that while the same inexpediency subsists, you will never attempt to make such another.

Q. What do you mean by its inexpediency?

A. I mean its inexpediency in several accounts; the poverty and inability of those who were to pay the tax; the general discontent it has occasioned; and the impracticability of enforcing it.

Q. If the act should be repealed, and the legislature should shew its resentment to the opposers of the stamp-act, would the Colonies acquiesce in the authority of the legislature?

A. What is your opinion they would do?

A. I don't at all doubt it, that if the legislature repeal the stamp-act, the Colonies will acquiesce in the authority.

But if the legislature should think it fit to ascertain its right by laying a small tax, contrary to their opinion, would they submit to the tax?

A. The proceedings of the people in America have been considered too much together. The proceedings of the assemblies have been very different from those of the mobs, and should be distinguished, as having no connection with each other. The assemblies have only peaceably resolved what they take to be their right; they have taken no measures for opposition by force; they have not built a fort, raised a man, or provided a grain of ammunition, in order to such opposition. The insulators of riots they think ought to be punished; they would punish themselves, if they could. Every sober sensible man would wish to see rioters punished; as otherwise peaceable people have no security of each other. The assemblies have only peaceably resolved that their opinion, would they submit to pay the tax?

Q. What do you mean by its inexpediency, to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds, and this they did freely and comparatively for the purposes of the act; no requisition had been made; or had only equalled their proportion, there would have been no room or reason for compensation. Indeed the sums reimbursed them, were by no means adequate to the expense they incurred beyond their proportion; but they never murmured at that; they esteemed their Sovereign's approbation of their zeal and fidelity, and the approbation of this house, far beyond any other kind of compensation; for which he pays it, is remote, and, it may be, does not enter into the same time, in all probability, that he might have paid as much, if the article he buys had not been taxed. He gets something visible and agreeable for his money; and tax and price are so confounded together, that he cannot separate, or does not choose to take the trouble of separating them. This mode of taxation therefore is the mode suited to arbitrary and oppressive governments. The love of liberty is so natural to the human heart, that unjust and tyrannical interests think themselves obliged to accommodate their schemes so much as they can to the appearance of justice and reason, and to deceive those who they resolve to destroy, or oppress, by presenting to them a miserable picture of freedom, when the inestimable original is lost.

I shall now apply these observations to the late act of parliament. Certain duties are thereby imposed on paper and glass; that what we use, the seller raises his price, so as to indemnify himself for the tax he has paid. He knows that the prices of things are continually fluctuating, and if he thinks about the tax, he thinks at the same time, in all probability, that he might have paid as much, if the article he buys had not been taxed. He gets something visible and agreeable for his money; and tax and price are so confounded together, that he cannot separate, or does not choose to take the trouble of separating them.

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These duties, which will inevitably be levied upon us— which are now levying upon us—are expressly laid for the sole purposes of raising money. This is the true definition of "taxes." They are therefore taxes. This money is to be taken from us. We are therefore taxed. Those who are taxed without any own consent, given by themselves or their representatives, are slaves. We are taxed without our own consent, expressed by ourselves or our representatives. We are therefore—I speak it with grief—I speak it with indignation—We are SLAVES.

A FARMER.

Questions

1. Would Dickinson have agreed with those who stated that British politicians were sincerely concerned about the needs and concerns of the colonists? Why or why not?
2. According to Dickinson, why did colonists have to refuse to pay the small Townshend duties?
3. Would Dickinson have agreed with those who stated that British politicians were sincerely concerned about the needs and concerns of the colonists? Why or why not?

The following agreement has lately been come into by upwards of 300 Mistresses of Families in this Town; in which Number the Ladies of the highest Rank and Influence, that could be waited upon in so short a Time, are included.

Boston, January 31, 1770.

["We the Daughters of those Patriots who have, and now do appear for the public Interest, and in that principally for us their Posterity; we, as such, do with Pleasure engage with them, in denying ourselves the drinking of foreign Tea, in hopes to frustrate a Plan that tends to deprive the whole Community of their All that is valuable in Life.

Questions

1. Do the women who made these agreements appear to have been leaders of the boycott movement, or do they appear to have been responding to the actions of others?
2. To what extent, if any, did the signers of the agreements spell out the basic rights they believed they were supporting?
3. Does it appear that the specifics of the agreements, including any provisions for their enforcement, helped make the tea boycott effective? Why or why not?

5-8 Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion (1780s)

Peter Oliver

Peter Oliver, who was born in Boston in 1713 and educated at Harvard, detested protests against the reform of British imperial policy. A wealthy member of the legal profession, Oliver was a part of the British system: beginning in 1756, he served as a judge of the superior court of Massachusetts. In addition, the first great Stamp Act crowd action (August 14, 1765, in Boston) was directed against the property of Andrew Oliver, his brother. Once the Revolution broke out, Oliver went to Britain, fully expecting to return to Massachusetts once the "rebellion" had been put down. However, Oliver never returned; he died in Britain in 1791. He expressed his thoughts about the causes of the Revolution in his "Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion." This work, written in the early 1780s, was not published until the twentieth century.


I am now come to the Year 1767, a Year fraught with Occurrences, as extraordinary as 1765, but of a different Texture. Notwithstanding the Warnings that the Colonies had repeatedly given, of their determined Resolution to throw off the Supremacy of the British Parliament, yet the then Ministry chose to make another Trial of Skill; never advert- ing to the ill Success of former Attempts. They might have known, that the Content had reached so great an Height; that the Colonists would never descend one Step until they had first ascended the last Round of the Ladder; and that it would not have enhanced the Price of it to the PURCHASER; for there were so many Sellers who aimed at a Market for their Commodities, and the Merchants had so great a Profit upon their Goods, that they could render the Duty of little or no Importance in their Sales; and this was actually the Case. For the Glass, during the Continuance of the Act, was sold at the same Price which it commanded before the Commencement of the Act. The true Reason of Opposition