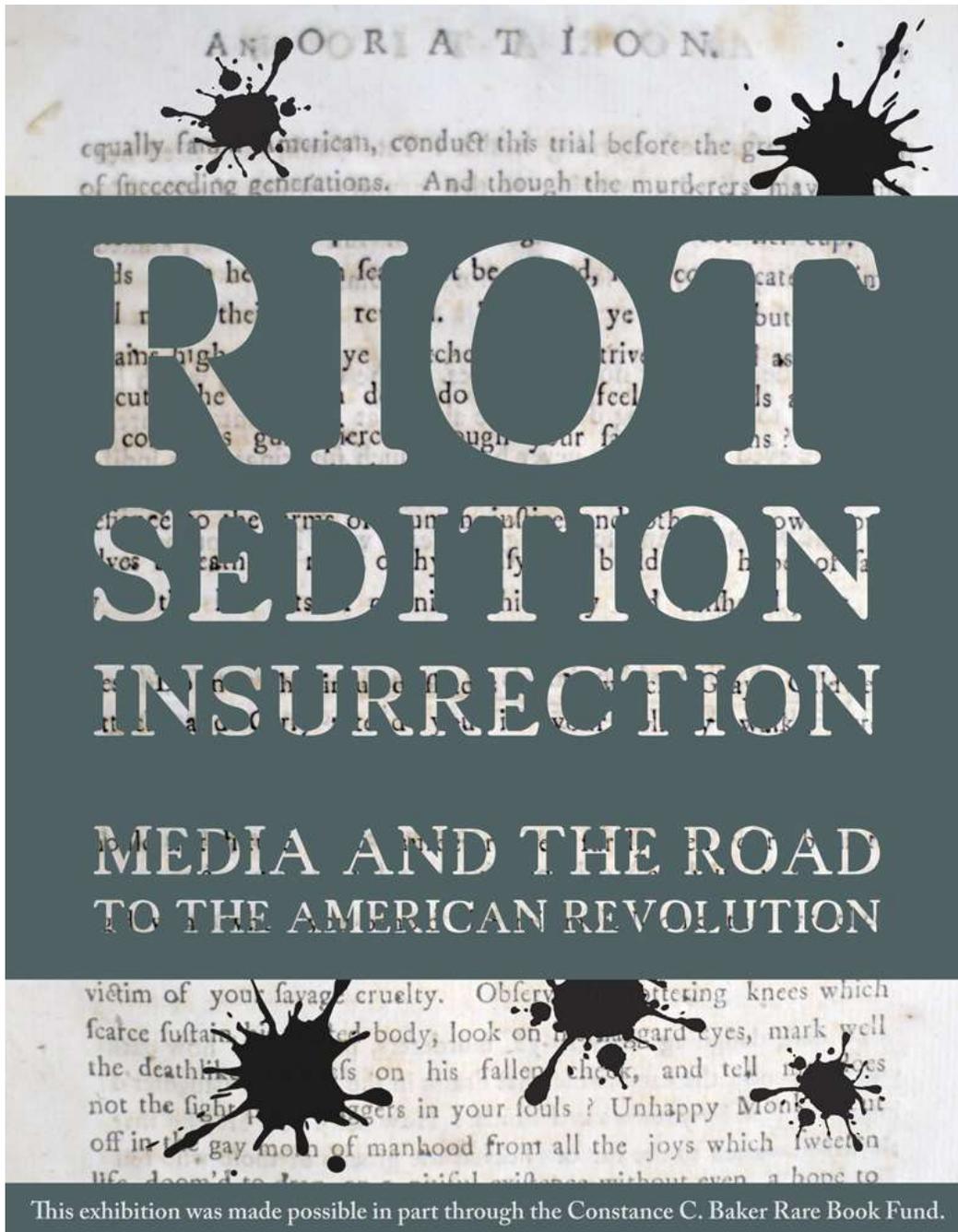


GALLERY GUIDE



On view February 20 – May 3, 2020

Perkin Gallery | Display Cases

1. A fair account of the late unhappy disturbance at Boston in New England : extracted from the depositions that have been made concerning it by persons of all parties : with an appendix, containing some affidavits and other evidences relating to this affair, not mentioned in the narrative of it that has been published at Boston.

London : Printed for B. White, 1770.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

At the same time that revolutionaries in Boston were rushing to document their perspective on the Boston Massacre, Loyalists were doing the exact same thing. Lt. Col. William Dalrymple of the British army ordered his men to collect their own depositions. The accounts collected in this pamphlet were meant to exonerate the actions of the British soldiers. Acting swiftly, Dalrymple was able to leave Boston Harbor with the text his men composed on March 15, ahead of the rebels. In England, Dalrymple prepared a pamphlet edition with the English lawyer Frances Meneras. It included 31 testimonies and presented a very different version of the incident.

In his introduction, Meneras encouraged readers to let go of their outrage over the event, and consider it calmly and reasonably. Like the publications put out by American Revolutionaries, the authors of Dalrymple's pamphlet acknowledged the high tensions in Boston prior to the event, and lamented the subsequent loss of life. After this common point, however, the narratives greatly diverge. This pamphlet depicts the British soldiers as victims of mob violence and refutes the claim that Captain Preston yelled "Fire!" Neither Dalrymple's account nor the accounts of Bostonians gives an unbiased, unvarnished account. With such contrasting reports and statements, we may never know the exact truth of what transpired up to and during the Boston Massacre on March 5, 1770.

2. A short narrative of the horrid massacre in Boston: perpetrated in the evening of the fifth day of March, 1770 : by soldiers of the XXIXth regiment : which with the XIVth regiment were then quartered there : with some observations on the state of things prior to that catastrophe.

Printed by order of the town of Boston, and sold by Edes and Gill in Queenstreet : and T. & J. Fleet ; in Cornhill, 1770.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

The selectmen of Boston ordered the creation of this pamphlet within days of the Boston Massacre. Its aim was to present the Patriots' perspective of the event and garner support for their position. This pamphlet gives not only a narrative of the events of that day and immediately before it, but also includes an appendix with 96 dispositions from Bostonians. The text was approved at a Boston town meeting on March 19, and was quickly sent off for circulation in Britain. Its contents painted the British soldiers as cruel, vengeful, and out for colonists' blood. Framing the event in these terms was meant to inspire an outraged, emotional response and to align British peoples' sympathies with Boston and not Dalrymple.

In an effort to appear neutral, Boston's leaders did not circulate the pamphlet in Boston. Because they knew the trial was imminent, they did not want to be seen as trying to influence the outcome. However, the attorney Robert Treat Paine ended up using it in his prosecution of Captain Preston and the other soldiers.

3. The trial of William Wemms, James Hartegan, William M'Cauley, Hugh White, Matthew Killroy, William Warren, John Carrol, and Hugh Montgomery, soldiers in His Majesty's 29th Regiment of Foot, for the murder of Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Patrick Carr, on Monday evening, the 5th of March, 1770, at the Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and general Goal Delivery, held at Boston. The 27th day of November, 1770, by adjournment. Before the Hon. Benjamin Lynde, John Cushing, Peter Oliver and Edmund Trowbridge, esquires, justices of said court. Pub. by permission of the court. Taken in shorthand by John Hodgson. By William Wemms
Boston : Printed by J. Fleeming, and sold at his printing-office, nearly opposite of the White-horse tavern in Newbury-street, 1770.
Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

This pamphlet recounts the trial of the British soldiers who fired into the crowd assembled outside the Boston Custom House, killing the five victims of the Boston Massacre. Framing this event as a grisly 'massacre' was a core part of propaganda efforts by printers and engravers like Samuel Adams and Paul Revere, but John Adams took a different approach. As the defense attorney for Captain Preston and the eight other British soldiers, Adams hoped to demonstrate the Enlightenment political principles of figures like John Locke that underpinned the revolutionary ethos. Adams felt that giving the soldiers the fairest possible trial under the law would win support for his cause.

To demonstrate the soldiers' innocence, Adams drew attention to the days leading up to the incident. He argued that the soldiers were the victims of mob violence and had acted in self-defense. Not only had the people of Boston verbally harassed the soldiers, but they had thrown stones and other objects. Witnesses attested that it was not, in fact, Captain Preston, who yelled, "Fire!" but the crowd itself, taunting them. In the end, his defense was successful. The sequestered jury acquitted Captain Preston, based on "reasonable doubt." This was the

first time that an American judge used this term, one we know well today. In the second trial, six of the eight soldiers under Preston's command were also acquitted, though two were found guilty of manslaughter. Luckily, their sentences were commuted to a branding of the thumb. Somewhat understandably, Adam's law practice suffered after this event.

4. Letter to John Hancock, 1736/7-1793

By John Adams (1735-1826)

York, PA, 19 Oct. 1777

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

John Adams and John Hancock, two familiar figures of the American Revolution, were longtime friends and collaborators. Their friendship, and Hancock's turn to the revolutionary cause, began in 1768, when Hancock's ship was seized in the Boston Harbor on suspicion of smuggling wine. John Adams, responding to popular outrage within Boston on Hancock's behalf, agreed to defend him in the smuggling case. Adams won the case by arguing that the Crown taxed the wine without consent in the first place. When Adams later defended the soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre, Hancock helped to collect observations about Boston's climate in the days prior to the incident.

This letter between the two friends refers to a debate at the Continental Congress three days prior, where Adams had come into conflict with James Duane, a delegate from New York, over a proposal to establish a permanent Board of War. Adams and Hancock were allies in Congress and champions of the more radical pro-independence movement, often standing at odds with Duane who, along with John Dickinson, had initially opposed splitting from Britain. October 1777 was a difficult time for the fledgling American government, and Adams and Hancock harbored fears that, if the Continental army did not win a major victory soon, their move for independence would fail. Fortunately, they would receive triumphal news of the Battle of Saratoga only days after this letter was written.

5. Orations delivered at the request of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, to commemorate the evening of the fifth of March, 1770, when a number of citizens were killed by a party of British troops quartered among them in a time of peace.

Boston: W.T. Clap, 1807.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

Every year between 1771 and 1783, the city of Boston commemorated the Boston Massacre with a public event featuring an oration by a prominent revolutionary activist. This collection of commemorative speeches was first published in 1785, and celebrates the effect that their words had on increasing support for separation from the British crown. The collection sold well and the revolutionary speeches continued to be popular into the nineteenth century, leading to the production of a second edition printed in 1807, [on view here](#).

We might think of these public speeches as companion pieces to Paul Revere's famous engraving of the event. What Revere accomplished with his not-completely-accurate image, which was reproduced widely and distributed throughout the colonies, these printed speeches attempted to do with anti-governmental rhetoric. Potential allies of the Revolution outside of Boston, who had not seen the incident take place nor heard the speeches when they were given, learned about them through calculated, propagandistic printing campaigns.

6. An oration delivered April 2d, 1771 : at the request of the inhabitants of the town of Boston : to commemorate the bloody tragedy of the fifth of March, 1770

By James Lovell (1737-1814)

Boston : Printed by Edes and Gill, 1771.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

James Lovell, a Massachusetts delegate to the Continental Congress, gave his commemorative speech about the Massacre in 1771. With the event fresh in the minds of Bostonians, Lovell took a mournful tone and expressed a hope to avoid open warfare. He went on to discuss the history of democracies falling to tyrants, and warned listeners that Great Britain seemed to be going down that path. Though he condemned the quartering of troops during peacetime, an imposition from the British government that he blamed for causing the massacre, there is clear lack of advocacy for an open, armed fight against the British army. Lovell's somber, almost pacifist stance contrasts dramatically with the speeches given in following years, which laud the war and its heroes, urging the fight to go on.

7. An oration delivered at Watertown, March 5, 1776 : to commemorate the bloody massacre at Boston : perpetrated March 5, 1770

Peter Thatcher (1752-1802)

Watertown [Mass.] : Printed and Sold by B. Edes, 1776.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

8. An oration, delivered March 5th, 1779, : at the request of the inhabitants of the town of Boston; to commemorate the bloody tragedy of the fifth of March, 1770

William Tudor (1750-1819)

Boston : Printed by Edes & Gill, in Court-street, M.DCC.LXXIX. [1779]

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

9. An oration delivered March 5th, 1781, at the request of the inhabitants of the town of Boston : to commemorate the bloody tragedy of the fifth of March, 1770

Thomas Dawes (1757-1825)

Boston : Printed by Thomas and John Fleet, MDCCLXXXI [1781]

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

The Boston Massacre commemorative speeches following Lovell's pacifistic 1771 oration continued to touch upon the same topics and themes, and were given by prominent figures in the Revolution. Of the three on view here, Peter Thacher helped to draft the Massachusetts Constitution, William Tudor was the former Judge Advocate General of the Continental army, and Thomas Dawes was a prominent Massachusetts politician. In their speeches, all of these men invoked past democracies that had fallen to tyrants, talked passionately about the effects of the Boston Massacre, and portended the downfall of British democracy.

All three of these speeches were given when the Revolutionary war was already underway, and their tone reflects the changed political circumstances of the colonies. Unlike Lovell, when these speakers talked about the Boston Massacre, they began to glorify it as the

catalyst for their great fight for freedom and liberty. They also show consistent use of terms like “Americans”, “my countrymen”, “fellow citizens”, and “our nation,” reflecting the rising new identity of the young nation. They all laud the efforts of the Patriot militias and the war’s heroes, and urge their fellow Americans to continue the fight.

10. The fate of blood-thirsty oppressors, and God's tender care of his distressed people : a sermon, preached at Lexington, April 19, 1776. To commemorate the murder, bloodshed, and commencement of hostilities, between Great Britain and America, in that town, by a brigade of troops of George III, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, on the nineteenth of April, 1775. To which is added a brief narrative of the principal transactions of that day

By Jonas Clark (1730-1805)

Boston : Printed by Powars & Willis, 1776.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

Jonas Clark, the pastor of the Church of Christ in Lexington, was related by marriage to John Hancock who, with John Adams, was a guest in Clark's home on the night of April 18, 1775. Warned by Paul Revere that British troops were advancing, Hancock and Adams made their escape to avoid capture. One year after the attack on Lexington, Clark delivered this sermon reminding his parishioners of the brutality of the British troops:

They approach with the morning' light; and more like *murderer* and *cutthroat*, than the troop of a *christian king*, without provocation, without warning, when no war was proclaimed, they draw the *sword of violence* upon the inhabitants of this town, and with a *cruelty* and *barbarity*, which would have made the most hardened savage blush, they *bled* INNOCENT BLOOD!

11. Divine judgments upon tyrants : and compassion to the oppressed : a sermon, preached at Lexington, April 20th, 1778 : in commemoration of the murderous war and rapine, inhumanly perpetrated, by two brigades of British troops, in that town and neighborhood, on the nineteenth of April, 1775
By Jacob Cushing (1730-1809)
Boston : Printed by Powars & Willis, 1778.
Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

A number of the popular propaganda pamphlets that supporters of American independence used to advance their cause began as speeches. Given in clear, accessible prose designed to elicit an emotional response, public talks translated into print well. Many of these printed “orations” were not just public speeches, but sermons by popular American clergymen. Sermons on political topics had the added advantage of being able to connect the revolutionary cause to religious and moral imperatives. Here, Reverend Jacob Cushing references Deuteronomy 32 to talk about the ongoing Revolutionary War, vengeance, and the righteousness of the colonists’ cause.

Cushing was a minister in the Congregationalist church of Waltham, Massachusetts, near Lexington. His sermon drew on the memory of the so-called battle three years earlier. In the same way that this relatively minor skirmish became the symbolic beginning of the Revolutionary War, Cushing’s sermon used the battle of Lexington to valorize the soldiers who had fallen in battle since then and create impassioned support for the war effort.

Though 15 of Cushing’s sermons appeared in print and though he was friendly with a number of revolutionary figures like John Hancock and James Bowdoin, this was his only printed political sermon.

12. An impartial and authentic narrative of the battle fought on the 17th of June, 1775, between His Britannic Majesty's troops and the American provincial army, on Bunker's Hill, near Charles Town, in New-England

By John Clarke of Grantham

London : Printed for the author: and sold by J. Millan, Whitehall; J. Bew, in Pater-Noster Row; and--Sewel, in Corn-hill, 1775.--Price 1 s.
Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

British 1st Lt. John Clarke advanced on the colonists at the Battle of Bunker Hill and wrote his account shortly after. Although his Majesty's troops easily defeated the Provincial American army, 1st Lt. Clarke notes the unusually high number of British officers killed or wounded in the brief battle, foreshadowing the unexpected strength of the American militia:

“...a man, whom the Americanf called a Markfman, or Rifleman, waf feen ftanding up on fomething near three feet higher than the reft of the troopf. . . thif man had no fooner difcharged one mufket, than another waf handed to him, and continued firing in that manner for ten or twelve minutef; and in that fmall fpace of time, by their handing to him frefh loaded mufketf, it if fupposed that he could not kill or wound leff than twenty officerf; for it waf at them particularly that he directed hif aim. . . .”

Americans killed or wounded at Bunker Hill: 450

British killed or wounded at Bunker Hill: 1054

13. A diary of Peter Edes : the oldest printer in the United States, written during his confinement in Boston, by the British, one hundred and seven days, in the year 1775, immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill

Peter Edes (1756-1840)

Bangor: Samuel S. Smith, printer, 1837.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

As a young man, Peter Edes was familiar with the revolutionary political climate in Boston. His father, Benjamin Edes, was a journalist and printer responsible for producing the radical newspaper the Boston Gazette, as well as other revolutionary propaganda. In fact, you may have noticed that many of the editions on view in this exhibition were printed by “Edes” or “Edes & Gill,” referring to Benjamin’s collaborator John Gill.

As a central member of Boston’s radical revolutionary instigators, Benjamin Edes was a primary planner and funder of the Boston Tea Party. Benjamin evaded the British by slipping out of Boston, but two days after the Battle of Bunker Hill, 18-year-old Peter was imprisoned for harboring a weapon. He remained in prison for three and a half months and was one of only eleven of the thirty-nine prisoners to survive. His diary recounts the grisly conditions he experienced in prison, which he described as a “suburb of hell.”

After his imprisonment, Edes continued in the family business establishing his own printing shops in Newport, Maine, and Boston. In addition to printing some of the later editions on view in this exhibition, in 1792 he also printed Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Later in life he suffered financial difficulties and his friends encouraged him to print his prison diary as a way to raise money. He died three years after its publication.

14. The examination of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, relative to the repeal of the American Stamp Act in MDCCLXVI. London, J. Almon] 1767. Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

On February 13, the final day of hearings before a vote to repeal the Stamp Act, Parliament called Benjamin Franklin to testify and Members of parliament asked him 174 questions, including questions about the potential effectiveness of military force. In response, Franklin effectively predicted the Revolutionary War, saying

“Suppose a military force sent into America; they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take arms who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion; they may indeed make one”

His performance in parliament solidified his reputation both at home and abroad, and contemporary journalists attributed the swift repeal of the Stamp Act to his persuasiveness as a witness.

Franklin’s testimony was widely publicized on both sides of the Atlantic, with editions springing up first in Boston before John Almon printed this London edition. However, Almon’s name does not appear on the title page of this pamphlet. Both this and the Boston pamphlets were published anonymously, suppressing the identifying details of who published it and where in order to escape punishment from and detection by authorities.

It should come as no surprise that Almon was the first to circulate Franklin’s testimony in England. The two men apprenticed together in the printing workshop of John Watts in London. They remained in frequent communication after Franklin left for the American colonies, and even distributed each other’s work.

15. A list of the minority in the House of Commons, who voted against the bill to repeal the American Stamp Act.

A Paris : Chez J.W. imprimeur, rue du Colombier, Fauxbourg St. Germain, à l'hotel de Saxe, 1766.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

16. Second protest, with a list of the voters against the bill to repeal the American Stamp Act, of last session.

Paris [i.e. London?]: Chez J.W. imprimeur, rue du Colombier, Fauxbourg St. Germain, à l'hotel de Saxe, 1766.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

These pamphlets appeared in quick succession, some while Parliament was still sitting, to deliver news about this debate as quickly as possible to a hungry public. Whigs, then the opposition party in British politics, used these texts as a way to stir up a public political response to the Tory majority's decisions. Both the texts of the debates and lists of how individual members voted gave crucial ammunition for coffeehouse debates and other popular forms of political mobilization.

For colonial issues, these debate texts were not only effective for Whig activists in Britain, but also for revolutionary-minded colonists. Benjamin Franklin read the two "Protest" pamphlets with great care, and he sent a copy of each to the Pennsylvania Committee of Correspondence on April 12, 1766. Through the Committee of Correspondence, several American newspapers were able to reprint the texts of the debates, and keep colonists engaged and informed in the ongoing political turmoil.

Though all bear a Paris imprint that claims they are the work of a "J. W. Imprimeur", in reality, John Almon printed all three in his London workshop. This false imprint is a bit cheeky, as "imprimeur" is French for "printer". Using such a clearly fake name was a way of signaling to readers in the know that this was a clandestine pamphlet printed close to home, while avoiding consequences from local authorities.

17. Letter to Landon Carter, d.ca. 1778
Richard Henry Lee (1732-1794)
Sabine Hall, Richmond Co., VA, 18 Feb. 1769
Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

Richard Henry Lee, who would later be president of the Continental Congress and act as Virginia's first senator, was a core figure in fostering a revolutionary climate in the years leading up to the Revolutionary War. As a driving force behind the Intercolonial Committees of Correspondence, Lee was instrumental in creating and protecting information networks in the American colonies. Lee, who coordinated his efforts with John Dickinson in Pennsylvania and Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, worked to set up a postal service that would be entirely separate from the Royal Post, thus giving revolutionaries a secure line of communication. The Intercolonial Committees of Correspondence not only allowed potentially seditious information to travel, but also cemented unity among the disparate colonies. These new networks for news, both handwritten and printed, meant that when the Coercive or 'Intolerable' Acts closed Boston's port in 1774, it was possible to stir up support in cities across the eastern seaboard with a coordinated campaign of circular letters distributed by the Committees.

In this letter, Lee writes to a fellow member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and noted supporter of revolutionary causes, Landon Carter. Lee shares concerns he has about the political leanings of Charles Scott, a former hero of the French and Indian War who would later go on to be an officer in the Continental Army. Carter and Lee were longtime correspondents and collaborators, and this kind of information sharing about potential allies and enemies within Virginia politics was an instrumental part of coordinating their efforts to support colonial liberties.

18. [French newsletter on the American Revolution]

Manuscript produced c. 1777

On loan from John E. Herzog

This is an example of one of the many handwritten newsletters that communicated developments in the American War for Independence across oceans, national borders, and languages. Circulating news through letters was an important and time-honored means of communication before the rise of the printed newspaper in the seventeenth century, and manuscript newsletters continued to thrive alongside printed periodicals. Important information about international wars, diplomacy, and other political events would circulate through chains of letter writers and receivers, and were copied many times in the course of transmitting the news. Readers could subscribe to receive these professionally-produced letters, and often copied and redistributed the information themselves. In fact, diplomatic correspondence and manuscript newsletters were also the primary source for most publishers of printed newspapers, and patrons of coffeehouses could find handwritten as well as printed periodicals available to complement their diet of news and opinion.

This French newsletter reports on events from the capture of General Charles Lee by British forces in December 1776, to the capture and hanging of a spy in Philadelphia working for General Howe in March 1777. It closes with a note that, though the events reported do not concern any major battles or developments, that this newsletter constitutes the finest possible report on the state of affairs in America. The French, as suppliers of the Continental army and supporters of the Revolution, had a vested interest in keeping up with American military developments.

19. Jerusalem Coffee-house exchange rates London, 1727 On loan from John E. Herzog

The Jerusalem Coffee House in Cowper's Hill, Cornhill, was one of the oldest coffeehouses in London and was frequented by merchants and captains connected with the China coast, India, and later Australia. It was destroyed by the second London fire of 1748, but remained the favorite meeting place of ship-owners and brokers. Out of these meetings developed the London Shipping Exchange. While the foundation of the London Stock Exchange in 1773 reduced the financial role of London coffeehouses, the Jerusalem Coffee House continued as a shipping exchange, finally closing in 1892.

This document gives a window into the everyday world of the coffeehouse, where political debates thrived and pamphlet literature circulated. It is a printed list of exchange rates for bonds of the South Sea and East India Companies as they changed over the course of one day, Wednesday, May 3, 1727. The rates of exchange would be filled in by hand for the morning, afternoon and night, and two trade commodities are added by hand on the foot of the leaf with their respective prices. Places like the Jerusalem Coffee House were spaces to transact business as much as they were spaces to catch up on current events and discuss politics, making them an important anchor in the lives of voting citizens, for whom owning property was a prerequisite.

20. No standing army in the British colonies : or an address to the inhabitants of the colony of New-York, against unlawful standing armies.

By “An Antidespot”

New-York : Printed by John Holt, at his printing-office, in Water-street, 1775.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

Like Chauncy’s “Letter to a Friend,” this pamphlet was an anonymous attack on the British government’s actions in the wake of the Boston Tea Party, as well as an impassioned defense of new actions that colonial representatives took in response. It begins by quoting from The Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress, passed in October of 1774. Like the declarations adopted by the Stamp Act Congress, also called the Continental Congress of 1765, this set of resolutions represents the united response of the colonies to the specific injustices visited upon them by recent acts of the British government. Whereas the Stamp Act Congress formed in response to the Stamp Act, the First Continental Congress formed in response to the Intolerable Acts.

The anonymous orator, who takes the provocative pseudonym “An Antidespot,” rails against what would prove to be one of the single most contentious parts of the Intolerable Acts: The Quartering Act. This particular iteration of the act built upon an earlier resolution from 1765, but extended the powers of the governor to enforce the sheltering of British troops on privately owned land. The very phrase “standing army” referred back to an earlier period in British history between the 1650s and 1680s, when Oliver Cromwell overthrew the government and was eventually replaced by William of Orange’s “Glorious Revolution.” By invoking the language that earlier authors had used to describe a military force overthrowing the rule of law, American propagandists connected the threat of increased British military presence with recent histories of violence and control.

The 'Antidespot' also used a similar argument seen in late seventeenth-century writings. The most famous of these, John Trenchard's 1697 *An Argument Shewing that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government*, suggests that a continuous military presence could lead to the literal enslavement of the English people. This particular pamphlet makes the same argument about the British army in colonial America:

“When they are ordered to butcher us, and destroy our habitations, then, they will not listen to us; self-preservation, and even revenge, must impel them to imbrue their hands in our blood; and our destruction, or slavery, attended with the curse of posterity, may be the fatal consequence”

21. The Rambler

By Samuel Johnson

London, Printed for W. Locke, no. 12, Red Lion Street, Holborn; and
C. Lowndes, no 66, Drury Lane, 1791

Pequot Library Special Collections

Presented by Mr. Cyrus Sherwood Bradley

The Rambler, a British essay periodical edited and primarily written by acclaimed English wordsmith Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), is an excellent example of the kind of standard reading available to patrons of eighteenth-century coffeehouses. A total of 208 issues were published in London from 1750-1752, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Essay periodicals were similar to 21st-century blogs—each issue was written by a single person, on whatever topic they liked. Here, the essays are compiled in one of two volumes, published in London in 1791.

The Rambler was not commercially successful upon first publication. Its writing was more serious than that of other essay periodicals, which tended to deal more in gossip and satire. More instructive in nature, The Rambler discussed subjects including morality, literature, society, politics, and religion.

These essays comprise the finest writing of one of the most renowned eighteenth-century English prose stylists, and were re-printed many times. In fact, Samuel Johnson is quoted more often than any other English writer except Shakespeare. Notably, in 1755 Johnson also published the ‘Dictionary of the English Language’ – one of the most famous dictionaries in history.

22. A letter to a friend : giving a concise, but just, representation of the hardships and sufferings the town of Boston is exposed to, and must undergo in consequence of the late act of the British-Parliament : which, by shutting up it's port, has put a fatal bar in the way of that commercial business on which it depended for its support : shewing at the same time, wherein this edict, however unintended, is powerfully adapted to promote the interest of all the American colonies, and even of Boston itself in the end. by T.W., a Bostonian
Charles Chauncy (1705-1787)
Boston, N.E. : Printed and sold at Greenleaf's printing-office, 1774.
Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

Though the stated author of this pamphlet is given as “T.W., a Bostonian,” its true author was the Reverend Charles Chauncy, an influential and well-connected figure allied with the Revolutionary cause. He was born into a prosperous, well-established Boston family, and quickly rose to prominence in Boston’s religious community. As minister of the First Church of Boston, Chauncy became popular for his simple and direct style, which made his sermons easy to circulate in print to a wider reading public.

Here, Chancy turns his skill as an effective communicator to writing a propaganda pamphlet in support of the revolutionary agenda. This pamphlet gives his account of the Boston Port Act, which attempted to punish the citizens of Boston for the Boston Tea Party by closing the port to anything but food and firewood until damages had been repaid to the British East India Company. The Port Act was one of what revolutionaries and their sympathizers would call the Intolerable Acts, which included an act revoking Massachusetts’ charter, relocated trials of Royal officials to Great Britain, and expanded the power of the military to quarter troops in private buildings. In a telling illustration of different attitudes and media climates on either side of the Atlantic, in Britain these were known as the Coercive Acts.

Chauncy wrote this account of the consequences of the port acts on the lives of Bostonians to try and drum up popular sympathy and support for rebellious Bostonians, changing the popular narrative from a story about troublemakers being punished to one about an aggrieved, virtuous people being oppressed by a tyrannical government.

23. An Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great-Britain Over the colonies in America with the Resolves of the Committee for the Province of Pennsylvania, and their Instructions to their Representatives in Assembly

By John Dickinson

Philadelphia, Printed and Sold by William and Thomas Bradford, at the London Coffee-House, MDCCLXXIV [1774]

Pequot Library Special Collections

John Dickinson, who represented Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress and would play a key role in drafting the Articles of Confederation, was a lawyer, statesman, and celebrated essayist. Unlike his more radical contemporaries, Dickinson did not initially advocate for separation from Great Britain or violent protest of any kind. Rather, he believed that appeals should first be made to the King to remind him of his obligation to the American colonies, so that they may live in harmony. For this reason, he abstained from voting on and signing the Declaration of Independence. It was only after appeals to King George failed and military troops were sent to New York that Dickinson acknowledged that the social contract had been dissolved. At that point, he became one of the first to defend the new nation.

This pamphlet comes out of a meeting of delegates from every county in Pennsylvania, who met in Philadelphia in July of 1774. Their aim was to lay out their specific grievances with Britain and present what they believed to be their rights as citizens. Dickinson was one of the delegates selected to prepare the list of grievances in an essay form that could be read and circulated. True to Dickinson's own political philosophy at the time, the goal in publishing this essay was to call for colonial unity to resist the recent actions of the British government while negotiating a compromise that would allow them to live in peace as British citizens. Dickinson carefully tempered his fellow delegates' language in an effort to maintain the possibility of reconciliation. Here, he acknowledges both the sovereign power of Great Britain and the limits of that power: that it should not infringe upon the natural rights and civil liberties of its citizens.

“We acknowledge the prerogatives of the sovereign, among which are included the great power of making peace and war, treaties, leagues, and alliances *binding* us. . .”

The prerogatives are *limited*” *of a learned judge observes - “by bounds so certain and notorious, that it is impossible to exceed them, without the consent of the people on the one hand, or without, on the other, a violation of that *original contract*, which in all states impliedly, and in ours most expressly, subsists between the prince and subject.”

24. Observations on the Reconciliation of Great-Britain, and the Colonies

By Jacob Green

Philadelphia, Printed by Robert Bell, in Third-Street, MDCCLXXVI [1776]

Pequot Library Special Collections

Presented by Virginia Marquand Monroe

Jacob Green, (1722-1796) was a Harvard-educated Presbyterian minister who served in the Provincial Congress and was instrumental in drafting New Jersey's first constitution. Rev. Green was a key advisor to General George Washington and was sought for capture by the British for his participation in the Revolution.

Green was a theologian first and foremost, and before 1776 he held the belief that clergy should not get involved in political debates. However, his commitment to independence drove him to reverse his stance, and enter the political fray with this very pamphlet. To preserve his anonymity and the appearance of abstaining from politics, Green used the pseudonym “A Friend of American Liberty.”

The pamphlet is a series of counter-arguments to loyalist rhetoric in favor of mending the rift with Britain, like Thomas Chandler’s Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans on view in the Perkin Gallery. From this excerpt, we see Green’s celebrated rhetorical talents, as well as the way he applied his own ethical stances to his political writing:

“If we are independent, this land of liberty will be glorious on many accounts:

Population will abundantly increase, agriculture will be promoted, trade will flourish, religion unrestrained by human law,* will have free course to run and prevail, and America be an asylum for all noble spirits and sons of liberty from all parts of the world”

* I wish that I could add, that the guilt of slavery would be banished from us, and I cannot help but hope that in time it may. What a dreadful absurdity! What a shocking

confideration, that a people who are fo strenuoufly contending for liberty, fould at the fame time encourage and promote flavery!”

Interestingly, this work was issued by the same Philadelphia printer that originally published both Common Sense and Plain Truth, Robert Bell, demonstrating how printers would often invest in a text not so much because they believed in its contents, but because printing it would turn a profit. Note the advertisement for Plain Truth shown here.

25. Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America, on the following interesting Subjects. I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution. II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession. III. Thoughts on the present State of American Affairs. IV. Of the present Ability of America; with some miscellaneous Reflections
By Thomas Paine

Norwich, Conn., Re-printed and Sold by Judah P. Spooner, and by T. Green, in New-London, [1776]

Pequot Library Special Collections

Presented by Virginia Marquand Monroe

Like many inhabitants of the British colonies in North America, Thomas Paine was originally born in England, but sought his professional fortunes across the Atlantic. He first came to Philadelphia in 1774 at the invitation of Benjamin Franklin, who helped him find work as editor of *The Pennsylvania Magazine*. Franklin encouraged Paine to write *Common Sense*, the work that has made him one of the single most famous political writers in history.

Paine, who originally published anonymously, used *Common Sense* to give an open challenge to the authority of the British government and the monarchy over the colonies. True to his radical ideas around democratic participation and representation, he wrote in plain language in order to appeal to ordinary people. It struck an immediate chord with contemporary readers, garnering widespread praise from advocates of independence, as well as formal responses from loyalists. Gen. George Washington even reportedly read it to his troops on the battlefield to boost morale and strengthen their resolve.

This 1776 edition of Thomas Paine's incendiary pamphlet *Common Sense* is one of the many that spread like wildfire throughout the American colonies after its initial publication in Philadelphia. Although this copy is not the first edition ever printed, it acts as an excellent example of how editions of the pamphlet actually reached a wide audience. Here, a pair of Connecticut printers banded together to

finance their own edition of *Common Sense*, which they were able to re-print so quickly because the text is relatively short. When we think about how this exact same phenomenon played out in other small presses, with each new edition from a new printer adding 1,000 or more copies to the market, we catch a glimpse of the power of print.

26. Letter to Jared Ingersoll, 1722-1781
William Smith Jr (1728-1793)
New Haven, CT, 29 Aug. 1767
Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

William Smith, Jr., a trained lawyer, was a loyalist from New York, a colony whose population was equally divided between loyalists and rebels at the time of the Revolution. This was a higher concentration than in other states; overall, historians currently estimate that about one fifth of the white population in the colonies were against the Revolution. This large and varied group was also known as Tories, royalists, and Whigs.

In this letter to a fellow loyalist, Smith expresses his concern that the current tension between the colonies and Britain will escalate further, into what he calls an “unfortunate situation.” Smith, like many, attempted to stay neutral despite a polarizing climate. As tensions came to a head, people like Smith were forced to choose, and many ultimately sided with the British. These loyalists believed that the colonists’ wish for independence was “unnatural” and illegal. Many preferred an approach based on peaceful protest and were put off by the escalating violence. In fact, very few colonists who sympathized with the British government were vocal in their political opinions or fought in battle for either side. In 1783, Smith evacuated New York with the British, first to London, and then, like many others, he settled in Canada. Smith’s story is similar to those of many others like him; about 100,000 loyalists left the colonies at this time.

27. Plain Truth: or, a Letter to the Author of Dispassionate Thoughts on the American War

By James Chalmers

London, Printed for g. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and R. Faulder, in Bond-Street, MDCCLXXX [1780]

Pequot Library Special Collections

Presented by Virginia Marquand Monroe

Plain Truth was written to be a rebuttal to Thomas Paine's Common Sense, and quickly became the most popular loyalist counter to Paine's pro-independence tract. It first appeared in print in 1776 under the pen name "Candidus", but this later edition gives the author's true identity: James Chalmers, a loyalist officer from Maryland. Both Common Sense and Plain Truth were first printed by Robert Bell in Philadelphia, but it went into several editions in Britain. This particular edition, printed in London in 1780, would have appealed to a British reading public following political developments in the colonies and includes a map of the ongoing conflict across the Atlantic.

In this short pamphlet, which is longer than Paine's, Chalmers lambastes Common Sense and launches a spirited defense of the British legal and political systems. He asserts that war with Great Britain would be an impossible feat for the colonies – they were outgunned and outmanned – and that independence would be disastrous, leaving America estranged from its most valuable trading partner and exposed to invasion by France or Spain.

While Paine wrote his pamphlet in plain language and relied on simple, accessible metaphors, like comparing King George III to a bad father, Chalmers used more traditional literary and historical references, appealing to an audience with high levels for formal education. In his rebuttal he denounces Paine, as well as prominent members of the Whig party, writing:

"I will humbly attempt to describe good Kingf by the following unerring rule. The beft Princef are confantly calumniated by the envenomed tonguelf and penf of the

most worthless of their subjects. For this melancholy truth, do I appeal to the testimony of impartial historians, and long experience. The many unmerited insults offered to our gracious Sovereign; by the unprincipled John Wilkes, and others down to this late Author; will forever disgrace humanity.”

28. A friendly address to all reasonable Americans, on the subject of our political confusions : in which the necessary consequences of violently opposing the king's troops, and of a general non-importation are fairly stated

By Thomas Bradbury Chandler (1726-1790)

America: [New York] : Printed [by James Rivington] for the purchasers, 1774.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

Thomas Bradbury Chandler was a priest in New Jersey for the Church of England in the colonies, also called the Episcopal Church. It was his lifelong efforts that led to the creation of a separate American Episcopal Church in 1789. During the Revolution, Episcopalians were one of the groups that continued to support the British Crown during the war. Northern Episcopalians, in particular, remained loyal due to the funding they received from the English Missionary Society. In contrast, Southern Episcopal churches were funded by their congregations. It was partially due to their reliance on British funding that the Northern Episcopalians felt it was their duty to support the crown. As a leader within the Church, Chandler published multiple pamphlets similar to “a friendly address” urging his congregants to continue to support the British crown. Supporters of the revolution reacted strongly to his pamphlets, creating a serious backlash against him. In response to escalating threats made by the Sons of Liberty, Chandler fled to England for the duration of the war.

29. Thoughts on the Letter of Edmund Burke, esq; to the sheriffs of Bristol, on the affairs of America.

Willoughby Bertie, Earl of Abingdon (1740-1799)

Oxford, printed ; Lancaster [Pa.] : Reprinted and sold by J. Dunlap, 1778.

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

The “Letter of Edmund Burke” referred to in this pamphlet is Burke’s famous “Letter to...the Sheriffs of Bristol, on the Affairs of America” (1777). In it, he claimed that it was wrong for the British to use force against the colonists, and that universal disobedience and unrest should not be treated as criminal because it implies misgovernance. According to Burke, the best course of action was for Parliament to listen to the complaints of the colonists, thereby restoring their faith in the monarchy. Burke’s letter captured the position of his fellow members of the Whig party, who agreed that the colonial resistance was justifiable and that the tax laws they objected to were illegal. In short, Burke supported the rights of the colonies, but not the revolution itself.

In his letter of response, the Earl of Abingdon asserts that Burke did not go far enough in his arguments. He specifically felt that Burke should have criticized Parliament more vehemently on discussions about colonial rights and the suspension of habeas corpus in the Colonies. This publication proved to be extremely popular and was subsequently reprinted multiple times, in both the colonies and England.

30. The freeholder's political catechism: very necessary to be studied by every freeman in America.

By Henry St. John, Viscount of Bolingbroke (1678-1751)

London : Printed ; New-London : Re-printed and sold by T. Green, 1769

Monroe, Wakeman, Holman Collection

Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678 – 1751) was an English statesman and political philosopher whose published works were widely available in the American colonies. His political philosophy was especially popular in colonial intellectual circles, and he influenced the thinking of figures like John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison. Bolingbroke was a prominent member of England's "country party," a group of Tories who opposed what they perceived as self-interest and corruption among parliamentary leaders. The party's ideology was significant to the development of the political philosophy of Republicanism in the America: the belief that citizens elect their leaders and are entitled to certain inalienable rights that cannot be infringed upon by any form of government.

Bolingbroke's political thought not only inspired the founding fathers' idea of republicanism, but also their concept of liberty. In this pamphlet, originally published in 1733, Bolingbroke outlines a system of government founded on the principle of liberty, famously stating, "In laws made by the Consent of the People, and the due Execution of those Laws; I am free not from the law, but by the law."