until the act imposing duties on those articles shall be repealed.

To the PUBLIC. August 21th, 1769

HAVING learnt, the day after my last Publication, for the first time, that the Chairman of the Merchants, really imported goods from England, preceding the year 1761, I, with the utmost readiness, admit, during the period of his Importations, he ought to be considered as a Merchant; but being now occupied in a business so very different and having ceased Importation entirely for many years - however honourable he may be by station, or however respectable in his business, -- as a Distiller, he can, at present, have no title, even to the name of Merchant.

THE PUBLIC, will no doubt perceive, that the cargoes of the vessels, are given without regard to what was excluded from or included in the Non-Importation agreement; a regard to justice inducing me to lay the whole before them --- and as the penetration of the candid readers must, often naturally, lead them to recur to the articles, agreed upon August 1768, they are, for that purpose, inserted anew in this paper.

That the "Well Disposed Merchants" who took the Lead at the different Meetings, have displayed ill grounded and pointed antipathy, in my case, must appear evident, as well as great partialities to others, when they allowed so many respectable and so many large Importers, as were mentioned in our last and in this Paper, to pass unnoticed. – A charge, which tho' sufficiently obvious already, shall be more ful-demonstrated in the course of this laborious, yet necessary Undertaking.

Indeed these *Few "Well Disposed" Leaders*, not only, acted unjustly, with regard to me, who never was nor considered myself in the light of a Merchant; but they have also imposed upon the *really* well disposed part of the Gentlemen present at these Meetings (who implicitly trusted to their information and report), by exhibiting a partial list of the Importers, and have since, by their Advertisement, attempted to impose on the Public in general.

The Manifests of the three following Vessels will contribute to place this in a proper point of view.

(View an image of the manifest at http://www.masshist.org/database/onview.cfm?queryID=396)

"Copy of the Articles of Agreement. . . ," Boston Chronicle, Number 120, 17-21 August 1769.

Boston Chronicle, 21-24 August 1769

[Although other papers are quoted within this article, all were reprinted in the Boston Chronicle.] John Mein reprints the non-importation agreement (as in August 17th) and then he adds:

The following Advertisement was omitted in the *Boston Chronicle*, August 17, 1769, and is now Published, to shew that I am heartily willing to lay before the Public, all the transactions of the "Well Disposed Leaders."

Boston, May 1st, 1769

THE Merchants of this town met according to adjournment on Thursday last, when the committee appointed to make enquiry relative to the importation of goods by the vessels lately arrived from Great-Britain, reported, that five or six persons, who were signers to the late agreement, had received a few articles (the remains of former orders) and were ready to deliver them up to the care of the committee; and that some who were not signers had imported some goods prohibited by the late agreement, which as to quality and quantity were very small.— The Merchants then appointed a committee to confer with the persons last mentioned, and to consider what measures might be proper to take to prevent any further importation, and then adjourned their meeting to Tuesday next, (to morrow) at four o'clock, P.M. to be held at Faneuil-hall, at which time and place a general attendance of the Merchants is desired, and those who have imported in the late vessels are particularly requested to be present.

Anonymous Advertisements published in the Boston Evening Post, and Boston Gazette of Monday August 21, 1769

Mr. John Mein, Printer and Book seller from Scotland, having in his *Chronicle* of the 17th instant undertaken to vindicate his importing Goods contrary to the Agreement of the Merchants, and also furnished a partial Schedule of the Importations which have taken place from February to June last, declaring his intention to render the same compleat from the Custom-House Entries, in the course of his Papers, the Public are desired to suspend their judgment upon this Affair, as we learn the Committee of Merchants have it in their power to satisfy the most prejudiced that the account Mr. Mein has given cannot in the least invalidate the declarations that have been made from time to time on that subject, but choose to wait till Mr. Mein has finished his work, when they will doubtless undertake to undeceive them and prevent the mischief designed by his very impertinent and unjust representations of the affair. In the mean time, it may not be improper to remark, that his attempt to make the Public believe that the declarations of the Merchants in April last are untrue, because some Importations were made six weeks after that time, is very extraordinary, and discovers that he has a peculiar knack at reasoning.

From Draper's Massa. Gazette, April 17, 1769⁵

The Committee of Inspection are not ready to make Report who are Importers in Capt. *Scott* from *London*, but are in expectation of having it ready by Monday, when the Public will have a true account of them and their Goods; as also of the Importers by Capt. *Smith*, as soon as possible.

BOSTON, August 21, 1769

According to a few lines inserted in Mr. Draper's paper of the 17th inst. that the Committee were in hopes they should be ready against Monday to give the Public an account of Capt. Scott's cargo, (which being the more immediately under their inspection) which is agreeable to their own determination, and not from any thing Mr. Mein was pleased to publish, as to goods imported conformable to the agreement of the Merchants, and those goods that are delivered up to the Committee, we shall save the Public the trouble of going over, as well as the Printers of their labour, and hope the Public will receive it with candor and truth, notwithstanding it may be Mr. Mein will give it another gloss: But we defy him to detect any material error, which, if any, when thoroughly examined by that critic, may be magnified a Mole-Hill to a Mountain; but, if when this comes in course with him, and there appears any thing worthy of notice, or that may not be satisfactory to the Public we shall endeavour to explain it to their satisfaction, confining ourselves to this Town, as to detecting any Importers contrary to agreement and giving account of those persons who persist in importing, and will not join with the Merchants in the agreement they have entered into for the good of their country. – They now give the Public an account of the goods imported in said Ship, for persons of this and other Towns, expecting their Committees take care of their own transgressors. -- They also insert the goods for other governments.

S. Johnson; 2 Cases, 1 Trunk, for S. Johnson of Connecticut.

T. Crowfoot R 4 Casks for Marblehead, for T. Roble.

NS 2 Cases and 1 Trunk for N. Sparhawk, Esq., Kittery, directed to the Care of John Leverett, Esq., who says they are only sundry Articles from Mr. Sparhawks Son in London, as presents to sundry of the Family, and not for Sale.

IP 5 Bales, 1 Box, 4 Cases, 5 Trunks, 35 Chests, 43 Casks, 3 Bundles, 2 Bags, 10 Barrels Gun Powder, for Mr. Pollock of Newport.

A Diamond with a cypher in it, 3 Bales, 3 Cases, 5 Trunk, 3

Chests, 6 Casks, 1 Bag, 16 Barrells Gun Powder, for -----Newport.

NA 1 Bale, 2 Casks, N. Allen, at Shrewsbury.

LA 3 Cases shipt by a Gentleman not in Trade, to his Friend in the Country, likewise not in Trade, and supposed to be for his Family Use.

H Crowfoot W. 16 Chests Tea, for T. and E. Hutchinson.

⁵ This excerpt is part of Mein's article in the *Boston Chronicle*.

I present my compliments to the Authors of the above Advertisements: I am really sorry they neglected to sign their names to their publications; charity herself must only impute it to forgetfulness, and far be it from me to hint that it was either owing to shame or timidity. ---- On the contrary, with real good will, I beg of the Authors to remedy this omission in their next pieces; for such naked Advertisements cannot gain any degree of credit with impartial readers.

I shall make but few strictures on these two Publications, it being beneath any man to contend with opponents sheltered under a mask: I shall however, condescend for once, and I intreat the Public carefully to read the last sentence of the first Anonymous Advertisement, and then to consult the Boston Chronicle of last Monday, in which, the manifests of two vessels, belonging to Mr. Hancock, are given; one of which vessels arrived April 10th, the other on the 18th of the said month: and also to compare the following cargo, (brought in the London Packet, Capt. Cales, which vessel was entered at the Custom House here April 19th 1769,) with the reports of the few "Well Disposed Leaders which were printed May 1st and 4th, 1769. But this, as I have already declared, shall be more fully demonstrated in the course of this undertaking.

On reading the "*True Account*" given of Capt. Scott's cargo by the "*Well Disposed*" committee, I felt sentiments arise in my mind which would be painful to me to rehearse – I therefore, merely out of pity and compassion, most earnestly beg of them, for their own sake, to take their "*True Account*" again into their serious consideration, and not again present it to the public, till they have made the necessary amendments – Wishing they may adopt this advice, I shall for the present draw a veil over that Publication.

As Carriages generally take precedence in every procession, I have followed the common practice, in placing foremost the Chaise consigned to a worthy Gentleman of this Town; begging of him at the same time to account to the Public, how such a Vehicle happened to be imported amidst our resolutions of economy: I do not say it was for his own use, but why did he become a channel of conveyance for such an article of Luxury? — This really ought to be explained. — If age or infirmity render a carriage necessary, it is both just and reasonable, that our own Artists have the preference: and I can point out to the Importer, a Gentleman, in that branch of business in this Town, equal to any Artist in Great-Britain.

JOHN MEIN

"The following advertisement. . . ," *Boston Chronicle*, Number 121, 21-24 August 1769.

Document #3

Article from the *Boston Post Boy*, 6-13 December 1773

View a digital image of this document at http://www.masshist.org/database/onview.cfm?queryID=456

CONSIDER –How does this article show the Patriots' (in Philadelphia) willingness to place their pecuniary interests second to their patriotic ones?

Philadelphia –Nov. 22

A correspondent observes, that at a time when almost every American pen seems to be drawn in defense of our violated rights, he is amazed that the judicious advocates for liberty should omit to give us their sage advice and opinion on the fatal consequences that must result from our large importations from Great-Britain, and our almost total neglect of our own manufactures, the most durable source of wealth and independence. He further observes, that the immense importation of London porter and English beer at this perilous crisis, is a glaring instance of the impolicy of his countrymen, who prodigally lavish their money for the emolument of a Country, at 3000 miles distance, a country that is now abridging us of our liberties, when they might have a variety of excellent beer, even porter itself, made in this city, that would not disgrace the celebrated Ben Kenten's cellar. This he thinks an ungenerous return to the public spirit of our brewers, who have not only risked large sums for rendering their business of utility to their country as well as themselves, but have on a trying occasion, sacrificed their pecuniary interest to promote public welfare.*

--He concludes by advising his countrymen not only to oppose the ministry of Great-Britain and their auxiliaries, the East-India slave-makers, with regard to the article of tea—but also to forbear all unnecessary importations – for by saving our money we may preserve the remains of our Liberty – If not regain those that are last.

"A correspondent observes. . .," Boston Post Boy, Number 851, 6-13 December 1773

^{*}At the time of the non-importation agreement, a vessel arrived here from England loaded with malt, and although the article was at that time very much wanted, the brewers met, and in a most spirited manner resolved not to purchase any part of the cargo.

Documents #4a-d Letters of John Greenough relating to the Boston Tea Party, 1774

CONSIDER—John Greenough was a merchant and Justice of the Peace in Wellfleet, Massachusetts. When the Clarkes' ship of tea, the William, was "shipwrecked" off Provincetown on 10 December 1773, Jonathan Clarke enlisted Greenough's aid to save the tea. Samuel Adams and the other patriots were furious with John Greenough. The following is a transcription of letters between John Greenough and his family about the fateful tea occurrence. What would you have done if you were John Greenough? Would you have saved the tea or dumped it? Why?

Letter from David Stoddard Greenough to John Greenough, 4 January 1774

Dear Brother,

The Report that was brought here to day by some credible Men from Truro has very much surprised me as well as all other of your Friends. That is, that you was agoing to bring one or Two Chests of that Cursed Tea to Wellfleet to sell which is the cause of my hureing Gershorn Rider to Cary this Letter to the cape to be left there for you, Earnestly to be seech of you as a Friend & brother as you Value your own Interest, Credit & the Credit of our Family not to concern yourself any ways with the Tea. If you have bought any I'de advise you Rather to sink in the sea than to bring any of it here, for my part I cant hardly believe that so good a friend to your Country as you have always porfest to be would shift sides so quick at the prospect of a Little proffitt. I had Rather give you as much as you could Reasonable suppose the profits of one or Two Chest of Tea would bee (If I am worth it) than have it said that a Brother of mine a son of our Honourable Father wer[e] bought or Sold any of the detestable Stuff or ever consern'd with it. I'de scorn to buy any of it if I might have it for 6d. a pound. We have had a Training here to day when I had an opportunity of hearing people speak their minds about it people here are universally sett against it all our principal men seem to be in a Rage about it. I have been cautious of telling your wife the Threats I have heard many of them utter against you if you brought any of the Tea into this place, but this you may depend upon that If you should be so imprudent, that you will highly displease all your Friends here and the Tea will certainly be destroyed & it is the opinion of some of your best Friends Capt. Doane for me that not only the Tea but your House & other effects will be distroyd with it & no body to pity you. — Clark (that Tea Devil) Lodg'd at your House sunday night on his Return to Boston he told your wife of it which caus'd here great uneasiness she Desires of you not to bring one ounce here, she desired me to write to you about it I told here I would. If I had an opportunity, but seeing it has got to such a pitch I thought it my duty to hire somebody to go to lett you know the danger you will bring your self into by bringing any Tea here Mr. N. Holbrook Advised me Repeatedly to go my self or send somebody some time ago to advise you not to meddle with any Tea upon no consideration at all but I had too good an Esteem of your Virtue to believe you would concern with it till since I heard their Storery, which I pray aint be true, there is scarcely one here but what blames you for ever concerning with any of the goods much more Tea. In haste I must Conclude

Your Loveing Brother (If you don't consern with any Tea) David. Stodd. Greenough.

P.S. Your Family is all well

David Stoddard Greenough to John Greenough, 4 January 1774, John Greenough Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society [transcribed by Peter Klarnet, Alexander Autographs.]

Letter from Col. Williard Knowles to John Greenough, 1 March 1774

Sir

I Desier[sic]. that you would be So good as to Come and advise with me about matters that we may Set our Caracters[sic] in a true Light the town of Eastham has passed a number of Scandeles[sic] Resolution upon me I shall be much oblige to you if you will come and goe to harwich with me next thursday — I shall git E[?] Doane to go with us and hold a Conference with our good friends — I will Settasfye[sic] you for your good Service — from your good friend and humble Sevt...

Col. Williard Knowles to John Greenough, 1 March 1774, John Greenough Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society [transcribed by Peter Klarnet, Alexander Autographs.]

Letter from John Greenough to Thomas Greenough, 1 March 1774 [excerpt]

[I] am sorry you should think me so abandon'd as to sell the Libertys of my Country for any Gain whatever – were it in my Power to do it – indeed I never tho't that so weighty Matters were ever committed to the Disposal of Men of my Station in Life & I apprehend that they are secur'd by Power lodg'd in Persons of higher Rank sufficient to preserve them from Destruction. I mean the Legislative & executive Courts of the Nation or if you please of this Country- and if our Liberties are sold it must be thor' their Corruption, or if destroy'd it must be by an undue Opposition to and Suppression of the Power and Authority with which they ought to be invested in Order to their defending the same Rights of every subject – I am sorry Sir that instead of the Legislative Courts of the Province, private Persons and Societys[sic] have taken upon them to say and give out what is lawfull prudent just and right for a Man to say and do and what is not – and that instead of the Executive Courts of Justice that is a Court of Indians set up to execute what Penalty they Please on the Offenders against what such private Persons & Societies...give out to be Lawful And I think their Authority is not call'd much in Question at Boston. but you all submit to be guided Rul'd & directed by them weither[sicJ thro' Fear or voluntarily have forsaken the ancient Laws of our Land which our father's established and were order'd and govern'd by in their Days; and which they left...us as the foundations for the Securing of our Liberties & Properties – Thus is our Liberties destroy'd, so far as such Men who have no lawfull Power and Right, do govern and controul[sic] our private lawful Actions or the Publick Acts of Government and our Properties are become precarious and uncertain being at the disposal of these Indian Liberty Sons—can we imagine a more absolute State of Tyranny and outrageous Cruelty than when every private gang of Plunderers & Assassins may wreek[sic] their Vengeance against any Person or their Property unpunish'd; nay what greater Curse can befall us! – and yet some Persons and not a few in Boston protect and encourage such Violations of the Laws of God and this Country blasphemously & say us to as said God's People of old hese be thy Gods 0 Israel – my Importance in Life is but of little weight to the Correcting the Madness of the Times or Supporting the decay'd State of Government in this County yet I thank God who

hath endow'd me with a Power of Discerning these things and could I think I should be of any Service I would readily lend my Assistance to reform them; I would seriously ask you Sir what right power or Authority according to the Laws of God or of this Land your Indians have to abuse my Person or destroy my Property for vending any Tea (especially if it hath never paid any Duty) and if they derive that such Power & Authority from the Laws of God now of the Land Whether their usurping the same is not a greater Infringement of our Rights and Liberties and more dangerous than nay Act of the British Parliament If so might not every honest man lend his Assent & lawful Aid if need be to punish these [?] of by the Laws of his Country... if so what Law of God or this Province forbids or any way militates with the selling drinking or using Tea which any Person is justly and lawfully possed off[sic] doing what is lawfull and right might not every honest Man to support and Comfort such an one and his friends and hold the others in Contempt and endeavor to have them lawfully punish'd for their Contumelious Behaviour? Is Tea the Cause of the Dispute between this and the Mother State or the Duty on Tea? if not Tea consider'd in itself why ought we now to curse or call that detestable, that, on which we have so often ask'd the Divine Blessing – I doubt not Sir on Considering of these Question you will be with me in Opinion that I have acted in Conformity with Laws of God and my Country in the purchasing with my Labour two Chests of damag'd Tea which never paid any Duty and I have transgress'd no Law in endeavoring to sell them again - and whose Person were very weak or ill minded who would withdraw their Affections from me on this Account. neither ought I to humble myself before them to be reinstated in their favour or affection, for this would be supporting what I think is criminal & unjust – I am oblig'd to you Sir for your Cautioning me not to come to Boston as you look upon it unsafe for me to come nor do you desire to see me untill these Things blow over. I have no Disposition to purt it in the Power of any to treat me with Contempt when I can as well avoid it—a Friend of mine the other Day was saying he would go to Boston but as they had so many new Fashinon'd Laws & Punishments in force there, he did not know[?] but he might offend against some of these Laws especially as it is now out of Fashion to print and publish them as formerly – which he thot[sic] a disadvantage to those of us how live at a Distance from Boston – and believed it would confine the Trade of that Town to itself where their Laws are only fully known – on the whole I think it a dark and melancholy Day with us in this Land and your Eyes ought to be lifted upwards with our Harts to him -- him who is able to keep us from eternal Misery and Destruction if Christ shall make us free then shall we be free indeed – and this Liberty is and can only be the portion of such as believe on him and walk in Obedience to his Rules & Precepts & imitate his Life & Character. I have this moment recd. your favour of Mr. Eldridge and perceive you are not fully inform'd of the Affairs that have been transacted in this Place I would refer you to Mr. Cooper the clerk of the important Committee at Boston who hath all the Papers in his Care excepting what 1 deliver'd at Our first Meeting on this Affair of Tea Copy of what I then delivered I now inclose for you for your purposes[?] this was taken by the Incendiaries here as something aim'd against them and therefore follow'd the Example of their Leaders in Boston to Stick to Nothing to reproach and wound vilify the Frame and Character all those who did not think and act just as they would have then[?] I am now fully determined not to remove from this Place. I had thots[sic] of it some time past – a short time I hope will bring about a more regular Government than we have at present – as to the present state of Affairs here the People have nary got over the first heat of their Passion and some of our principle Persons are arming themselves against the Force of lawfull Authority by revolve to stand by

one another with their Lives & fortunes and to let no civil Officer take them for their riotous proceedings & roberys[sic] on the high Way, which you have been made acquainted with by the News Papers. at Eastham they have Association Meetings warn 'd by private Persons - & Advertisements set up for persons to meet and declare whether they are Whig for Tories. and if a stranger should come into a Tavern there he would think by the Notif[?] that one Party would speedily declare War against the other – these are the Effects of Boston Peoples putting the Defence of their Liberties & Properties in to the Hand of Mobile vulgars – and many others I could mention but I forbare I would add this one Thing further. that if something to prevent further Tumults is not soon effected I fear there will be open Murders committed by some in this part of the Province..."

John Greenough to Thomas Greenough, 1 March 1774, John Greenough Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society [transcribed by Peter Klarnet, Alexander Autographs.]

Letter from John Greenough to Thomas Greenough, 22 March 1774 [excerpt]

I hope you did not take any thing I wrote in my last Letter you as [?] as I wrote with that Freedom which you have indulged me with in Conversation my Design was to shew[sic] you my real Sentiments of the Savage Behaviour of all Mankind when retrained neither by the Laws of the Community or Nation they live under nor by the Law of God, and to them our present unhappy State being over or controul'd from doing what is in Conformity to both, by private persons or Societies thus behaving among us in the close of my last Letter I said that if something to prevent further Tumults was not Speedily effected I fear'd there would be open Murders committed by some in this part of the Province. I have now to inform you that at Eastham they had a Body Meeting as it was call'd on the 28th Feby when among other resolves it was propos'd in that Meeting that it was not proper for the Town Stock of Ammunition to be lodge'd at Colo. Knowles's house how bring an Enemy to his Country by selling & buying part of Chest of damagd Tea — the Selectmen tho't themselves not oblig'd to obey this Resolution so far as to remove the Ammunition from the Custody of the chief Officer of the Regiment and not do it forth with divers menaces were made to awe them into the violation of their lawfull trust & Duty and on the 4th of March a Number of Persons trim'd in the modish or most devilish hew & Dress of barbarians with black faces & blacker Hearts went to the House of Mr. Smith one of the Select men in the Night Time and demanded of his Wife where he was and being told he was at neighbours House they Way laid an took him on his return home, and he not complying with their Demand, to assist in removing the Stores from the Care of Colo. Knowles and to place them in the Hands of one of the highest Incendiaries there – they were about to strip him naked and to Tarr and Feather him but on his knowing some of them by their Voice he call'd them by Name and told them that their stripping him in that cold Night would probably be his Death he being a very weakly tender Constitution, they proceeded no further than tarring his Hands & Face and then compelled him to Swear not to discover who they were that had thus inhumanely treated him — this open 'd the Eyes of many who before saw not the ill Effects of your Indians (I call them your because you do in your Letter to me) being allow'd and countenanced in lawless & outrageous Behaviour at Boston and on the 7th. of March there being a Design by the Incin[diary] Sons of Liberty to execute by further Violence in the Night what they had before in vain attempted in the 4th. instant that is to compel the Select men to go with them and

wrest the Towns Ammunition out of the Hands of Col. Knowles — about 80 or so of the principle Persons for Sobriety Virtue & of Estate in the Town assembled being headed by the Principal Military Officers in the Town and Magistrate being present they desired a Deputy Sherriff to use his Endeavours to surpess[sic] the intended Riot and they would give him all the Aid the Law directs good Subjects to afford in such Cases as being loth to shed Blood which might be the case if the Rioters proceeded to Mob Col. Knowles & beset his House, the chose a three or four Persons to wait on the Ringleaders of the Faction and to disswade[sic] them from their Purpose. they return'd but received no Satisfactory Answer the [?] of these persons who were under Arms being to prevent the intended Riot, they waited untill late in the Night and the Rioters finding they should be defeated in the Execution of the Wicked Designs dispersed & they were who assembled to oppose them dismissed by their Officers, and to appear at the same Place the next Afternoon, when there were about 200 Persons of the Militia belonging to that Town that appear'd under their Military Officers to assist the Peace Officers in preventing further Riots — several Persons Suppos'd to be concern 'd in the Mob on the 4th inst. and in the intended one the last Evening were persuwaded[sic] that Day and did come to the Deputy Sheriffs House where the Inhabitants were drawn up to assist him in his Duty — and they declaring they would surcease all further Mobbish & Riotous & tumultuous behaviour and promising to endeavour to prevent it in others — the Inhabitants then retired peaceably to their Several Houses, and thus hath ended the Authority of Indians in making & executing their Laws at Eastham, and there hath since been the most quiet Annual Meeting there that was were known, and things go on in the proper Course being guided by lawfull Authority how soon the Example of the virtuous Behaviour of the Inhabitants of Eastham may be followed by other Towns where the Indian Constitution hath been set up. I am not able to say but this I know that if your People at Boston could be made sensible of the amazing alteration there is from Rioting & Tumult to Peace and good Order in that Town they would at once snatch from the Hands of those Savage Barbarians in the Power they have taken from the Peace Officers and restore it to them again and destroy the Authority & Government they have treasonably usurped & now exercise over the Inhabitants of Boston & other Places — if any thing I have said Seems to you treating Some of the Inhabitants of Boston injuriously I would only say that their Conduct in these Affairs deserved to be in a proper Light to be viewed by the Glasses of the Law of God and the Laws of Our Community. and if they will not bare examination let those step forth whose Business it is and ought to be to amend such Things and let every good Subject aid them therein — then may I and thousands of others who are menaced and kept from carrying on our lawfull Business be in safety when we are transacting the same at Boston — and the Trade of the Town would proportionally increase with good Order & a peaceable Government as established by Law — and then would every Person see the banefull Effects of such Measures as do destroy the very Essence of all our Liberties and vainly striving there by to free ourselves from paying Duties impos'd by the British Parliament[...]

John Greenough to Thomas Greenough, 22 March 1774, John Greenough Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society [transcribed by Peter Klarnet, Alexander Autographs.]

Document #5 Letter from Thomas Hutchinson to William Penn, 26 May 1770 [excerpt]

CONSIDER -- Thomas Hutchinson served as the royal governor of Massachusetts from 1769 until the Revolution. His sons were merchants who were very much involved in the tea trade. His letter books (copies of letters sent and received) are filled with his opinions on the merchants during the time. The following letter is addressed to Governor Penn of Pennsylvania about the merchant agreements in Philadelphia. How seriously did the governor take the colonial threats of non-importation?

Boston 26 May 1770

Sir,

The persons who under the name of Merchants have carried on a Correspondence with such as call themselves a Comittee of Merchants in Philadelphia are now divided and the real Merchants who in the heighth of their zeal called in the populace to their aid are now restrained by the populace from acting according to their Sentiments. Near 50 Merchants on Tuesday last met in the morning and agreed to a free Importation of all goods except Teas but through timidity made some sort of condition that the Trade in general approved of it. In the afternoon there was a Meeting of the Inhabitants in general and they disagreed to it but it seems to be beyond doubt that by far the majority of the Merchants who were present at this meeting were in favour of it but were over ruled by persons not in Trade and many of them without Property. The Letter from the Merchants in Philadelphia is kept private. Letters which encourage opposition to Parliamentary Authority are immediately published.

I suspect the Merchants in Philadelphia will be deceived by the accounts/transmitted from hence and made to believe that the major part of the Merchants are still in favour of non Importation. There are 3 or 4 principal houses which I know to be for importation but have not courage to appear. If your Merchants will not suffer themselves to be imposed upon but will adhere to the Sentiments which they have expressed these principal houses will I think take courage and it may break up the Confederacy [...]

Thomas Hutchinson to William Penn, 26 May 1770, *Thomas Hutchinson Letterbooks*. Vol. 26: 494-495, [transcriptions only], Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #6 Letter from Thomas Hutchinson to Cadwallader Colden, 2 June 1770

Boston 2 June 1770

Sir

The Combinations in the several Colonies against the Importation of Goods from Great Britain must appear to all unprejudiced persons to be unwarrantable and subversive of Government. In this Province they have been the source of most of our disorders. I can have no aid from any part of the authority established by the Constitution in suppressing them. I now despair of any thing from Parliament the present Session. So wild a Scheme has brought great distress up on the labouring people as well as the Traders in this town and I am well informed that the major part of the Merchants wish to see the Trade free from restraint but having in the heighth of their zeal called in the populace as their servants are forced now to submit to them as Masters. By a vote of the populace last week near 50 merchants who had agred to a general importation in the Fall were compelled to desist from any steps to carry their agreement into execution and about 30 more who are of the same sentiments with the 50 are deterred from making them publick. Six or eight persons who have the command of the populace and who are not Merchants nor persons of property take upon themselves to publish to the World in print and to convey by Letters to their Correspondents in the other Colonies from time to time very false accounts of the state of Affairs in this Colony. I have no doubt that they receive and publish here as false accounts from the other Governments. They have sometimes from some of the Colonies and they had particularly last week from Philadelphia such accounts from Merchants there, as do not tend to promote their plan. These they suppress. I wrote to Governor Penn and gave him a just account of our Affairs in hopes some use might be made of it to undeceive the people there. It is with the same view with respect to New York that I give you this trouble.

The Merchants at Newport are much offended with the people of this Town and Governor Wanton writes favorably of the prospect of a total breach.

There is a greater appearance of jealousies of each other in the combind parties in the several Colonies than I have known since they began. If any thing occurs to you which can be done by the servants of the Crown to dissolve these Confederacies I shall be extremely obliged to you to communicate it. The continuance of them must be of most fatal consequence. In the present State of Affairs the less such a Correspondence is known the more success will probably attend it. I am very respectfully

Sir Your most obedient humble servant

Thomas Hutchinson to Cadwallader Colden, 2 June 1770, *Thomas Hutchinson Letterbooks*, Vol. 26: 498. [transcriptions only], Massachusetts Historical Society.

The East India Company: When Monopoly is not just a game ...

GOAL: Students will evaluate the role of the East India Company in causing the Boston Tea Party of 1773. Students will determine whether taxes, fear of monopoly, or fear of competition created the animosity that the Patriots felt toward the East India Company.

FOCUS:

- 1. Ask students "Should the government intervene when a big company such as an airline or computer company, etc. (give some real examples), is having financial difficulty? When if ever would it be appropriate?"
- 2. Have students discuss this question and then explain the economic woes of the East India Company by 1772. The East India Company was losing money and asked for a loan from the British government. The government insisted that the company make some internal changes with their dividend structure. Many members of Parliament were very upset with Prime Minister North for trying to tinker with the charter of a private company.
- 3. Review the Tea Act (most of this background is on the power point presentation).

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS:

- 1. Distribute documents to students and place students in document groups.
- 2. For time-management, it may make sense to allow students within one group to divide the documents (or, alternatively, assign reading at home).
- 3. Students are to read documents and use a document analysis sheet to help them peruse the documents.
- 4. Students will discuss the "Consider" questions that appear before several of the documents (some documents share one "consider" question). One student or more should record possible answers.
- 5. After discussion, students will complete preparation for the DEBATE (see below):

DEBATE: Students will divide into two groups. Each side will prepare one debate question and present it to the class.

- 1. The East India Company is not to blame for the colonists' tea troubles.
- 2. The East India Company is to blame for the colonists' tea troubles.

Monopoly: Documents

PART I: GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION? (Documents #1 and #2)

CONSIDER: Is Government intervention warranted here? What do you think would be the "modern" approach to the East India Company's troubles? Can you think of current situations where our government has rushed to the aid of ailing companies – why do we do it? When? What importance did the East India Company have to Great Britain in the 18th Century?

Document #1 Article from the Boston Post Boy, 12 April 1773 [excerpt]

BOSTON April 12

[...] The Public Prints contain very long Debates in Parliament relative to the East-India Affairs, and the Expedition to St. Vincent's which had undergone a Parliamentary enquiry, but was not finished the 20^{th} of February; the Expedition was greatly disapproved of by many of the Members of that august Assembly – The East-India Affairs was not finish'd in Parliament the 20^{th} February, but it is pretty certain it will be in the following Manner, viz. That Government will lend the Company one Million five Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling at 4 per Cent. that two Fifths of the Duty on Tea exported to America, be taken off; and that the Company will be permitted to send Annually two Ships directly from China to America, laden with Teas, clear of all Duties. [...]

"Capt. Cales sail'd from the Downs . . ." Boston Post Boy, 12 April 1773.

Document #2 Article from the *Boston Gazette*, 23 August 1773 [excerpt]

August 23, 1773

Parliamentary Proceedings: Speech by Lord North

[...] "He said, that, as to the India company, every one must know, that a petition was preparing to be presented, to say that they would not at any rate receive the loan of 1,400,000£ but he looked upon it the interest of parliament to secure that company in case the loan should be refused. He then stated the debts which they owed, which he made to amount, with interest as due to the public, to 954,000£ that he should be sorry and loth for the public to proceed by Exchequer process to pay themselves, but that they could not wait for their money; and if necessity demanded it, they must do it; that they owed a very capital sum to the bank of 500,000£ which they could not stay for; and though they wished to give every assistance to their sister company, yet it could not be expected that they would wait any longer with patience, and injure themselves. He then stated the bills of exchange due from them, amounting to 600,000£ and observed, that the situation of the public and bank was dreadful; for as they must have their money, the only effectual means to prevent the process against the company, would be for the house to proceed with the loan bill of 1,400,000£ to be lent on the India company security, and pay themselves with part of the money, even without the consent of the company.— Proposed borrowing on Exchequer bills to be issued out upon next year's aid 1,400,000£ chargeable upon the produce of the India company, and the aids of 1779; that this year there might be a surplus of 254,000£ which he wished to keep as a reserve, least any alteration should happen from the present general tranquility; not that there was any likelihood of the late troubles being revived. [...]

"Parliamentary Proceedings: Speech by Lord North," Boston Gazette, 23 August 1773.

Part II: THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (Documents #3a-d)

CONSIDER – How does the Dutch market for tea compare with East India market? Which market has greater costs? Which market has greater profit margins according to these documents? What is the East India Company's and the British government's tactics to make the East India Company more competitive? Does this make sense to you as an economist? Why or why not?

Documents #3a-d

Letters and Documents Relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American Colonies, 1773

Extract from a Letter from Boston, dated 29th April, 1771, in Answer to a Consignment made in February, 1771, at 3s. Id., with the whole drawback of 23£ 18s. 7 1/2d., percent⁶

Were it not for the Holland tea, the vent of English would have answered your expectation here, but the profit is immense upon the Holland tea, which some say cost but 18d., and the 3d. duty here is saved. Many hundred chests have been imported. What is shipped may go off in time, without loss, for there must be buyers of English tea; the transportation of the Dutch by water being attended with much trouble and risk. (191)

Extract of a Letter from Boston, dated 11th September., 1772

We have delayed answering your last enquiries relative to the tea concern, in hopes of being able to form a better judgment, but to no great purpose; the great importation from Holland, principally through New York and Philadelphia, keeps down the price here, and consequently the sale of teas from England. We have set ours so low we shall have no profit from this years adventure, yet there are 50 chests still on hand. You ask our opinion whether the difference between English and Dutch teas, if it did not exceed the 3d. duty and 9 pr. cent., would be sufficient encouragement to the illicit trader? If the difference was not greater we think some of the smugglers would be discouraged, but the greater part would not. Nothing will be effectual short of reducing the price in England equal to the price in Holland. If no other burden than the 3d. duty in the Colonies, to save that alone would not be sufficient profit, and the New Yorkers, &c., would soon break thro' their solemn engagements not to import from England. (193)

⁶ Drawback: refunds of duties paid in England on foreign goods imported there and thence exported to the colonies -- $s=shilling d=pence \pounds = pound$.

Extract from a Letter from Boston, dated 25th Feb., 1773, in Answer to a calculation sent of the supposed price at which the illicit trader can now import tea into America from Holland:

In your calculation of the profits on Dutch teas, 12 percent is too much to deduct for the risque of illicit trade. We are confident not one chest in five hundred has been seized in this Province for two or three years past, and the custom house officers seem unwilling to run any risk to make a seisure. At New York, we are told it is carted about at noon day. There is some expense in landing, which we believe the importers would give five percent to be freed from. (194)

SOME THOUGHTS UPON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SENDING OUT TEAS TO AMERICA: Submitted to the consideration of Henry Crabb Boulton, Esq., Chariman of the East India Company.

The usual exports to America, consisting of calicoes, muslins, and other produce of India, (tea excepted,) have been seldom less than £600,000 pr. an., as such the consequence of that trade, and the interest of the merchants concerned therein, ought to be well considered before this measure of sending out teas to America should be adopted, lest it might defeat the one and prejudice the other.

The merchants are much alarmed at this step of the Company, fearing it will prevent, in a great degree, the remittances from their correspondents by so much or near it as the sales of the teas amount to; for it is beyond a doubt, that the people in America, if they admit the teas, (which I much doubt,) will be tempted to purchase them with the very money arising from the sales of muslins, callicoes, Persians, &c., bought of the Company instead of sending it to the merchants in England, and thereby tend to encrease the distress which is already too severely felt, for want of remittances. And I should not be surprised at the merchants forming a resolution similar to that of the dealers, viz., not to purchase anything from a Company who are interfering so essentially with their trade, and striking at the root of their interests. I am of opinion, if a proper application was made to the ministry, aided by a petition from the American merchants, it might produce a relaxation of that disagreeable and fatal duty of 3d.pr. lb., and in case of success I could almost promise that in the course of six months there would be exported not less than one million of pounds of tea, and further, that the usual annual export would be upon an average four millions of pounds of teas. This mode would relieve the Company from its present load, and place the correspondence and connection in its usual and natural channel. But admitting that the ministry would not comply with such a request, is it not too hasty a resolution before answers are come from America if they will receive the teas through the channel of the merchants, and particularly when they see the drawback is encreased from 14 to 24 pr.cent ad valorem, and thereby they are enabled to introduce that article cheaper from hence than from Holland.

It is well known to every gentleman conversant in trade, that on account of some disagreeable Acts of Parliament passed here, the people of America formed a resolution, which was too generally adhered to, not to import any goods from hence. This resolution continued for two years. However, the merchants of New York, (who are men of understanding and liberal principles,) foreseeing the fatal consequences that attend England & the Provinces by a continuance of dis-union with the mother-country, summoned a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the town, and then came to a compromise with the people, that in case they would agree to admit all other goods, they promised not to import any teas from England, under very severe penalties, until the Act imposing a duty of 3d. pr. lb. was repealed, and the several captains of ships in the trade were enjoined upon pain of forfeiting the good esteem of the inhabitants to comply therewith. The like resolutions were agreed to in Philadelphia & South Carolina.

There is another difficulty which occurs to me in this business, and that is, there is not so much specie in the country as would pay for the quantity said is intended to be exported. The Company should be very cautious who they appointed to receive the produce of the sales, for should the contractor for money have that power, who are the general drawers of bills, it would enable them to make a monopoly of the ready specie, and to make exchange advance 25 pr. ct., to the loss of the remitter.

Thus have I stated the principal objections to the measure, and in compliance with my promise, I shall give you my opinion relative to its introduction, & the proper modes of sale, admitting the Company persevere in their resolutions of exporting the teas on their own account [. . .] (218-220)

Francis S. Drake, Tea Leaves: Being a Collection of Letters and Documents Relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American colonies in the Year 1773, by the East India Tea Company (Boston, 1884), 191-194, 218-220.

PART III: A CONSIRACY? (Documents #4 and #5)

CONSIDER –How do the Patriots see the East India Company? Why do you think this view is so harsh? Do you think it is accurate?

Document #4

Article from the *Massachusetts Spy*, 26 November 1773

[The following appeared in the newspaper as one article, including the letter extract.]

WEDNESDAY November 24 BOSTON

A letter from London of a late date, advises a gentleman here, not to purchase any of the tea now coming, as immense quantities lye rotting in the East-India Company's wharehouse, which they will croud in by ship loads in case this is taken off.

Another letter says, twelve million weight of tea, has been for seven years in the India Company's warehouses rotting, which on our receiving what is coming, will be also sent.

Americans! Defeat this last effort of a most pernicious, expiring faction, and you may sit down under your own vines and fig trees, and none shall hereafter DARE TO MAKE YOU AFRAID [...]

Extract of a letter from New-York, dated November 3, 1773

"I have this day been informed by good authority, that the East-India company, suspecting that the words in the act - discharged them from the payment of any customs or duties whatever – would extend to exempting their tea, in such cases, from the American duty, have taken the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, &c. and find, that the American duty being only chargeable on tea when imported into America, was by no means included in the duties, with which it is charged, when exported from England, or sold at their ware houses in London. This was a great disappointment to their hopes, as they suspected that the Americans would not buy it, even though they sent it to their very doors, on such terms. It is therefore affirmed, in several letters from gentlemen of credit in London, that Lord North has offered a gilding for the pill, by which we shall certainly find it very palatable, viz. He proposes that the company shall send their tea to America giving security for the payment of the duties, and that the teas are to be landed here, and the proper officers to return certificates of the quantity, &c. to England; on which the duties are to be paid there by the company, into the treasury, whence it is to be remitted, by an easy rotation, to the commissioners at Boston, to be paid out to their creatures, who are to suck the blood of the people, who are to drink this same undutied and yet dutied tea. It seems that the duty, in North-Carolina, has been paid, for some years past, in this very manner nearly, viz. by draughts attending proper certificates sent to England, because it was found that cash was not to be obtained in that province, to pay the duties there. –Thus the duty is absolutely to be paid in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, to support improper officers in America, only the method of negotiating this business is a little different, from the usual one. Are the Americans such

blockheads as to care whether it be a hot red poker, or a red hot poker which they are to swallow, provided Lord North forces them to swallow one of the two. If the matter be duly explained, surely the people will unanimously agree to send the tea to the place from whence it came, or to a worse place.

"A letter from London. . . .," Massachusetts Spy, 26 November 1773.

Document #5 Article from the *Boston Post-Boy* [excerpt], 13-20 December 1773

The following is Part of a Hand-Bill, lately distributed through this City.

The East-India Company, if once they get footing in this (once) happy country, will leave no stone unturned to become your masters. They are an opulent body, and money or credit is not wanting amongst them. They have a designing, depraved, and despotic ministry to assist and support them. They themselves are well versed in tyranny, plunder, oppression, and bloodshed. Whole provinces, labouring under the distresses of oppression, slavery, famine, and the sword, are familiar to them. Thus they have enriched themselves, -- thus they are become the most powerful trading company in the universe. Be, therefore, my dear fellow-tradesmen, prudent, -- be watchful, -- be determined to let no motive induce you to favour the accursed scheme. Reject every proposal, but a repealing act. Let not their baneful commodity enter your city. Treat every aider or abettor with ignominy, contempt, &c. and let your whole deportment prove to the world, "that we will be free indeed." [. . .]

Portsmouth, December 15, 1773

[...] United we Stand, but divided we fall.

Cari sunt nobis Parentes, Propinqui, Familiares et Amici, sed omnes omnium Caritates Patria und est complexa, pro qua Quis Binus dubitet Mortem oppetere, si ei sit profiturus, et Res ita requiret? CICERO

THE aforegoing Adage needs no comment, as union is the only cement of society, so a state divided against itself cannot stand: This union is now wanted to withstand the most daring insults and attacks that were ever offered to a civilized people; without this, the American trade will absolutely become a monopoly, and our merchants will too late feel the fatal effects thereof.

The East-India Company (a Company the most destructive that was ever instituted in any nation; consisting of a large number of rich men, who are either themselves members of the British Parliament, or by their pestilential influence, have a great sway in that Senate) have procured an act to ship their rotten and infected teas to America, which liberty they never could obtain before as a Company, nor would they now have done it, if it had not been by that means to support the British act of taxing America, which has been denied in the most solemn manner, by the united suffrages of every provincial Assembly on this GREAT CONTINENT. What avails such solemn determinations, if they are to have no other effect, than to remain on record, which are as easily to be erased by a ministerial mandate, as the records of the city of London has been lately [illegible] and the Mayor confined in the Tower, only for supporting the rights of the subject? Under the function of this act, that Company has shipped more than 2000 chests of teas, for the different colonies, most part of which is now arrived; but by a most noble stand, the American merchants have refused it admittance into their stores, or even to suffer it to be landed; but have insisted on its being returned back to that Company, to convince them and those in power, that when Americans unite, all the powers on earth cannot subdue them, or dare to make them afraid: If they no succeed where will they end? Will they not engross and monopolize every other article? And will the Ministry

stop their hand in taxing those articles, and that without our having a representation in such taxation? It is as evident, as that the sun shines in a clear day, that the American contest with Britain is now come to a crisis; we must openly and resolutely oppose this daring violation of our rights, which are invaded by a powerful, pernicious Company; who in concert with a designing Ministry will more effectually, though gradually, compleat our destruction, than the united powers of Europe could do: This last effort of administration to enslave us, if now prevented in its execution, will conduce more to establish the American glory, than all we have hitherto done. They will find that the virtue of these colonies, cannot be bought but with the price of blood; and will ever after treat us with that respect which is due to the brave and ALL WORTHY PEOPLE that inhabit them: -- Let us now unite with our brethren of the other provinces, and espouse the cause of all America; Let us glory in our constitution, and while we are ready to offer our lives and fortunes in defense of his sacred Majesty GEORGE our King, let us also, with the same firmness support the constitutional laws of the land we live in, which have obtained his solemn sanction, by which will be secured to his Majesty, and his posterity, the affections of several millions of brave subjects, who will ever protect him from the insults of his common enemies.

Vox Populi, Vox Dei

"The following is part of hand-bill. . ." Boston Post-Boy, 13-20 December 1773.

PART IV – WHAT MAKES THE EAST INDIA COMPANY A MONOPOLY?

CONSIDER – The East India Company does not seem like a monopoly at first – the Dutch smuggling routes certainly offered quite a bit of competition. However, the British government not only made the East India Company more competitive by reducing duties on the tea, but it also set up a system to make smuggling more difficult (thus creating a legal barrier to competition). What really made the East India Company so objectionable, however, was that it granted monopolies to certain merchants. Only a select few merchants who were termed "consignees" could sell East India Tea in the colonies. The following is a letter from Jonathan Clarke, who wanted to secure the right to sell the coveted royal tea for profit. Show how Clarke's firm would change if it got the rights to sell tea.

Document #6 Letter from Jonathan Clarke, 1 July 1773

London, 1st July, 1773

Gentlemen:

I intended to have made a purchase of teas at your present sale to have exported to America, but the candid intimation given by you of an intention to export them to the Colonies on account of the Company, renders it disadvantageous for a single house to engage in that article.

I now beg leave, gentlemen, to make a tender to you of the services of a house in which I am a partner, Richard Clarke and Sons, of Boston, New England, to conduct the sale of such teas as you may send to that part of America, in conjunction with any other houses you may think proper to entrust with this concern; altho' I have not the honor of being personally known to many of you, I flatter myself our house is known to the principal merchants who deal to our Province, and are known to have always fulfilled our engagements with punctuality & honor, and trust I shall procure you ample security for our conducting this business, agreeable to the direction, we may from time to time receive from you.

In soliciting this favor, I beg leave to avail myself further of the circumstance of our having for a long time been concerned in the tea trade, and to greater extent than any house in our Province, with one exception. Of the disappointment I have met with in my intended adventure, by which we are deprived of a very valuable branch of our business, and on my being on the spot to take such instructions from you as may be requisite in disposing of what you may send. And give me leave to add my assurances that the interest of the East India Company will always be attended to by the house of Richard Clarke & Sons, if you think fit to repose this confidence in them.

I am, very respectfully, gentlemen, Your most obed't & humble servant, Jonathan Clarke.

Francis S. Drake, Tea Leaves: Being a Collection of Letters and Documents Relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American colonies in the Year 1773, by the East India Tea Company (Boston, 1884), 209 – 211.

Document Section 4

The Profits of Patriotism

What are the opportunity costs of being a Patriot or a Loyalist? Who would you rather be?

GOAL: Students will learn the concept of "opportunity costs" and will then apply this concept to the events leading up to the Boston Tea Party.

FOCUS:

- 1. Define "opportunity costs."
- 2. Present this scenario to students: Imagine you are Richard Clarke of Clarke & Sons a very notable merchant company. You have the opportunity to be a consignee for the East India Company. The East India Company allowed only a select few colonists to have rights to selling its tea in the colonies. You have been granted that privilege. However, you did not expect the intense negative reaction to the Tea Act of 1773, and now the Boston Patriots are talking about sending the tea back to England. They want you to resign as consignee. Have students make a decision matrix that illustrates their choices and the effects that each choice will have on their business and personal life.

Resign as Consignee	
Stay as Consignee→	

- 3. Ask students: What do you think the Clarke family should have done? What do you think they did?
- 4. For a related source, see Table II, "Comparative Tea Prices," in Benjamin Labaree, *The Boston Tea Party* (New York, 1964).

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS:

- 1. Distribute documents to students and place students in document groups.
- 2. For time-management, it may make sense to allow students within one group to divide the documents (or, alternatively, assign reading at home).
- 3. Students are to read documents and use a document analysis sheet to help them peruse the documents.
- 4. Students will discuss the "Consider" questions that appear before several of the documents (some documents share one "Consider" question). One student or more should record possible answers.
- 5. After discussion, students will complete preparation for debate (see below).

DEBATE: Students will divide into two groups. Each side will prepare one debate question and present it to the class.

- 1. You are a lawyer representing the Loyalists' point of view. Prove that your merchants and officials had more to lose than the Patriots.
- 2. You are John Adams and you represent the Patriots. Prove that the Patriots had more to lose than the Loyalists.

The Profits of Patriotism: Documents

Part I: THE PATRIOTS

Document #1 John Adams, Diary, 26 June 1770

CONSIDER – John Adams was not a merchant, but did he feel any of the pain of the merchants? Why or why not? What do you think he thought about the merchants and their cause?

JUNE 26.

Last of Service; very little Business this Court. The Bar and the Clerks universally complain of the Scarcity of Business. So little was perhaps never known, at July Term. The Cause must be the Non Importation agreement, and the Declension of Trade. So that the Lawyers loose as much by this Patriotic Measure as the Merchants, and Tradesmen. Stephens the Connecticutt Hemp Man was at my Office, with Mr. Counsellor Powell and Mr. Kent. Stephens says that the whole Colony of Connecticutt has given more implicit Observance to a Letter from the Select Men of Boston than to their Bibles for some Years. And that in Consequence of it, the Country is vastly happier, than it was, for every Family has become a little manufactory House, and they raise and make within themselves, many Things, for which they used to run in debt to the Merchants and Traders. So that No Body is hurt but Boston, and the Maritime Towns. -- I wish there was a Tax of 5s. st. on every Button, from England. It would be vastly for the good of this Country, &c. As to all the Bustle and Bombast about Tea, it has been begun by about 1/2 doz. Hollands Tea Smugglers, who could not find so much Profit in their Trade, since the Nine Pence was taken off in England. -- Thus He. Some Sense and some Nonsense!

John Adams diary 15, 30 January 1768, 10 August 1769 - 22 August 1770 [electronic edition], *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*, Massachusetts Historical Society. http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/

Document #2 John Adams, Diary, 2 June 1771

1771. Sunday June 2D

[. . .]Drank Tea at Mr. Putnams with Mr. Paine, Mrs. Paine, Dr. Holyokes Lady and Dr. Billy Paine. The Dr. is a very civil, agreable and sensible young Gentleman.

Went in the Evening over to G. Chandlers and chatted with him an Hour. He is very bitter vs. the Town of Boston. I hate 'em from my Soul says he. -- Great Patriots -- were for Non Importation, while their old Rags lasted, and as soon as they were sold at enormous Prices, they were for importing -- no more to be heard about Manufactures -- and now, there is a greater Flood of Goods than ever were known -- and as to Tea, those who were most strenuous against it are the only Persons who have any to sell.

Jno. Chandler Esqr. of Petersham came into P.s in the Evening from Boston Yesterday, and gave us an Account of Mr. Otis's Conversion to Toryism. -- Adams was going on, in the old Road, and Otis started up and said they had gone far enough in that Way, the Governor had an undoubted Right to carry the Court where he pleased, and moved for a Committee to represent the Inconveniences of sitting there, and moved for an Address to the Governor. He was a good Man -- the Ministers said so -- the justices said so and it must be so -- and moved to go on with Business, and the House voted every Thing he moved for. -- Boston People say he is distracted. &c.

John Adams diary 17, 16 April - 14 June 1771 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive,*. Massachusetts Historical Society, http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/

Document #3 Article from the *Boston Post-Boy*, 6-13 December 1773

CONSIDER – What were these merchants from Philadelphia willing to forgo? Do you think sacrificing one's "pecuniary interests" have rewards in the end? What are the **opportunity costs** of political activism in this case? What do you think are the opportunity costs of political inaction?

Philadelphia –Nov. 22

A correspondent observes, that at a time when almost every American pen seems to be drawn in defence of our violated rights, he is amazed that the judicious advocates for liberty should omit to give us their sage advice and opinion on the fatal consequences that must result from our large importations from Great-Britain, and our almost total neglect of our own manufactures, the most durable source of wealth and independence. He further observes, that the immense importation of London porter and English beer at this perilous crisis, is a glaring instance of the impolicy of his countrymen, who prodigally lavish their money for the emolument of a Country, at 3000 miles distance, a country that is now abridging us of our liberties, when they might have a variety of excellent beer, even porter itself, made in this city, that would not disgrace the celebrated Ben Kenten's cellar. This he thinks an ungenerous return to the public spirit of our brewers, who have not only risked large sums for rendering their business of utility to their country as well as themselves, but have on a trying occasion sacrificed their pecuniary interest to promote public welfare.*

--He concludes by advising his countrymen not only to oppose the ministry of Great Britain and their auxillaries, the East-India slave-makers, with regard to the article of tea—but also to forbear all unnecessary importations – for by saving our money we may preserve the remains of our Liberty – If not regain those that are last.

^{*}At the time of the non-importation agreement, a vessel arrived here from England loaded with malt, and although the article was at that time very much wanted, the brewers met, and in a most spirited manner resolved not to purchase any part of the cargo.

[&]quot;A correspondent observes. . .," Boston Post-Boy, 6-13 December 1773.

Document #4 Article from the *Boston Gazette*, 29 November 1773 [excerpt]

CONSIDER – In the days leading up to the Boston Tea Party, patriotic newspapers like the Boston Gazette became a battleground of resolutions not only submitted by Bostonians but by neighboring towns. What do you think it would have been like to be a consignee during the time? Would you want to change your decision that you made in the pre-reading exercise? Why or why not?

VOTED, That it is the Sense of this Body that Captain Bruce shall on his Arrival strictly conform to the Votes passed respecting Captain Hall's Vessel, as tho' they had been all passed in Reference to Capt. Bruce's Ship.⁷

Mr. Timmins appeared and informed that Capt. Coffin's Brig expected with Tea was owned in Nantucket, he gave his Word of Honor that no Tea should be landed while she was under his Care, nor touched by any one untill the Owner's Arrival.

It was then Voted, That what Mr. Rowe and Mr. Timmins had offered was satisfactory to the Body.

Mr. Copley returned and acquainted the Body, that as he had been obliged to go to *the Castle*, he hoped that if he had exceeded the Time allowed him they would consider the Difficulty of a Passage by Water at this Season as his Apology: He then further acquainted the Body, that he had seen all the Consignees, and tho' he had convinced them that they might attend this Meeting with safety, and had used his utmost Endeavours to prevail upon them to give Satisfaction to the Body; they acquainted him, that believing nothing would be satisfactory short of re-shipping the Tea, which was out of their Power, they thought it best not to appear, but would renew their Proposal of storing the Tea, and submitting the same to the Inspection of a Committee, and that they could go no further, without incurring their own Ruin; the Tea, they should do nothing to obstruct the People in their Procedure with the same.⁸

It was then moved, and the Question put, Whether the return made by Mr. Copley from the Consignees be in the least Degree satisfactory to this Body; passed in the negative. Nem. Con.

Whereas a Number of Merchants in this Province have inadvertently imported Tea from Great Britain, while it is subject to the Payment of a Duty imposed upon it by an Act of the British Parliament for the Purpose of raising a Revenue in America, and appropriating the same without the Consent of those who are required to pay it:

RESOLVED, That in thus importing said Tea, they have justly incurr'd the Displeasure of our Brethren in the other Colonies.

the Patriots could not persuade them – thus leading to more difficulty.

⁷ Captain Bruce, Coffin and Hall were all British officers. The correspondence of Henry Broomfield (a Boston merchant) correspondence with Coffin and Hall is found in Henry Broomfield's letter book.

⁸ John Singleton Copley married Susan Clarke, daughter of Richard Clarke, one of the consignees of the tea. The East India Company granted only a few consignees in each colony. In Boston the Clarkes, Hutchinsons and Mr. Fanueil were granted what was first thought to be a privilege. The Patriots claimed it was nothing more than a monopoly and wanted the consignees to agree to refuse to take the tea. In Philadelphia and eventually in New York, the consignees agreed to send the tea back. In Boston, however,

And Resolved further, That if any Person or Persons shall hereafter import Tea from Great-Britain, or if any Master or Masters of any Vessel or Vessels in Great-Britain shall take the same on Board to be imported to this Place, until the said unrighteous Act shall be repeal'd, he or they shall be deem'd by this Body, an Enemy to his Country; and we will prevent the Landing and Sale of the same, and the Payment of any Duty thereon. And we will effect the Return thereof to the Place from whence it shall come.

RESOLVED, That the foregoing Vote be printed and sent to England, and all the Sea Ports in the Province.

Upon a Motion made, Voted, That fair Copies be taken of the whole Proceedings of this Meeting, and transmitted to New York & Philadelphia,

And that Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS,

Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, ESQ WILLIAM PHILLIPS, ESQ

JOHN ROWE, ESQ

JONATHAN WILLIAMS, ESQ

Be A Committee to transmit the same [...]

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Brooklyn, legally assembled on Friday, the 26th Day of November, A.D. 1773, and by Adjournment to Wednesday the 1st of December following.

To consider what was proper for this town to do relative to the large quantities of tea belonging to the India Company arriv'd and expected to arrive in this province, subject to an American duty; the town came unanimously into the following Resolves, viz.

- 1. That the act of the British parliament imposing a duty on tea, payable in America, for the express purpose of raising a revenue, is unconstitutional, has a direct tendency to bring the Americans into Slavery, and is therefore an intolerable Grievance.
- 2. That this Grievance, which has been so justly complained of by the Americans, so far from being redressed, is greatly aggravated by another act passed in the last sessions of parliament for the benefit and relief of the India Company, permitting them to export their Teas to America, or foreign parts, free of all customs and duties usually paid in Great-Britain, but subject to the duty payable in America: Thus have the parliament discovered the most glaring partiality in making one and the same act to operate for the ease and convenience of a Few of the most opulent subjects in Britain on the one hand, and for the oppression of MILLIONS of Freeborn and most loyal inhabitants of America on the other.
- 3. That the last mentioned act can be considered no otherwise than as a subtle plan of the Ministry to ensnare and enslave the Americans, and that whoever shall be instrumental in carrying the same into execution, is in the judgment of this town, an inveterate enemy to his country.
- 4. That *Richard Clarke* and *Son*, and *Thomas* and *Elisha Hutchinson*, of Boston, (who brought themselves into contempt by their conduct in the non-importation time) and the other persons appointed Consignees of the India company's Teas in Boston, have, by their repeated refusal to resign their appointment, and send back the said Teas, manifested to the full conviction of

this town, their utter disregard to the interest and welfare of this their native country, to which such unfeeling wretches are a disgrace, and have discovered the most sordid attachment to their private interest, and have incurred the highest displeasure of the good people of this province in general, and of the inhabitants of this town in particular, who are determined to afford them not the least favor or protection, now that they are become Fugitives from the just resentment of their affronted townsmen.

- 5. That we fully approve of the proceedings and resolutions of the town of Boston, on this alarming occasion, and while we see them earnestly contending for the general liberty of America, should we fold our arms and calmly look on, we should be justly chargeable with the most shameful supineness, and criminal neglect. Therefore,
- 6. Resolved, That this town are ready to afford all the assistance in our power to the town of Boston, and will heartily unite with them and the other towns in this province, to oppose and frustrate this most detestable and dangerous tea scheme, and every other that shall appear to us to be subversive of the rights and liberties of America, and consequently dishonorary to the crown and dignity of our sovereign Lord the King.
- 7. That whoever shall hereafter presume to import any teas into this province, while subject to the odious duty, shall be considered and treated by this town as an enemy to this Country.

A true Copy, Attest,

Isaac Gardner, Town-Clerk.

"Voted, that it is the sense of this body. . .," Boston Gazette, 29 November 1773.

Part II: LOYALIST PERSPECTIVE

Document #5 Letter from Richard Clarke and Sons to the Gentlemen of the Merchants Committee of Boston, 11 August 1769

Boston Aug 11: 1769

Gentlemen,

We consent that the Teas that are come to our House in Capt: Scott and any other goods that we may receive from Great Britain this Summer or Fall may be shut up in an apartment in our Warehouse under Lock & Key. & that the Key may be kept by the Committee untill the first of Jan[uary]: next (at which time your agreement expires) if they shall judge it reasonable or for the public benefit to detain our goods till that time – And we will in addition to what we have already wrote further write our Friends in Great Britain not to send us any Goods till they receive orders from us dated after [Jan]:1st & if they send us any contrary to such advice we will not expose them to sale – We hope these concessions will be satisfactory as they are the utmost we can submit to consistently with Justice to our Friend & Honor to ourselves – We are

Gentlemen Your most humble servant: Richard Clarke & Sons

To
The Gentlemen of the
Merchant Committee

Richard Clarke and Sons to the Gentlemen of the Merchants Committee of Boston, 11 August 1769, Bromfield and Clarke Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #6 Letter from Andrew Oliver to his son, 18 January 1769

My sufferings are sufficiently known: they were unavoidable; but I have not till of late thought myself at liberty to make my case known in all its circumstances. When I was first attacked on the 14 June 1765 I stood alone, a single man against a whole people for 36 hours: I would have resisted when my house was first beset: my friends dissuaded me; they knew I could not oppose the Mob to effect; by their advice I retired. On the 15th the people were still up the whole day, and towards Evening began to make their signals for a second attack, which it was thought might have proved fatal: the Government did nothing for my support. I was then advised to resign. I did not however choose to make an absolute resignation; but allowed it to be given out, that I would not exercise the Functions of my Office till I had represented the matter home and could receive further Orders. On this the people dispersed. But what I principally intend by this recital is to acquaint you that on the 5th of November following, when the Pope and the Devil were exhibited as usual on the Stage, there were some other Figures with them, dangling on Giblets, and an inscription referring to one of these Figures to this purpose – the Devil take him who takes his Commission – This shew rested on the parade under the Windows of the Council of Chambers, the General Court then sitting. I thought that Government was by this insulted, & myself in particular. I was at that time of the Council, and applied myself to the Board, & told them that I thought it unbecoming the dignity of Government to see itself, and one of its Members that insulted. I saw no disposition to resent it, and inform'd them that I could not with honour sit there any longer, and withdrew. I called upon the Governor as I went home & told him what I had done; his Excellency was good enough to go to the Council Chamber to see if he could do anything in the case. He soon after sent a Messenger to me desiring I would attend in Council. I obeyed and went. The Governor then desired me to take my Seat at the Board, I told him I could not in honour do it, while such an Insult was suffered, and sat me down in a Window. His Excellency told me that he had been conferring with the Council on this matter, who were all of opinion that I had by my withdraw exposed myself to the Resentment of the Mob and had therefore agreed among themselves not to mention it abroad: that it was uncertain, whether the Figure & Inscription referred to me or not, and that if they did; the time were such that I must put up with it. I knew if they did not refer to Me, they referred to a Man of more importance, and hesitated; but at length finding that I could have no Support, I yielded & resumed my place [...]

Andrew Oliver to his son, 18 January 1769, Hutchinson-Oliver Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #7 Letter from the *Boston Gazette*, 22 November 1773

Letter written to the Editors, Edes and Gill

There are various opinions concerning the real or principal design of the Governor of this Province in giving discretionary orders to Col. Hancock to be in readiness to aid the civil magistrate when and where he should think proper. If the governor thought there was reason to apprehend a tumult among the people, he could not be at a loss for the grounds of such an apprehension. He certainly knows that Messieurs. Clarkes, Mr. Faneuil, and his own two children, are the appointed instruments to prevent the good effects of the non-importation agreement, which his Excellency had endeavored to nip in the bud, and to put into execution the detested revenue act. The American merchants had so generally stopped the importation of English Tea in consequence of that agreement, as greatly to alarm the East India Company, and put them upon solliciting a repeal of the duty: The ministry, resolved against the repeal, have procured an act of parliament whereby that company is allowed to send their tea to America. Thus the company is eased, their teas are to be imported and sold, the duty consequently paid and the salutary resolution of the merchants frustrated. Mr. Clarke, and others before-mentioned, are the chosen men to receive and sell the tea, and pay the tribute. The people therefore look upon them to be as truly the men pitched up on to execute the revenue acts, as Mr. Oliver and others were to execute a former revenue –act, under the title of the Stamp-act, and the tea is considered as detestable as were the stampt- papers. Hence an equal necessity of preventing the scattering the dutied tea through the province, as there was of preventing that of the stamped papers. In short, the ministry appear to be playing the old game again, tho' with more art and subtlety, and the people see through it, and seem determined, as before, to put them to their trumps. To speak plainly, the people think this tea is as much the offspring of the ministry as the stamped papers were; and that as much is expected from the care and assiduity of Messrs. Clarkes and others, under the patronage and direction of Mr. Hutchinson, in nursing this second child and ushering it into life, as was expected before from Mr. Oliver and others, under the like patronage and direction of Mr. Bernard, in cherishing the first born, and fitting that for eminent service. Persons of all ranks are as much exasperated at this ministerial maneuver, as ever they were against the Stamp act; they detest the tea commissioners as thoro'ly as they did the stamp-officers [...]

"Letter written to the Editors. . . ," Boston Gazette 22 November 1773.

Document #8

Letter from Captain Coffin to Messrs. Hughes & Whitelock, 27 January 1774

27 January 1774

Gentlemen:

My last was from Captain Scott --- I have not received anything of Doctor Cobb for the goods sold him, but if I do not hear from him soon I shall oblige him to pay his ballance. He lives a considerable distance from here which makes it difficult to come at him – I shall compell Mr. Kast to settle his account shortly – Mr. Jonathan Clarke has taken Passage in Capt. Coffin for London and will Sail in a few days. In the Evening of the day on which he arriv'd his Fathers' House was attack'd by a mob and he with his Father and Brother have since been oblig'd to betake themselves to the Castle where they still remain. The People threaten all the Consignees with the loss of their ears if ever they are catch'd in Town again. These gentlemen have been cruelly treated & it grieves me to the Heart to think that so old a Gentlemen as Mr. Clarke, who has always born a respectable Character & been much esteem'd should at his time of life be oblig'd to quit his Family & Friends. Indeed I am fearful whether he will not be oblig'd to leave his native Country entirely. I dread the consequence of the present Dispute between Great Britain & the Colonies & what it will end in God only knows. The Spirit that now prevails farr exceeds what appear'd in the time of the Stamp Act.

I am Gentlemen, your etc.

Captain Coffin

Captain Coffin to Messrs. Hughes & Whitelock, 27 January 1774, Bromfield and Clarke Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #9 Letter from Jonathan Clarke to Edward Wheler, 17 November 1773

Boston, New England 17th November, 1773

Sir:

After a long detention in the English channel, and a pretty long passage, I arrived here this morning from England, and there being a vessel to sail for London within a few hours, gives me an opportunity of writing you a few lines on the subject of the consignment of tea, made to our house by the Honorable East India Company, in which I had your friendly assistance, and of which I shall always retain a grateful sense.

I find that this measure is an unpopular one, and before my arrival some measures have been taken to oblige my friends to make a resignation of the trust, which they have not thought fit to comply with. They have wrote to our friend, Mr. Abraham Dupuis, very particularly, respecting the measures that have been adopted, and to that account I must beg leave to refer you, as I have not time to repeat it by this opportunity, but I shall keep the Company fully advised in future.

I fully see that we shall meet with difficulty in executing this trust, but our utmost endeavors shall be exerted to fulfill the orders we may receive from the Company.

I am, very respectfully sir, your most obliged humble servant Jonathan Clarke.

Edward Wheler, Esquire Received from the Deputy Chairman, 5th January 1774

Francis S. Drake, Tea Leaves: Being a Collection of Letters and Documents Relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American colonies in the Year 1773, by the East India Tea Company (Boston, 1884), 278.

Tea Party Perspectives

GOAL: Students will read primary accounts of the days right before the Boston Tea Party and about the Boston Tea Party itself in order to appreciate and comprehend the array of interpretation that surrounds this event.

FOCUS:

- 1. Stage a five minute "event" in the classroom. Catch the students off guard (maybe have a teacher or other students interrupt your beginning of lesson) with a harmless (don't want to scare anyone) happening at school. For example—some extra students could come in and take some items from the room as they cause a scene.
- 2. Let the students bear witness to the event. Then have the students write a five minute response to what they saw. Share the responses. Discuss tone of the responses, point of view, etc.
- 3. Quick notes/mini lecture/discussion about the days before the Boston Tea Party. For example, students need to know why the Tea Party occurred on December 16th (the ships had run out of time—colonists would have to pay the tax.) Review some of the key players that are mentioned in the documents.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS:

- 1. Distribute documents to students and place students in document groups.
- 2. For time-management, it may make sense to allow students within one group to divide the documents (or, alternatively, assign reading at home).
- 3. Students are to read documents and use a document analysis sheet to help them peruse the documents.
- 4. Students will discuss the "Consider" questions that appear before several of the documents (some documents share one "Consider" question.) One student or more should record possible answers.
- 5. After discussion, students will complete preparation for debate (see below).

DEBATE: Students will divide into two groups. Each side will prepare one debate question and present it to the class:

- 1. You represent the Loyalist point of view. The Boston Tea Party could have been prevented the Patriots were unreasonable in their demands and ultimately should be held responsible for the destruction of property.
- 2. You represent the Patriots. The Boston Tea Party could have been prevented if Governor Hutchinson and the consignees met the minimal demands of the Patriots.

Tea Party Perspectives: Documents

CONSIDER -- Thomas Newell and Jonathan Rowe were successful 18th century Boston merchants. How would you characterize their similarities and their differences? Both were supporters of the Patriots, but which diary do you think reveals a hesitation? Why? Also, read these diaries not just for their telling of the destruction of the tea, but for a glimpse into the time period. What daily events did the diarists note? Is this type of diary similar to modern diaries? Why or why not?

Document #1:

Thomas Newell, Diary, 1 November - 30 December 1773 [excerpt]

[Day] Wind

November begins on Monday, hath 30 days.

- 1 S.S.E. Monday, cloudy.
- N.E. Tuesday, cloudy. A number of printed hand [bills] were pasted up at the corner of most of the streets in town, desiring all the sons of freedom to meet at the Tree of Liberty, on Wednesday, -- signed "O.C."
- N.W. Wednesday, pleasant. Town's sons of freedom mustered at Liberty Tree. waited on the consignees of Tea to resign; they would not.
- 4 S. Thursday, cloudy.
- 5 S.E. Friday. Town meeting concerning what to do with consignees of tea. At said meeting, a committee was chosen to wait on consignees Their answer was such that the town voted that it was daringly affrontive to the town. [...]
- S.E. Wednesday, pleasant; very warm. This evening a number of persons assembled before Richard Clarke's, Esq., one of the consignees of tea; they broke the windows, and did other damage (I was at fire meeting this evening.)
- N.E. Thursday, cold. Town meeting. A committee was appointed to acquaint the tea commissioners it was the desire of the town that they would now give a final answer to their request; viz., whether they would resign their appointment. Upon which, they sent into the town the following letter, viz.:
 - Sir, -- In answer to the message we have this day received from the town, we beg leave to say that we have not yet received any orders from the East India Company respecting the expected teas; but we are now further acquainted that our friends in England have entered into penal engagements in our behalf, merely of a commercial nature, which puts it out of our power to comply with the request of the town. We are, Sir,

Your most humble servants,

Richard Clarke and Sons

Benjn. Faneuil, Jr., for self and Joshua Winslow, Esq.

Elisha Hutchinson, for my brother and self.

Hon. John Hancock, Esq., Moderator of town meeting, assembled at Faneuil Hall.

Thee answer was voted not satisfactory, and the meeting was immediately dissolved. At noon was launched, at Tyler's yard, a vessel across the street. Very fine launching; a great number of people to see it. [...]

- N.E Saturday, cloudy; P.M. rained. Selectmen set this evening with consignees of tea.
- N.E. Sunday, pleasant. Captain Hall, from London in eight weeks; brought 114 chests of the so-much-detested East India Company's tea. The selectmen set this day. P.M. went to Cooper's meeting; he preached.
- W. Monday, fine clear weather. This morning the following notification was posted up in all parts of the town, viz.:

"Friends, Brethren, Countrymen, -- That worst of plagues, the detested tea, shipped for this port by the East India Company, is now arrived in this Harbor. The hour of destruction or manly opposition to the machinations of tyranny stares you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself, and posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall, at nine o' clock this day (at which time the bells will ring), to make a united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and destructive measure of administration."

People accordingly meet at Faneuil Hall, and voted that the tea now arrived in Captain Hall shall be returned to the place from whence it came, at all events. The hall could not contain all the people. (They immediately adjourned to the Old South meeting- house.) They voted to adjourn to the O. South. It was voted that a watch be appointed to consist of twenty-five men. Captain Proctor was appointed to be captain of the watch for this night (of the twenty-five men appointed), then the meeting was adjourned to the next morning, at nine o'clock.

30 S.W. Tuesday, pleasant. This morning the people met according to adjournment. The governor sent a proclamation, commanding all people there assembled forthwith to disperse, and to surcease all further unlawful proceedings at their utmost peril. After it was read by the sheriff there was immediately a loud and very general hiss. A motion was then made, and the question put whether the assembly would disperse according to the governor's requirement. It passed in the negative. At night, the meeting was dissolved.

December begins on Wednesday, hath 31 Days.

- 1 S. Wednesday, pleasant; at night rain.
- E. Thursday, cloudy; P.M. rain. Captain Bruce, eight weeks from London, with 116 chests of that detestable tea. This evening was at St. Andrew's Lodge. I was chosen Junior Deacon of said Lodge.
- N.E. Friday, rain. This evening I was one of the watch on board of Captain Bruce (with twenty-four more), that has tea for Clarkes & Co.
- 4 N.W. Saturday, fine, clear; windy. Captain Coulson, from Bristol. [...]

SE Tuesday. Cloudy. This morning the following hand-bills were posted up, viz.:

"Friends, Brethren, Countrymen, -- The perfidious act of your restless enemies to render ineffectual the late resolutions of the body of the people demand your assembling at the Old South meeting-house, precisely at two o'clock at which time the bells will ring."

(My uncle at council at Dorchester turned out their minister, Bowman.) The sons of freedom accordingly meet at Old South. Adjourned till Thursday.

- 15 S.E. Wednesday, cloudy.
- E. Thursday, rain. Town and country sons mustered according to adjournment. The people ordered Mr. Rotch, owner of Captain Hall's ship, to make a demand for a clearance of Mr. Harrison, the collector of the custom-house (and he was refused a clearance for his ship). The body desired Mr. Rotch to protest against the custom-house, and apply to the governor for his pass for the castle. He applied accordingly, and the governor refused to give him one. The people, finding all their efforts to preserve the East India Company's tea, at night dissolved the meeting. But behold what followed the same evening: a number of brave men (some say Indians), in less than three hours emptied every chest of tea on board the three ships, commanded by Captains Hall, Bruce, and Coffin (amounting to 342 chests), into the sea [. . .]
- N. Tuesday, snowed very hard all day. My dear Hannah very unwell; out of her head most of this evening.
 - Last evening Mr. Paul Revere returned here from New York. (The news of the destruction of the tea here gave great satisfaction to all the friends to Liberty.) At York, Governor Tryon has engaged to send the tea back to the place from whence it came. (Upon this news, all the bells in town were rung this morning).
- S. Friday, cloudy. At noon I went over to Charlestown to see the tea burnt there. The Charlestown sons treated the Boston people very gentley. (Punch and wine at their own expense of Charlestown)

End of this year, 1773

DOCUMENT #2

John Rowe, Diary, 18 October – 31 December 1773

CONSIDER - John Rowe was a prominent Boston merchant who was engaged early on in the Patriot effort of non-importation. Yet, he had business dealings (he was a supplier) with the British troops. His ardent patriotism mellowed over time. At the time of the Tea Party, Rowe was said to have made a reference to tea and salt the night before the tea party took place. There are some clues in this diary as to whether Rowe took part in the Tea Party. What do you think they are?

Oct 18. Mr. Finlay from Quebeck paid me a visit.

Oct 21. Levi Ames was hanged this afternoon--many Thousand Spectators attended the Execution—I dind at home with Mr. Finlay of Quebeck.

Oct. 25. Kings Accession to the Throne—The Cadets Under Arms—General Muster at Cambridge.

Nov 2. This morning the Revd. Mr. Walter & Mr. Parker paid me a visit on affairs of our Church—When I got abroad I found an advertisement stuck up at almost every Corner as Follows

"To the Freemen of this & the neighboring Towns Gentlm., you are desired to meet at Liberty Tree this day at Twelve of Clock at noon, then & there to hear the Persons to whom the Tea is shipped by the East India Company, make a publick Resignation of their Office as Consignees upon Oath & also swear that they will re-ship any Tea that may be Consigned to them by said Company by the first Vessell sailing for London."

Boston Nov 3rd 1773-- O.C. Secretary.

Nov 3. This day the Inhabitants of the Town are alarmed Occasioned by the advertisement of yesterday--The Gentlemen to whom the tea was Supposed to be Consigned did not obey the Summons & make their Appearance at Liberty Tree, upon which the Sons of Liberty appointed a Committee to go & wait on them to know their Determination, upon which the Committee with a large Concourse of people went from Liberty Tree to the store of Mr. Richd. Clark & Sons at the Bottom of King Street where they found Mr. Richd. Clark, Mr. Benjn. Faneuil the Governour, two Sons, Mr. Jos. Winslow of Marshfield who are the Gentlemen These Teas are supposed to be Consigned to. There were several of their Friends there with them, Colo. Hatch of Dorchester, Judge Lee of Cambridge, Mr. Nat Cary, Mr. Thos. Laughton, & many others—Mr. Mollineux as Chairman of this Committee Read to them a Paper & produced another which they Required them to sign &c—Mr. Richd. Clark & the other Gentlemen gave them for answer--they would not Comply with their Request or words to that purpose—this was an Unexpected answer to them & has given them much Displeasure The principal People that accompanied Mr. Mollineux were as Follows—Mr. Saml. Adams, Mr. Wm. Dennie, Mr. John Pitts, Colo. Heath of Roxbury, Dr. Church, Dr.

⁹ John W. Tyler, *Smugglers and Patriots: Boston Merchants and the Advent of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1986), 121.

- Warren, Dr. Young, Capt. Jno. Matchet, Capt. Hopkins, Nat Barker, Gabriel Johnnot, Ezekl. Cheever & about five hundred more as near I could guess—The same pieces was posted up this day as yesterday with this addition—Shew me the Man that dare take this down—I spent the evening at the Bunch of Grapes, Colo. Ingersoll with Treas. Gray, Thos. Gray, James Warden, Nat Cary, Geo. Erving. Melabiah Bourne. Jos. Scot, Jos. Blanchard Thos. Brattle, Tuth. Hubbard, Jos. Winslow, Jos. Golthwait John Cotton, Solo Davis, Edwd. Davis, Wm. Davis & Saml. Quincy.
- Nov 4. The Town very Quiet this day—I dined at Bracketts on Boston Neck on Turtle & Spent the evening at the Possee. Thos. Palmer Esq has his Ball to Night at Concert Hall.
- Nov 5. This day there is to be a Town Meeting--Mr. Palmer's Ball was very Brilliant, there were Upwards of Two hundred Gentlemen & Ladies—Very quiet for a Pope Night.
- Nov 6. Town Meeting again this forenoon.
- Nov 11. The Geese flew to the So[outh]ward yesterday.
- Nov 12. The Govr. sent Colo. Hancock an order for him to hold his Company in Readiness.
- Nov. 17. This morning Capt. Scot arrived from London he Brings advice that Hall, Loring, Coffin & Bruce are to Bring the Tea from the East India Company—this a measure that is Generally disapproved & will Remain a Great Occasion of Disagreement between England & America.
- Nov. 18. Last night a Considerable Body of People paraded thro' the Streets & attacked the House of Mr. Richd. Clark. One of his Family fired a Gun from the House but luckily did not Hurt—they Broke all his Windows & Window Frames—but very little other Damage—This morning a Town Meeting was called on this & the Tea Affair--Another Committee Chose—the Gentlemen to whom the Tea is Consigned are still Resolved to Pursue such orders as they may receive.
- Nov. 19. This day the Gentlemen to whom the Tea is Consigned Petitioned the overnour & Council Relative their affairs.
- Nov 21. Letters from Dear Sucky Inman.
- Nov 23. The Governour & Council met this morning on the Tea Matters.
- Nov 25. Thanksgiving—Mr. Walter read prayers & preached a most charming Sermon Suitable to this Order of Government from the 92nd Psalm 21st 22nd Verses.
- No 27. This day is my Birthday—I am fifty eight years old—I am at present very hearty & strong—but in my knees—Rather Feeble. I bless God for all his Mercies to me.

Nov 28. Sunday—This morning was Brot. me a threatening letter Signed Determined which is on File—This agitated my mind & I did not go to Church—Captain hall arr'd fr. London—Great Noise abo. the Tea on board Capt. Hall.

Nov 29. This morning there were Papers stuck up to the following Purpose "Friends, Brethren, Countrymen! "That worst of Plagues The Detestable Tea, ship'd for this Port by the East India Company is now arriv'd in this harbour, the Hour of Destruction or manly Opposition to the Machinations of Tyranny Stares you in the Face: every Friend to his Country to himself & to Prosperity is now called upon to meet at Fanewill Hall at nine of Clock this Day (at which time the Bells will begin to Ring) to make a United & Successful Resistance to this last worst & most Destructive Measure of Administration. Boston Novr. 29, 1773.

In consequence of the above notification about one thousand People met at Faneuill Hall where they past a Vote that they would at all events Return this Tea—from Faneuill Hall they adjourn'd to the Old South Meeting. Afternoon they met again & adjourn'd until the morning—there were in the meeting this afternoon abo. Twenty five hundred People as near as I could guess.

Nov 30. The Body met again this morning. The Govr. sent them a message advising them to depart on their Perill—they took but little notice of the message—they met again this afternoon. I told them that I had purchased a Cargo for Capt. Bruce' Ship, that it was on the wharf & that Captain Bruce when he arrived would apply to the Body & that I would endeavour to prevail on him to act with Reason in this Affair & that I was very sorry he had any Tea on Board--& which is very True for it hath given me great Uneasiness. I staid some time at the Meeting & was Chose a Committee Man much against my will but I dare not say a word. After Dinner I was sent for by the Body by Two Messengers John Ingersoll and Jos. Eyres. This was at the motion of Mr. Hancock. I wish he had Omitted it.

- Dec 1. Met the Committee, present Sam Adams, Jno. Hancock, Jonathan Williams & myself.
- Dec 2. Capt. Bruce arriv'd this morning from London.
- Dec 3. This morning Capt. Bruce & I were sent for by the Committee Relative the Tea on board him they ordered him to Griffins Wharff & gave him the same Directions as to Capt. Hall.
- Dec 6. Spent the evening at Col. Ingersoll's with "The Five Club" Present, Dr. Wm. Loyd, Mr. Geo Bethune, Mr. Timo Finch, Mr. Secretary Flucker, Mr. Treas. Gray, Mr. Thos. Boylston, Colo. Solomon Davis, Mr Melabiah Bourn, myself & Mr. Inman. Mr. John Brown Voted a member. The Revd. Mr. Morehead was buried this afternoon his Bearers were, Dr. Pemberton, Dr. Eliot, Mr. Bacon, Dr. Mather, Mr. Stillman, Mr. Lathrop. A Great Concourse of people attended this Funeral.

- Dec 7. Afternoon I attended the Funeral of Mr. Robt. Jenkins he being a Brother was Buried in Form, the Masons of the Several Lodges walking in Procession with their Jewels & White Aprons. I was Pallholder with Bro. Price, Bro. Warren, Bro. Box, Bro. Cutler & Bro. McNeal.
- Dec 8. Capt. Coffin arrived in Nantasket Road with the Small Pox & part of the Tea.
- Dec 11. This forenoon a Committee was sent to me abo. Bruce's Ship, Dr. Warren, Wm. Mollineux, John Potts, to know when she would be unloaded & many other Questions.
- Dec 14. The Body of the people met at Dr. Sewall's meeting.
- Dec 15. An acct. came this evening that Young Capt. Loring was cast away on the Back of Cape Cod last Friday.
- Dec 16. I being a little Unwell staid at home all Day & all the evening. The Body meeting in the Forenoon adjourn'd until afternoon. Broke up at Dark. Several Things passed between Mr. Rotch & them. A number of People appearing in Indian Dresses went on board the three Ships Hall, Bruce & Coffin, they opened the Hatches, hoisted out the Tea & flung it overboard—this might I believe have been prevented. I am sincerely sorry for the Event. Tis said near two thousand People were present at this affair.
- Dec 17. I am still unwell & staid at home all day. My New Ship, the Montague, was launched this day at Walker's Yard.
- Dec 18. Miss Betty Inches was buried this afternoon. The affair of Destroying the Tea makes Great Noise in the Town. Tis a Disastrous Affair & some People are much Alarmed. I can truly say, I know nothing of the Matter nor who were concerned in it. I would rather have lost five hundred Guineas than Bruce should have taken any of this Tea on board his Ship.
- Dec 20. My nephew Jack came to Town from Salem this afternoon.
- Dec 25. Christmas Day. I went to Church this morning. Mr. Walter read prayers & preached a most excellent sermon. We collected in old tenor 400-8/ for the Benefit of the Poor.
- Dec 26. Exceedingly windy & stormy—its Blown down many Turrets & done Damage among the Shipping at Long Wharff & Tillstons & Blown off the Tiles from my house.
- Dec 27. St John's Day. I dined at Colo. Ingersoll's with the Brethren Free Masons under my Jurisdiction (Present 34)
- Dec 31. The People of Charlestown collected what Tea they could find in The Town & burnt it in the View of a thousand Spectators. There was found in the House of One Withington of Dorchester about half a Chest of Tea—the people gathered together &

took the Tea, Brought it into the Common of Boston & Burnt it this night about Eleven of Clock This is supposed to be part of the Tea that was taken out of the Ships and floated over to Dorchester.

Ann Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (Boston, 1903).

Document #3 John Adams, Diary, 17-18 December 1773

CONSIDER – John Adams was a lawyer, not a merchant. Does his recounting of December 16th play out differently from the other Patriots? Where does he find fault in the destruction of the tea?

1773. DECR. 17TH.

Last Night 3 Cargoes of Bohea Tea¹⁰ were emptied into the Sea. This Morning a Man of War sails.

This is the most magnificent Movement of all. There is a Dignity, a Majesty, a Sublimity, in this last Effort of the Patriots, that I greatly admire. The People should never rise, without doing something to be remembered -- something notable And striking. This Destruction of the Tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid and inflexible, and it must have so important Consequences, and so lasting, that I cant but consider it as an Epocha in History.

This however is but an Attack upon Property. Another similar Exertion of popular Power, may produce the destruction of Lives. Many Persons wish, that as many dead Carcasses were floating in the Harbour, as there are Chests of Tea: -- a much less Number of Lives however would remove the Causes of all our Calamities.

The malicious Pleasure with which Hutchinson the Governor, the Consignees of the Tea, and the officers of the Customs, have stood and looked upon the distresses of the People, and their Struggles to get the Tea back to London, and at last the destruction of it, is amazing. Tis hard to believe Persons so hardened and abandoned.

What Measures will the Ministry take, in Consequence of this? Will they resent it? will they dare to resent it? will they punish Us? How? By quartering Troops upon Us? -- by annulling our Charter? -- by laying on more duties? By restraining our Trade? By Sacrifice of Individuals, or how.

The Question is whether the Destruction of this Tea was necessary? I apprehend it was absolutely and indispensably so. -- They could not send it back, the Governor, Admiral and Collector and Comptroller would not suffer it. It was in their Power to have saved itbut in no other. It could not get by the Castle, the Men of War &c. Then there was no other Alternative but to destroy it or let it be landed. To let it be landed, would be giving up the Principle of Taxation by Parliamentary Authority, against which the Continent have struggled for 10 years, it was loosing all our labour for 10 years and subjecting ourselves and our Posterity forever to Egyptian Taskmasters -- to Burthens, Indignities, to Ignominy, Reproach and Contempt, to Desolation and Oppression, to Poverty and Servitude.

¹⁰ Bohea Tea was the most popular tea from India that the Bostonians drank.

But it will be said it might have been left in the Care of a Committee of the Town, or in Castle William. To this many Objections may be made.

Deacon Palmer and Mr. Is. Smith dined with me, and Mr. Trumble came in. They say, the Tories blame the Consignees, as much as the Whiggs do -- and say that the Governor will loose his Place, by for not taking the Tea into his Protection before, by Means of the Ships of War, I suppose, and the Troops at the Castle. I saw him this Morning pass my Window in a Chariot with the Secretary. And by the Marching and Countermarching of Councillors, I suppose they have been framing a Proclamation, offering a Reward to discover the Persons, their Aiders, Abettors, Counsellors and Consorters, who were concerned in the Riot last Night.

Spent the Evening with Cushing, Pemberton and Swift at Wheelwrights. Cushing gave us an Account of Bollans Letters -- of the Quantity of Tea the East India Company had on Hand -- 40,00000 weight, that is Seven Years Consumption -- two Millions Weight in America.

1773. DECR. 18. SATURDAY.

J. Quincy met me this Morning and after him Kent, and told me that the Governor said Yesterday in Council, that the People had been guilty of High Treason, and that he would bring the Attorney General on Monday to convince them that it was so -- and that Hancock said, he was for having a Body Meeting to take off that Brother in Law of his.

John Adams diary 19, 16 December 1772 - 18 December 1773 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/

Document #4

Letter from John Adams to James Warren, 17 December 1773

Boston Decr 17 1773

Dear Sir

The Dye is cast: The People have passed the River and cutt away the Bridge: last Night Three Cargoes of Tea, were emptied into the Harbour. This is the grandest, Event, which has ever yet happened Since, the Controversy, with Britain, opened!

The Sublimity of it, charms me!

For my own Part, I cannot express my own Sentiments of it, better than in the Words of Coll Doane to me, last Evening –Balch Should repeat them – The worst that can happen, I think, Says he in Consequence of it, will be that the Province must pay for it. Now, I think the Province, may pay for it, if it is burn'd as easily as if it is drank –and I think it is a matter of indifference whether it is drank or drowned. The Province must pay for it, in Either Case. But there is this Difference. I believe, it will take them 10 Years to get the Province to pay for it. If so, we shall Save 10 Years Interest of the Money. Whereas if it is drank it must be paid for immediately. Thus He-However, He agreed with me that the Province, would never pay for it. And also in this that the final Ruin, of our Constitution of Government, and of all American Liberties, would be the certain Consequence of Suffering it to be landed.

Governor Hutchinson and his Family and Friends will never have done, with their good services to Great Britain and the Colonies! But for him, this Tea might have been Saved to the East India Company. Whereas this Loss if the rest of the Colonies Should follow our Example will in the opinion of many Persons bankrupt the Company. However, I dare Say, that the Governors, and Consignees, and Custom House Officers, in the other Colonies will have more Wisdom than ours have had, and take effectual Care that their Tea shall be sent back to England untouched. If not it will as surely be destroyed there as it has been here.

Threats, Phantoms, Bugbears, by the million, will be invented and propagated among the People upon this occasion. Individuals will be threatened with Suits and Prosecutions. Armies and Navies will be talked of – military Execution—Charters annull'd—Treason—Tryals in England and all that – But-these Terrors, are all but Imaginations. Yet if they should become Realities they had better be Suffered, than the great Principle, of Parliamentary Taxation given up.

The Town of Boston, was never more Still and calm of a Saturday night than it was last Night. All Things were conducted with great order, Decency and *perfect Submission to Government*. No Doubt, we all thought the Administration in better Hands, than it had been.

Please to make Mrs. Adams's most respectfull Compliments to Mrs. Warren and mine.

I am your Friend,

John Adams

John Adams to James Warren, 17 December 1773, *Papers of John Adams*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 1.

CONSIDER – In Documents #5 and 6, the story of the fate of the consignees unfolds. As you read think about whether the Council (comprised mostly of Patriots), should grant authority to protect the consignees. What were the dangers to the consignees?

Document #5

"The Petition of Richard Clarke & Sons of Benjamin Faneuil, and Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson," 13 December 1773

To His Excellency the GOVERNOR, And the Honorable his Majesty's Council, *The Petition* of Richard Clarke & Sons, of *Benjamin Faneuil*, and *Thomas* and *Elisha Hutchison*.

That the Honorable East India Company in London have shipt a considerable quantity of Tea for the Port of Boston, and as your Petitioners are made to understand will be consigned to their address for sale.

That some of your Petitioners have in consequence of this been cruely insulted in their persons and property – That they have had insulting and incendiary Letters left and thrown into their Houses in the night, That they have been repeatedly attack'd by a large body of Men, That one of the Houses of your Petitioners was assaulted in the night by a tumultuous and riotous Assembly of people & violent attempts made to force the House for the space of two hours that have greatly damaged the same.

That they are threatned in their persons and property, and further with the destruction of the said Tea on its arrival into Port. And that the Resolves and proceedings of the Town at their meetings on the 5th and 18th inst. are intended to be expressive of the general sense of the Town, to which we beg leave to refer your Excellency and the Honorable Board.

Your Petitioners therefore beg leave to resign themselves and their property committed to their care to your Excellency and Honors as the Guardians and protectors of the people, humbly praying that measures may be directed to for the landing and securing the Teas until your Petitioners can be at liberty openly and safely to dispose of the same or until they can receive directions from their Constituents.

Richard Clarke & Sons, Benjamin Faneuil jun. Tho. And Elisha Hutchinson.

"The Petition of Richard Clarke & Sons of Benjamin Faneuil, and Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson," *Boston Gazette*, 13 December 1773.

Document #6

The Governor's Council notes, Nov. 19, 1773

CONSIDER – The Council and Governor Hutchinson did not agree on how to deal with the impending Tea Crisis.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston Upon Friday the 19th Day of November, 1773

PRESENT

His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.; Governor Isaac Royall James Bowdoin James Pitts John Erving, Esq. James Russell, Esq. Samuel Dexter

William Brattle James Otis

His Excellency represented to the Council the tumults and disorders prevailing in the Town of Boston and required their advice upon measures proper for preserving the peace and for supporting the authority of Government – whilst the Council were debating on the subject a Petition from Richard Clarke, Benjamin Faneuil and Messrs. Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson to the Governor and Council was presented setting forth, that the honorable East India Company in London have shipp'd a considerable quantity of Tea for the Port of Boston which they are made to understand will be consigned to their address for sale, and that some of them have in consequence of this been cruelly insulted in their persons and property; they therefore beg leave to resign themselves and the property committed to their care to the Governor and Council as the Guardians and protectors of the people, and pray that measures may be directed to for the landing and securing the Teas untill they can be at liberty openly and safely to dispose of the same, or until they can receive directions from their Constituents – After long debate it was proposed and agreed that his Excellency be desired to appoint a future day for the Council to sit, and he appointed Tuesday the 23d instant, and the Council adjourned the further consideration to that time accordingly [...]

Monday November 29, 1773 Present in Council

His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.; Governor

Samuel Danforth James Bowdoin George Leonard
Isaac Royall, Esq. James Russell, Esq. Artemas Ward, Esq.
John Erving James Pitts John Winthrop

Same Dexter

His Excellency directed that the Council proceed upon the business for which it stands adjourned – After debate upon the report of the Committee, the Question, whether it be accepted, was put, and it passed unanimously in the affirmative, as the advice of Council to his Excellency, in the words following, viz.

"Previous to the consideration of the Petition before the Board they would make a few observations occasioned by the subject of it. The situation of things between Great Britain and the Colonies has been for some years past very unhappy. Parliament on the one hand has been taxing the Colonies, and they, on the other, have been petitioning and remonstrating against it, apprehending they have constitutionally an exclusive right of taxing themselves, and that without such a right their condition would be but little better than slavery.

Possessed of these sentiments, every new measure of Parliament tending to establish and confirm a Tax on them renews and increases their distress; and it is particularly increased by the Act lately made impowering the East-India Company to ship their Tea to America. This Act in a commercial view they think introductive of monopolies and tending to bring on them the extensive evils thence arising: but their great objection to it, is from its being manifestly intended (tho' that intention is not expressed therein) more effectually to secure the payment of the duty on Tea laid by an Act passed in the 7th year of his present Majesty intitled "An Act for granting certain duties in the British Colonies and plantations in America"; which Act in its operation deprives the Colonists of the right above-mentioned (the exclusive right of taxing themselves) which they hold to be so essential an one, that it cannot be taken away or given up without their being degraded or degrating themselves below the character of Men. It not only deprives them of that right, but enacts that the monies arising from the duties granted by it may be applied "as his Majesty or his successors shall think proper or necessary for defraying the charges of the administration of Justice and the support of the Civil Government within all or any of the said Colonies or Plantations."

This clause of the Act has already operated in some of the Colonies and in this Colony in particular, with regard to the support of Civil Government, and thereby has operated in diminution of its Charter Rights to the great grief of the good people of it, who have been and still are greatly alarmed by repeated reports that it is to have a further operation with respect to the defreying the charge of the administration of Justice, which would not only be further diminution of those Rights, but tend in all constitutional Questions, and in many other cases of importance to bias the Judges against the Subject – They humbly rely on the justice and goodness of his Majesty for the restitution and preservation of those rights.

This short state of facts the Board thought necessary to be given to shew the cause of the present great uneasiness which is not confined to this neighbourhood but is general and extensive. The people think their exclusive right of taxing themselves by their Representatives infringed and violated by the act above-mentioned. That the new Act impowering the East India Company to import their Tea into America confirms that violation, and is a new effort not only more effectually to secure the payment of the Tea duty, but lay a foundation for the enhancing it, and in a like way, if this should succeed, to lay other Taxes on America; that it is in its attendents and consequences ruinous to the liberties and properties of themselves and their posterity; that as their numerous Petitions for relief have been rejected, the said new Act demonstrates an indisposition in Ministry that Parliament should grant them relief; that this is the source of their distress – a distress that borders on despair, and that they know not where to apply for relief.

These being the sentiments of the people, it is become the indispensable duty of this Board to mention them, that the occasion of the late demands on Mr. Clarke and others, the Agents for the East India Company, and of the consequent disturbances might

appear. And we mention them not to justify those disturbances, the authors of which we have advised should be prosecuted but to give a just idea of the rise of them.

On this occasion justice impels us to declare that the people of this Town and Province, tho' they have a high sense of Liberty derived from the manners, the example and constitution of the Mother Country, have till the late parliamentary taxations of the Colonies been as free from disturbances as any people whatever.

This representation the Board thought necessary to be made prior to their taking notice of the Petition of the Agents abovementioned, to the consideration of which they now proceed.

"The Petitioners beg leave to resign themselves and the property committed to their care to his Excellency and the Board as Guardians and Protectors of the People, praying that measures may be directed to for the landing and securing the Tea," &c.

With regard to the personal protection of the Petitioners, the Board have not been informed that they have applied for it to any of the Justices of the peace, within whose department it is to take cognizance of the case of the Petitioners and all other breaches of the peace, they being vested by Law with all the authority necessary for the protection of his Majesty's Subjects – In the principal instance of abuse, of which they complain, the Board have already advised that the authors of it should be prosecuted according to Law; and they do advise the same in the other instances mentioned in their Petition.

With regard to the Tea committed to the care of the Petitioners, the Board have no authority to take either that or any other merchandize out of their care, and should they do it or give any order or advice concerning it, and a loss ensue, they apprehend they should make themselves responsible for it.---- With respect to the prayer of the Petition "that measures may be directed to for the landing and securing the Tea," the Board would observe on it, that the duty on the Tea becomes payable and must be paid or secured to be paid on its being landed. And should they direct or advise to any measure for landing it, they would of course advise to a measure for procuring the payment of the duty and therefore be advising to a measure inconsistent with the declared sentiment of both Houses, in the last Winter Session of the General Court; which they apprehend to be altogether inexpedient and improper.

The Board, however, on this occasion assure your Excellency that as they have seen with regret some late disturbances and have advised to the prosecuting the authors of them, so they will in all legal methods endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to prevent them in future.

Whereupon advised that his Excellency renew his Orders to his Majesty's Justices of the peace, Sheriffs and other peace officers to exert themselves to the utmost for the security of his Majesty's subjects the preservation of peace and good order and for preventing all offences against the Laws.

"At a Council held in the Council Chamber. . . ," Boston Gazette, 13 December 1773.

CONSIDER –Thomas Hutchinson served as acting governor from 1769 (after Francis Bernard left) to 1774 when General Gage replaced him with military rule. During his tumultuous time in Boston, Hutchinson incurred the wrath of the Patriots in his dealing with the tea incident. Read Documents #7-9 and try to imagine the position he faced. What were the Governor's interests? Did he have a conflict of interest? How so? How accurate do you think this portrayal is? How does it compare with the earlier accounts? Who does the governor blame for the events, and why?

Document #7 Letter from Thomas Hutchinson to Lord Dartmouth, 15 November 1773

Boston 15 November 1773

My Lord

Your Lordship's letter No. 11 of the 17th August came to my hands the last Evening. His Majestys most gracious condescension in the grant of his royal Order of leave for my absence from the Province increases my Obligations to fidelity in his service. When I shall be informed by your Lordship of his Majesty's determination in consequence of the Address and other proceedings of the Assembly which had not come to your knowledge at the date of your letter and shall see the effect it may have in the Province, I shall be better able to judge than I am at present how far his Majesty's service, by which I shall govern myself, will require me to avail myself of the liberty given me to go to England. At present the spirits of the people in the Town of Boston are in a great ferment. Everything that has been in my power without the Council I have done and continue to do for the preservation of the peace and good Order of the Town. If I had the Aid which I think the Council might give my endeavours would be more effectual. They profess to disapprove of the tumultuous violent proceedings of the people but they wish to see the professed end of the people in such proceedings attained in a regular way and instead of joining with me in proper measures to discourage an opposition to the landing of the Teas expected one and another of the Gentlemen of greatest influence intimate that the best thing that can be done to quiet the people wou'd be the refusal of the Gentlemen to whom the Teas are consigned to execute the trust and they declare they wou'd do if it was their care and wou'd advise all their connections to do it nor will they ever countenance a measure which shall tend to carry into execution an Act of Parliament which lays Taxes upon the Colonies for the purpose of a revenue. The same principle prevails with by far the greater part of the Merchants, who though in general they declare against/mobs and violence, yet they as generally wish the Teas may not be imported. The Persons to whom the Teas are intended declare that whilst they can be protected from violence to their persons, they will not give way to the unreasonable demands which have been made of them. I wish the Vessels bound to New York may arrive before those designed to this Province. Governor Tryon I know to be well disposed to do his duty and the people there are less disposed to any violent proceedings, as I have reason to think than they are here and an example of peace and good order there may have its influence here.

I am with great respect My Lord &c.

Thomas Hutchinson to Lord Dartmouth, 15 November 1773, Thomas Hutchinson Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #8 Letter from Thomas Hutchinson to the East India Company, 19 December 1773

To the Directors of the East India Company, Boston 19 December 1773 Gentlemen:

As the interest of so respectable a Corporation as that of the East India Company is affected by illegal and violent proceedings in my Government it may be expected from me that I should give information concerning them especially as the Consignees are under confinement and not so well able to do it as otherwise they would be.

As double the quantity of Teas proposed to be shiped by the Company had been imported in a year and the duty paid without any disturbance I flatterd my self for sevral months after I first heard of the intention to ship on account of that Company that I should find no more difficulty then when Teas have been shiped by private merchants.

Mr. William Palmer who has been the principal exporter of Teas to New England and who has sometimes shipd to my sons more than 200 Chests in a year and has taken pains to encourage the sale of it here and who the present year had purchased a large quantity to have been shipd as usual wrote to my sons that the East India Company would ship on their own account that a large quantity I think 200 Chests or upwards which remained in his hands not shipped must be sold in London at loss that as some compensation for the loss and disappointment he hopd to obtain a part of what the Company might ship to their consignment and private letters from London had also mentiond the names of the persons to whom it was probable the Teas would be consignd.

When they had received no other information a letter was delivered at midnight at the house of one of my sons requiring him to appear at the Tree of Liberty at a time named and to resign or refuse to accept his trust with menaces if he did not. The like letters were left about the same time at the houses of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Faneull. The next morning printed papers were posted up in the sevral parts of the Town notifying the Inhabitants to attend to hear the resignations and 4 or 500 (sic) did attend and among them the Selectmen Town Clerk town Treasurer and other Officers. After the time was past when the Consignees were required to appear a Comittee was appointed among whom were some persons of considerable property to repair to the Consignees and to require a Resignation. This Committee was followed by a large body of people and many of them not of the lowest rank who came to the Warehouse of Mr. Clarke where the Consignees were with several Gentlemen of character their friends who were in the Counting house above stairs with the door secured the doors below being left open. The Committee came up the people remained below and spoke to the Gentlemen a small window being open but upon their refusal to treat with them the Committee made their report to the people in the street.

What [] it was doing Mr. Clarke orderd the lower doors of his warehouse to be [closed] but before they could be secured they were burst open and taken off the hinges and the people pressed upstairs attempted to force the door of the Counting house. One of the Gentlemen being a Justice of peace had comanded the peace in the Kings name but was hooted at and received a slight blow. The transaction being at noon day in a publick street some of the Leaders thought proper to go off the mob thereupon began to disperse and a number of Gentlemen who were upon Change went thro what remaind and together with the Gentlemen

in the Counting house took the Consignees into their protection and brought my eldest son to me in the Council Chamber. A few days after a Town meeting was called when after a number of Resolves Committees were appointed consisting of some of the Selectmen Representatives and other desiring the Gentlemen to resign. They acquainted the Committee in substance that they did not know enough of their appointments to give my answer.

On friday the 12th of November information was given to the Lieutenant Governor of an intention to surprise the Consignees in their houses in the evening and to compel them to resign. He gave notice immediately and they all left their houses. My sons came to me in the Country with their families which have remained with me ever since. Wednesday the 17. Mr. Clarke the son arrived from London. His father imagining the information given the Lieutenant Governor not to be well founded had returned to his house and had several other children round him to rejoice with him upon the arrival of his eldest son after long absence. In the evening a large number of people first beset the house of my eldest son but being convinced that he had not returned to it they left it and went to the house of Mr. Clarke at a distant part of the Town and in passing increased their numbers. He had just notice eno to secure his doors and for the female part of the family to remove to the upper part of the house and the rest to the Chambers before the Mob attempted to open the door of the house but finding it secured endeavoured with great violence to force it. After warnings repeatedly given by the Gentlemen from the Chamber windows that if they did not desist they would be fired upon one of the Gentlemen fired aiming at a man who was then forcing the door but missed him. This caused them to withdraw but they soon returnd broke the windows to pieces, did other damage to the house out house, etc. and it has not been habitable since. After they had besieged the house about two hours many of them by that time being known they thought fit to disperse. The next day a meeting of the Town was again held and other Committees appointd to demand definitive answers which they then gave that they could not comply with the desire of the Town and their answers were voted daringly affrontive. Soon after, the Gentlemen finding it would be impossible for them to sell or even to land the Teas against the general voice of the people applied to the Governor and Council for protection in order to the safe landing and keeping the Teas until they should be able to sell them or until they could hear from their principals. The Council unanimously declined giving any advice to my protecting the Teas in landing and among other reasons gave this that their protecting the Teas would be countenancing an unconstitutional Tax seeing they could not be landed until the duties were paid. I urged the Council with great earnestness to a contrary advice without any effect. By the Constitution the Governor is not authorized to do any act of Government without his Council. As soon as I found what would be the advice of Council I advised my sons to quit the Town to be out of the way of any further improper applications and they followed my advice. Mr. Clarke and Mr. Fanueil remained. Not knowing it would be a joint concern they made offers to the Select men to land the Teas and to engage not to sell them until they could have further advice from the East India Company but they would hear of nothing short of their sending the Teas back to England which was requiring what was out of their powers. Upon the arrival of the Dartmouth a meeting of Town and Country was immediately called by printed notification. The extravagant proceedings there will appear from the enclosed paper in part. As soon as the Gentlemen heard of the first resolution they thought their persons no longer safe and privately withdrew to the Castle. I was then holding a Council in the Town and urging them without any success to some

declaration against the illegal meeting. As soon as I knew of their withdraw I gave orders for their protection and for such accommodation as the place would afford.

Upon the Owner and master of the Dartmouth their refusal or neglect to comply with the promise made to carry back the Teas another meeting was called when the Owner was required first to demand a Clearance at the Custom house which was refused and then a permit to pass the Castle first if the Naval Officer which was refused also. He was there upon required to apply to me for such a permit also which I refused and took that opportunity to let him know I had heard he had been advised to trawl his ship from the wharffe into the stream and offered him a letter to the Admiral recommending his vessel to his protection. He answerd that he had been advised to it that day but he found no people willing to assist him and besides he should have made himself liable to the resentment and rage of the people. He intimated to me that some of the leaders of the people wished the Ship to go down and to be stopped at the Castle for then they would be rid of the affair and might say they had done all in their power. I had before been informed that it was intended to force the Ship out of the harbour and not by the usual Channel. Of this I gave notice to Admiral Montagu who disposed of his Ships so as to guard all the other Channels except that by the Castle and I gave notice to Colonel Leslie who comands at the Castle who would have stopd her if she had attempted to pass there.

Mr. Rotch the Owner of the Dartmouth left my house in the Country 7 or 8 miles from the Town about or after sunset so that he was brought into the evening before he returned to the people who were waiting for him in a vast body and who as soon as he had acquainted them with my refusal gave a loud huzza and many of them cried out a mob a mob and broke up and in great numbers ran to the wharffe where three of the Vessels having on board 340 Chests of Tea lay and in about two hours the whole of it was hoisted out and thrown into the dock the chestes being first opened.

It appears to have been a concerted plan for a sufficient number of men to do the work were prepared and disguised before the people came down from the meeting and guards were placed to prevent any spies and the whole conducted with very little tumult nor was there any suspicion of an intention in the conductors of the affair that the Tea should be destroyed.

The other Vessel was cast ashoar at Cape Cod and I believe no accounts which can be depended on have been yet received concerning the Teas but, if landed, I fear they have undergone the fate of those at Boston. I have made two attempts to meet my Council the first and second day after this outrage but several of them being sick I could not make a Quorum. I have omitted nothing in my power to still the rage of the people, but found every attempt only increased it. I am sure the Consignees have suffered already much more than all their Commissions would have amounted to if they had gone on with the business and I see no prospect of an end to their distress.

I have the honour to be Gentlemen

Thomas Hutchinson to the East India Company, 19 December 1773, Thomas Hutchinson Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Document #9

"Destruction of the Tea in the Harbor of Boston, December 16, 1773"

CONSIDER: The following is a collection of letters from several of the Boston Patriots on the "destruction of the tea." Consider how the story of the tea compares with Hutchinson's views.

The three following letters have been transcribed from the originals. Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee were Agents for the Massachusetts House of Representatives in London, at the time the Letters were written.

The account of Dr. Williamson's Examination before the King's Council, has likewise been copied from a paper in his own handwriting. He was a passenger on the first ship which arrived in England from Boston, after the destruction of the tea. JARED SPARKS.

June 12, 1856.

Dr. Cooper to Dr. Franklin

Boston, December 17, 1773.

Dear Sir,

I missed the opportunity of sending you the above, and am now to give you an account of what has since happened among us.

Upon information that the tea, with the American duty upon it, was certainly shipped, and might soon be expected, we heard of an opposition forming in New York and Philadelphia, and measures concerted there to induce the resignation of the consignees. Our patriots determined to second their brethren in the other Colonies, and appointed a meeting of the people, at Liberty Tree, at noon-day, to receive the resignation of the consignees for this Province. But they chose not to appear, upon this intimation, at that place. A committee was then chosen to wait on them at the store, where all the consignees were met, to know if they would resign this commission. A great part of the body, without a vote for it, accompanied the committee. The answer was rough and peremptory, "No resignation."

Soon after, the Governor called a council, and the consignees petitioned that the tea, upon its arrival, might be under their protection. The council declined having anything to do with it. A town meeting was legally called, and a respectable committee chosen, who repeatedly attempted to obtain the almost universally desired resignation, but without effect. The consignees insisted upon landing the tea, though they conceded to store it, till they could hear from their constituents. We soon were informed, that the consignees at New York and Philadelphia behaved in a soothing manner to the people, and, upon being assured that the tea was still dutied there, declared, without reserve, that they would not have the least share in executing a commission so disagreeable to their fellow-citizens.

About this time a number of people assembled in the evening, before Mr. Clark's house, from which a musket or pistol was fired upon them, without any damages, and they, in return, broke his windows and retired. Soon after, the consignees, who consulted with the Governor, &c., in every step, returned to the castle, in imitation of the commissioners, and, with similar views and hopes, no doubt, where they have remained ever since, except Mr. Joshua Winslow, who lately arrived from Nova Scotia, and lives at Marshfield.

Upon the arrival of the tea, an assembly of the people was called—it proved as large as any ever known here—of which Mr. Hancock was moderator. Great numbers from the neighboring towns united in it, and, indeed, the people in the country have all along been equally zealous with their brethren in Boston, in this common cause; and there is now established a correspondence and union between them, never known before. The moderator and people were strongly desirous of preserving the tea untouched, for the East-India Company. They labored this point with undissembled ardor, and great patience. They considered, however, that landing the tea would insure the duty, that it might be smuggled from the castle, and that the price of tea, higher among us than to the southward, would be almost an invincible temptation to this. They insisted, therefore, that it should go back in the same bottoms. They urged this upon the consignees with great earnestness, from an apprehension that the tea, in the present temper of the Province, would not be safe; but in vain; they could not be persuaded to further concessions than before. The master and owner were then called, who, seeing the irresistible torrent, engaged that the tea should return as it came. Two other vessels, freighted with it, arrived, and the same engagement was made for them.

There we thought the matter would have ended. But the Governor, consignees, revenue officers, &c., raised obstacles to this measure, and seemed to choose that the tea should be destroyed, and the exasperation of both countries heightened. Another assembly of the people was called, of which a country gentleman was moderator. The owner of the ship first arrived, appeared before them, and pleaded that if they held him to his engagement to carry the tea back, he should be ruined for want of clearances, &c. He was desired by the people to apply to the custom-house for a clearance, which he did, and was refused. He was then desired to wait on the Governor at Milton, for a pass at the castle, which was also refused.

The people waited for his return till dark, last evening. As soon as the Governor's refusal was known, the assembly was dissolved. Just before the dissolution, two or three hundred persons, in dress and appearance like Indians, passed by the Old South meetinghouse, where the assembly was held, gave a war-whoop, and hastened to the wharf, where all the tea ships lay, and demanding the tea, which was given up to them without the least resistance, they soon emptied all the chests into the harbor, to the amount of about three hundred and forty. This was done without injury to any other property or to any man's person. An interloper, indeed, who had found means to fill his pockets with tea, upon being discovered, was stripped of his booty and his clothes together, and sent home naked. A remarkable instance of order and justice among savages. When they had

done their business, they silently departed, and the town has been remarkably quiet ever since.

This was done last evening, and had it been deferred a few hours longer, the tea, it was supposed, would have been taken under the protection of the admiral, at the castle. The Governor, collector, and consignees, most certainly had it in their power to have saved this destruction, and returned it undiminished to the owners in England; as the people were extremely desirous of this, did every thing in their power to accomplish it, and waited so long for this purpose, as to run no small risk of being frustrated in their grand design of preventing it being landed.

The fourth, and only remaining vessel, with tea, Captain Loring, is ashore near Cape Cod, the cargo likely to be saved; but what will become of the tea, brought in that bottom, time will discover. We have no account that any has yet arrived at New-York or Philadelphia. It is not doubted, however, that, from the latter place, it will be all sent back, and should it be landed in the former, that it will remain unvented in the fort. To the warm and violent opposition made here, the people have been partly, at least, excited by their brethren in those places, and by the merchants in London; but the principle upon which they acted, was a thorough detestation of the insidious design of Administration, to establish and increase the American revenue upon this article, after fair and repeated professions of an intention to relieve us. In what matter it will resent the treatment we have given to this exasperating measure is uncertain; but thus much is certain, that the country is united with the town, and the Colonies with one another, in the common cause, more firmly than ever. Should a greater military power be sent among us, it can never alter the fixed sentiments of the people, though it would increase the public confusion, and tend to plunge both countries into the most unhappy circumstances.

The tories, or tools of Hutchinson, seem struck with a panic; some of them own now the impossibility of supporting the measures of Administration, and a necessity of its being changed. The longer the Governor is continued, the more plainly this necessity will appear. In this view, there are some wise friends to this country, who do not regret his continuance in the chair. The last hope of him and his friends is, to govern wholly by a military power.

I am & c. SAMUEL COOPER

To Arthur Lee

Boston, December 21st, 1773

Sir,

It has been the expectation of many of the Colonists, that the last session of Parliament would have put a final end to those grievances under which they had so long been oppressed, and against which they had so long in vain remonstrated. They expected

that the Revenue Acts would have been repealed, and that they should no more have had reason to complain of the unconstitutional exertions of Parliamentary power. They were naturally led to form these expectations from the conduct of Administration, who lately encouraged them with assurances, that if all things remained quiet in America, these unhappy dissensions would soon terminate in a lasting union. But how, Sir, were they surprised to find they had been deceived; to find that the Parliament, at the very time they expected relief, pursued new measures for effectually securing and enhancing these oppressive revenues; and with this majority, an Act, passed the last session, empowered the East India Company to ship their teas to America.

From this Act, they readily saw that they had nothing to hope from the favor of Administration, but that they rather discovered an indisposition that the Parliament should grant them any relief; they considered the Acts as introductive of monopolies which, besides the train of evils that attend them in a commercial view, are forever dangerous to public liberty, more especially under the direction and influence of government; they also looked upon it pregnant with new grievances, paving the way to further impositions, and in its consequences threatening the final destruction of liberties.

Thrown by this idea into a state of desperation, the united voice of the people, not only in this Province but in New York and Pennsylvania, and as far as we can learn, in all the Colonies, was, that they would never suffer tea to be landed, but would prefer any species of hazard and danger, to a tame submission to measures which, if pursued, must reduce them to a state of abject slavery. Administration could not have invented a method so effectual for raising the spirit of the Colonies, or promoting among them an entire union of sentiment. At the same time, people on your side the water have for several months been repeatedly informing our merchants of this maneuver, and advising them, as they regarded their sacred rights, to withstand the landing of the teas by the most vigorous opposition.

While the minds of the people were impressed with these sentiments, the vessels arrived with the teas, consigned to Messrs. Richard Clarke & Sons, Thomas & Elisha Hutchinson, Benjamin Faneuil, and Joshua Winslow, Esqrs. Previous to this, the Town of Boston had several meetings, in order to induce the consignees to resign their trust, but to no purpose. And immediately upon the arrival of the vessels aforesaid, that every measure possible might be taken to prevent confusion and disorder, while the minds of all were in great agitation, the people in this and many of the neighboring Towns, assembled in the Old South meeting-house, (Faneuil Hall not being capacious enough to contain the people that attended,) to prevail with the consignees to send back the teas, and if possible to preserve it from that destruction, which the resentments of the people might justly lead them to expect. You will see by the enclosed papers the measures they took, and the resolves they passed, and will wonder, perhaps, that these resolves and measures were in vain. They not only treated with the consignees, but with the owners and masters of these vessels; but all without success.

Despairing to effectuate any method of accommodation, after having tried all that could be devised to no purpose, they dissolved the meeting, which, agreeable to their

constant and declared design, had protected the teas from destruction. Nigh twenty days were now passed since the arrival of one of the tea vessels, commanded by Capt.Hall, at which time, according to Act of Parliament, it was in the power of the custom house officers to take the teas into their own possession, in order to secure the duties. There were just grounds to think, that they intended to do it the minute the twenty days were expired, and that they would attempt to land them by force, and overbear any opposition that might occur by a second effusion of blood. Under these apprehensions, the teas, on the evening of the 16th instant, were destroyed by a number of persons unknown and in disguise.

Such was the obstinacy of the consignees, their advisers and coadjutors, such their aversion to all conciliatory measures, that they are almost universally condemned, and some even of our party among us, acknowledge that the destruction of the teas must be imputed to these obstinate enemies of our liberties, who never would consent to any method proposed for its preservation, and who perhaps wished to irritate and inflame the minds of an injured, oppressed people, to measures of violence, of which afterwards they hoped to make their own advantages.

The House of Representatives, at their last session, appointed us a Committee to write to their Agent. In pursuance of this appointment, we have given you this information of the present state of our affairs, and doubt not you will make such an improvement of this intelligence, as shall be most for the interest of this Province in particular, and of the Colonies in general.

We are, with respect, Your most humble servants,

THOMAS CUSHING SAMUEL ADAMS JOHN HANCICK WILLIAM PHILLIPS

John Scollay to Arthur Lee

Boston, December 23d, 1773

Sir,

At the instance of my worthy friend, Mr. Samuel Adams, I have presumed to take upon me to communicate to you what I know concerning the doings of the Town, and of the people, at their late meetings, respecting the teas exported by the India Company, in Captains Bruce, Hall, and Coffin. This I am the more capable of doing, as I have the honor of being one of the selectmen of this Town. I am therefore personally acquainted with some facts relating to this matter, more especially what passed between the selectmen and Mr. Jonathan Clarke, one of the consignees, at the interview they had with him and his brother, a few days before the people met on this occasion. From the first

report of the India Company's obtaining an Act of Parliament to export teas to the Colonies, it threw the inhabitants of this and the other towns into great agitation; they judging that it was altogether a plan of Administration to increase and secure the revenue, which for some years past has caused such distress and unhappiness in North America.

When it was known that Messrs. Hutchinsons, Clarke, and Faneuil, were to be the Agents for the India Company, it was thought advisable to call the Town together, to know the minds of the inhabitants on this matter. They met the 4th ult., debated on the subject, and adjourned to the 6th. At both these meetings they manifested, by their votes, their detestation of the measure; not as an act of the India Company, but as a scheme of Administration. They raised a reputable committee to wait on the consignees, who, as the Town judged, treated their application with contempt. This being the case, the meeting was dissolved. On the 18th, the Town was again called together to deliberate on this matter: a very great number of the inhabitants and of the most respectable characters appeared: the Town was solicitous to gain the consent of the consignees to the reshipping the tea to London: they were the more urgent, as they knew this measure would prevent the destruction of the Company's property, which they judged would be the case if it was not sent back.

They again raised a committee to wait on the consignees, they treated this application much in the same manner as they did the other. The answer they sent the Town was looked on by them as trifling. They voted it unsatisfactory, and the meeting was dissolved, and no further application was made to them by the Town. People's minds were daily more and more agitated. A number of persons, friendly to the consignees, fearful of disagreeable consequences, endeavored to persuade them to come to a composition with the Town. Of this number I was one. We set before them the evils that must ensue, if they were obstinate: but if a composition took place, the property of the Company would be preserved, the Town would be restored to its usual tranquillity, and they themselves would recover their former good standing with their fellow-citizens. Though we labored night and day in the affair, all our efforts could not produce an agreement between them and the Town. The town's people thought they had been illtreated by them at the late town meetings, therefore they were now on their part determined that the teas should not be landed; so the consignees were on their part obstinate, and would be noways active in sending it back. Had the consignees, on the Town's first application to them, offered to have stored the tea, subject to the inspection of a committee of gentlemen, till they could write their principals; and that until that time no duty should be paid, which no doubt the commissioners of the customs would have consented to, under these circumstances: Had they made such an offer to the Town, at either of their two meetings, I am persuaded the Town would have closed with them, and every thing would have been preserved from destruction. Te above doings took place before the arrival of the tea, and before the arrival of Mr. Jonathan Clarke, one of consignees, from London.

On Saturday the 27th ult., a few days after his arrival, he called on me to know if it would be agreeable to the selectmen for him to wait on them. I told him it would; that if he would name his time, the Board should be summoned. According to his desire, the

Board met at 4 o'clock, P.M. He with his brother attended. He informed the selectmen that he esteemed himself very unhappy in incurring the displeasure of his fellow-citizens, by his being appointed an agent for the India Company for the sale of the tea that was expected. He said the appointment was not of his seeking, that he was wholly passive in the affair, (this by some is said to be not true,) therefore it was unreasonable that he and the others should suffer. We told him, that let our private opinion be what it would, by what we could collect, the people would be satisfied with nothing less than the sending the tea back. He said that was impossible for him to do; that it was contrary to the acts of trade; the tea, with the vessel, would be liable to confiscation; that in this way they should be a means of procuring the loss of the Company's interest, and perhaps bring on ruin to themselves. We told him that, perhaps some method might be devised that would remove the difficulty; that as it could not be landed without the utmost hazard, if he should reship it, and protest against the obstructors of his regular proceedings, and return the tea to London with such a protest, he might save the Company's property, and perhaps obtain their thanks for his care of their interest; whereas were the consignees to take no step for the preservation of it, they would, and very justly, incur their resentment for not preserving the tea when in their power to do it. We had a long conversation with this gentleman and his brother, on the subject. On the whole, before he left us, he said, that nothing should be done as to the tea, in any clandestine manner; that the vessel should come up to town with it; that so soon as Capt. Hall, who was hourly expected, should arrive, and he knew the contents of his letters, he would immediately hand in proposals to the selectmen for them to communicate to the town.

The next day Capt. Hall arrived. The selectmen met at the Hall, (although Sabbath day,) at twelve o'clock, in expectation of an application from Mr. Clarke: we sent our messenger to his house, could hear nothing of him. We adjourned till five o'clock in the evening, when we again met, hoping to have an application, that we might have time to call the Town together in the way prescribed by law, before any other meeting might take place. We continued sitting till nine o'clock; sent again to the houses of consignees, but could get no intelligence where they were. One of the selectmen, finding the storm arising, sent privately to Mr. Clarke's brother-in-law, desired him, if he had any regard for him or his connections, that he would find him, and get him and the others forthwith to apply to the selectmen, (agreeable to his promise,) that a regular town meeting might be called. He returned for answer that it was impossible for him to see them that evening; but that early in the morning he would get them to send a billet to the selectmen with their proposals.

Very early the next morning hand bills were dispersed, by unknown persons, inviting the people to meet at Faneuil Hall, on occasion of Capt. Hall's arrival with the tea. This being the case, it was in vain to attempt to call the Town together in a legal way, which would have been done, had Mr. Clarke have complied with his promise to the selectmen, which was, that immediately on the arrival of Capt. Hall, he would hand in to them his proposals as a foundation for a town meeting. This might have prevented the event that has since taken place. The people of this and the neighboring Towns, met in conformity to the dispersed hand bills, on Monday, the 29^{th} . A very great number met, so great that the town hall could not contain them. They were obliged to adjourn to a large

meeting-house, where, it is supposed, that five or six thousand of respectable inhabitants met; men of the best character and of the first fortunes.

The doings of this and the other meetings are made public, that it will be needless for me to recite them. I will only say that it is the observation of persons unprejudiced, and of character, who attended these meetings, which consisted of all sorts, whig and tory, that the utmost decorum was observed; that through the whole of their debates, although they were determined the tea should not be landed subject to a duty, yet it was apparent that their only view in sending it back, was not only to render the scheme of Administration abortive, but to preserve the tea from destruction. This ran through the whole of their reasoning on the subject. To accomplish this, every step that could be taken, (consistent with their intentions of its going back,) was taken, to preserve it. Sometime after the people were assembled, I received a letter directed to me, signed by all the consignees, the purport of which was that they could not comply with the expectations of the Town in sending the tea back, but that they would store it, till they could know the mind of the India Company concerning it.

The people ordered the letter to be read, but they were so irritated at the conduct of these gentlemen, that they acted no further on the letter than hearing it read. At the meeting the people required Mr. Rotch, the owner of Capt. Hall's ship, at his peril, to return the tea on board to London. He consented to it, but said he considered himself as under duress, and therefore, to save himself from blame, he should protest against the people. So far they were contented; hoping they should obtain the end they were in pursuit of, and at the same time preserve the Company's property; and that the tea would be on its return to London, before twenty days should expire; that being the time the officers of the customs could let it lay on board, under a report.

Some days after this meeting, it was evident that Mr. Rotch, by his conduct, had no intention of returning the tea in his ship to London. This being the apprehension of the people, it created a great uneasiness, not only in this but in the other Towns; however, they waited till the 14th instant, but three days before the expiration of the time when the officers of the customs would take possession of it for the duties, and perhaps call in the naval and military force to their aid, which, since the destruction of the tea, has been found to have been their intention; the Captains of the several ships of war being ordered on board and preparations were, it is said, actually made for some expedition, (there being then, and are now in the harbor, on sixty-gun ship of war, two frigates, besides several smaller vessels of force,) it was much feared that country would have destroyed the teas, even under these circumstances, which would have produced dreadful effects on all sides. At this meeting there was a much greater appearance than at any time. People attended it from Towns at the distance of twenty miles.

At this they ordered Mr. Rotch, at his peril, to carry back the tea to London. He told the people, that as the custom house officers would not clear out his ship, so long as the tea was on board, so neither would the Governor give him a pass by the castle; therefore it was in vain for him to attempt it. They ordered him immediately to wait on the collector, and demand a clearance for his ship. The collector refused to do it. They

then ordered him to wait on the Governor, to know if he would give his ship a pass by the castle; he refused also, by saying, that as the ship was not regularly cleared at the custom house, he could not do it. The people then required of Mr. Rotch his answer whether he would proceed with his ship, or order Capt. Hall, the master, to proceed to London with the ship, in the situation she was in. He gave for answer that he would not.

On this the meeting was dissolved; but before the dissolution of the meeting, a great number in disguise, who, it was said, came from the country, passed by when the people were assembled, and went on board the several vessels that had the tea on board, and in a very short time, without noise or tumult, destroyed all the tea, by throwing it into the sea. The people, from their first taking up this matter until the destruction of the tea, showed no disposition to have it destroyed, if it possibly could be prevented, consistent with their intentions of preventing its being landed and paying the duty. They took every method that a people engaged in such a cause could take. They waited till the last moment, hoping that a compliance with their requisition would take place that so not only the end they had in view might be answered, but that the India Company's property might be preserved. Let who will be the persons who were instruments of the destruction of so large a property, almost every one look on the consignees as the faulty cause. Upon the whole, I do lament the loss of the Honorable Company; I also lament the original cause of that loss, which I think is most unrighteous, and which has proved a source of unhappiness to the Americans.

Very soon, I fear, the Americans will be drove, if some kind interposition does not take place, to that desperation, which neither the severest threats, nor the mildest treatment of the British Parliament, will control. I have, in the above, given, so far as I am able, an honest detail of the facts relating to a matter very interesting, and which may perhaps draw on us the resentment of Administration; yet we do console ourselves that we have acted constitutionally, and that a good Providence will so order this matter, as that it may insure in great good to these Colonies. I should not have taken upon me to write on this subject, but that the relation I stand in to the Town; and in hopes that a plain, circumstantial narration of facts, might be of service, to a gentleman of your influence and disposition. I have therefore ventured on your candor, and have spoke the sentiments of a heart much agitated for the welfare of this and our mother country; and if my mite will serve the good old cause, I give it cheerfully. As I am no adept in letter writing, and for some other reasons, I choose to have my name concealed. In any other way, you may make what use of this letter you please.

I am, with great regard for you, sir, and for all the friends of our happy Constitution,

Your most humble servant, John Scollay

Dr. Williamson's Examination Before the King's Council in London

Before his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, February 19th, 1774 – Dr. Williamson, of Philadelphia, being examined concerning the public transactions at Boston, in November and December last, respecting the tea that was sent there by the East India Company, and destroyed in the harbor, said:

That on the 17th or 18th of November, 1773, he arrived in Boston from Rhode Island, with the purpose of proceeding in the first vessel for London. Being told that the inhabitants were assembled in town meeting, he went to the public hall, for the purpose of gratifying his curiosity, by observing whether it was a rude collection of the lower class of people, or an orderly assembly of respectable citizens. He had been told, that the expected tea was the occasion of the meeting, and that there had already been one or two meetings on the same subject. In a few minutes after he entered the hall, some gentlemen, who were said to be selectmen, came in with a letter from the tea consignees. The letter was read by the clerk, and imported that the consignees could not then resign. It was voted *not satisfactory*. Mr. Hancock was moderator of the meeting. Two or three persons spoke a few minutes concerning the tea, or the contents of the letter, but he was too far off to hear them distinctly. The meeting was then dissolved. He apprehends no vote but the above was passed at this meeting, but believes the selectmen agreed to afford the tea consignees an interview, whenever the tea ship might arrive, though he does not recollect how he received this intelligence. This, they said, was intended to give the consignees an opportunity of resigning, so as to escape the public odium.

On the 29th of November, there was a meeting of the people – not a regular town meeting. He apprehends this meeting had its origin in a report that the selectmen had not prevailed, or were not likely to prevail, on the consignees, to resign. The people began to meet in the public hall, but soon adjourned to a large church, or meeting-house, at some distance. He was present while some of the votes were passed on that day. Mr. Jonathan Williams acted as moderator. He remembers, in particular, it was voted, *That the tea should be sent back, at all events, to the place from whence it came,* or words to this amount; also, *That it should pay no duty*; and *That it should return in the bottom in which it came.* It was also voted, *That the tea should not be entered*; and Mr. Rotch and Capt. Hall were enjoined, under severe penalties, not to enter it. The speakers were very numerous on the subject of the above votes, but he cannot possibly recollect who they all were, for he only learned the names of most of them while they were speaking. The discourse of some tended in a very different direction from that of others; for while some advised to moderation, and by all means to the abstaining from violence, a few talked in a style that was violent and inflammatory.

But the men who appeared to be the leaders, and to have the confidence and esteem of the people, were unanimous in determining, at the least they seemed to determine, that the tea should go back to London, and that they would prevent any measures by which it might be in danger. From observing the countenance, and attending to the discourse of this body of people, he was then fully persuaded, that the tea would not be destroyed; that it would be sent back, that no attempt would be made with any

prospect of success to detain it. A watch of twenty-five men was appointed to take care of the ship by night, lest the tea should be taken out of her, or rather (for this was given as the reason,) lest some enemy of the town should burn the ship, in order to lay the blame to the inhabitants. He does not remember who proposed the watch, nor who was the captain of it, but believes it was proposed that they should not be armed. He thinks there was also a meeting of the people of the 30th, at which he was informed, they entered into sundry resolutions. He was also informed, for he was not present to see it, that the sheriff on that day, by order of the governor, charged the people to disperse. He believes a watch was kept over the tea ships every night from the arrival, until that night on which the tea was destroyed.

There was another meeting of the body of the people of Boston, and the neighboring Towns, on Tuesday or Wednesday, the 14th or 15th of December, as he was informed. He heard the bells ringing, and saw people going to the meeting. By the report he then received, from sundry people who attended, he believes that the account of the proceedings, which was published in the newspaper of Edes & Gill, was just. He believes there was also an adjourned meeting of the body on the 16th or 17th of December. In the evening of that day, above an hour after dark, he was informed that a number of people were employed in destroying the tea. He immediately went that he might obtain full satisfaction as to this fact, and from a small eminence about fifty yards from the nearest ship, he could observe that there were people on board, who, he apprehends, were disguised. He could hear them cut open the tea chests, when they had brought them upon the deck. The rioters made very little noise. On the next day the ships were said to be quite clear.

Addenda

That Mr. Hancock was moderator of the said town meeting at Faneuil Hall, on the 17th or 18th of November, and as such, put the question. That the letter which was read at the meeting, said to have been written by the tea consignees, and which was voted *not satisfactory*, was the same, according to the best of his memory, with a letter which he now saw published in a paper, called the "Massachusetts, &c. No. --." Also that Jonathan Williams, as moderator of the said meeting, on the 29th of November, put the several questions, which were voted while he was present.

Hugh Williamson

"Destruction of the Tea in the Harbor of Boston, December 16, 1773," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series IV. Vol. 4 (Boston, 1858), 373-389.

DEBATE GUIDELINES/RUBRIC

DEBA	ATE TOPIC	
NAMI	ES OF STUDENTS	
1.	Students use time in class and allotted homework time to prepare notes for debate.	/5pts.
2.	Speakers look directly at the audience and use note cards for reference only.	/5pts.
3.	Speakers make at least three direct references to the documents.	/5pts.
4.	Speakers bring at least 3 specific ideas learned about the time period.	/5pts.
5.	The whole group participates	/5pts.
6.	Debate has an introduction, supporting points and a Conclusion.	/5pts.
	TOTAL POINTS: = %	

COMMENTS:

Document Analysis Worksheet

Answer the following questions for each document. Then, discuss questions with your group and discuss the "consider" elements of each document. Be ready to share with the class.

are	are with the class.		
1.	Who wrote the document? What do you know about this person?		
2.	Provide a quick summary of each document for reference.		
3.	Describe the tone of each document. What $word(s)$ help convey that tone?		
4.	Do any of the documents seem to contradict one another? If so, how?		

Other Possible Activities:

- 1. Have students make a **sample advertisement** that convinces Bostonians not to drink tea. Keep the advertisement to a minimum of maybe 15 words to force students to think in symbols. They should also think about the audience they are trying to reach. Who are the major tea drinkers in the society?
- 2. Students could do some additional research and learn about the role coffee played in the New World. Is there a direct correlation between coffee drinking and tea non-importing? Students could either make a comparison chart of the two beverages or relate a story to the class about the rising popularity of coffee.
- 3. Hand out random titles for journal entries. Students will pretend they are an 18th century American colonist writing in their diaries. They can construct an identity and purpose of their character as they try to imagine what story goes along with the title. Example of titles:
 - i. Confessions of a tea drinker
 - ii. Within the walls of the Castle (fort in Boston)
 - iii. From London to Boston and back again: one captain's journey.
 - iv. The story of the Tea Party as told to me from a rat on board the *Dartmouth*.
 - v. I did it for the money.
 - vi. The boy who saw it all.
- 4. Political cartoons
 - i. Show the Patriots' point of view of the East India Company by using symbols and pictures. You can only use two words.
 - ii. Show the Parliament's view of the East India Company.

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