

Catalyst for Revolution

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

1773

by BENJAMIN W. LABAREE



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Commonwealth of Massachusetts BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION MEMBERS

The Honorable Francis W. Sargent, Governor — Ex Officio Senator Chester G. Atkins, Co-Chairman
Representative Vincent J. Piro, Co-Chairman
Hon. John F. X. Davoren, Secretary of State
Dr. Gregory N. Anrig, Commissioner of Education
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BOSTON, December 1, 1773.

At a Meeting of the PEOPLE of Boston, and the neighbouring Towns, at Fancuil-Hall, in faid Bofton, on Monday the 2 9th of November 1773, Nine o'Clock, A.M. and continued by Adjournment to the next Day; for the Purpose of consulting, advising and determining upon the most proper and effectual Method to prevent the unloading, receiving or vending the detenable TEA fent out by the East-India Company, Part of which being just arrived in this Harbour .

IN Order to proceed with due Regularity, it was moved that a Moderator be chosen, and

JONATHAN WILLIAMS, Efq;

Mo Tion was made that as the Town of Botton had determined at a line Meeting legally affembled, that they would to the unmoil of their Power prevent the landing of the Botton had determined that they would to the unmoil of their Power prevent the landing of the Botton are absolutely determined that the Teanow arrived in Capt. Hall shall be returned to the Place from whence it came at allievests. And the Quellon being accordingly gut, it passed in the Affirmative. Nem. Con.

It appearing that the Hall could not contain the People assembled, it was Voted, that the Meeting the immediately Adjourned to the Old South Meeting though Lazve having been obtained for the Purpose.

The People met at the Old South according to

Adjournment.

A Motion was made, and the Queffion part, viz.
Whether it is the firm Reinfance of the Body that the Tea half not only be first back, but that no Dony final be paid thereon; & pais d in the Afirmative. Nem. Con.

It was moved, that is order to give Time to the Configures to confider and deliberate, before they feat in their Proposition to the Body, as they had given Realon to expect would have been done at the opening of the Meeting, there might be an indicarrament to Three Otoke, P. M. and the Meeting was accordingly for that Purpose adjourned. ing was accordingly for that Purpole adjourned

THREE o'Clock, P. M. met according to Adjournment.
A Motion was made, Whether the Tea new arrived in Captain Hall's Ship finall be feat back in the fame Bottoon—Pafi'd in the Affirmative.

Mr. Rotch the Owner of the Veffel being pre fent, informed the Body that he Bould enter his

dent, informed the flody that he flouid enter his Fruell against their Proceedings. It was then moved and soited, nem. con. That Mr. Rosch be directed not to enter this Tea; and that theDoing of it would be a his Peril, Also Voted, That Captain Hall the Master of the Ship, be informed that at his Peril, he is not to fuller any of the Tea brought by him, to be landed.

landed.

A Motion was made. That in Order for the Security of Captain Hall's Ship and Cargo, a Watch may be appointed—and it was Yored that a Watch be accordingly appointed to conflict of 25 Mea.

Capt.EdwardProfee was appointed by theBody to be the Espt. of the Watch for this Night, and the Names were given in to theModerator, of the Townsinen who were Volunteers on theOccasion.

It having been observed to the Body, that Go It having been obleved to the Body, that Go-werner Hutchinfon had required the Julices of the Peace in this Town to meet and use their En-deavons to Suppress any Routs or Riots, &c. of the People that might happen.—It was Moved and the Question pur—Whether it be not the Sense of this Diceting, that the Governor's Condust herein carriers a design of Reflection upon the People here met; and in Solely calculated to ferve the Viens of Administration—Passed in the Affirmative, nem.

The People being informed by Col. Hancock, that Mr. Copley, Son. in Law to Mr. Clarke, Sen. had sequatored their Letters from London till Jail Evening, and were to disperfed, that they could not have a joint Meeting early enough to make their Proposals at the Time intended; and tiere-free were defireus of a forther Space for that Toppole.

The Meeting out of great Tendernels to these Perims, and from a strong Delive to bring this Matter to a Conclusion, notwithstanding the Time they had hitherto expended upon them to no Purpose, were prevailed upon to adjourn to the next Morning Nine o'Clock.

TUESDAY Morning Nine o'Clock,

THE long expected Proposals were at length brought into the Meeting, and directed to the Moderator, but to John Scollay, Fig. one of the Seledanen-th was however voted that the fame should be read, and they are as follow, viz.

Monday, Nov. 29th, 1773.

Y R, are forcy that we could not return to the Town fatesficiary Answers to their two late Mediages to us respecting the Toxt; we had Leave to acquaint the Graullemon Solutions that we have fince received our Orders from the Honorable Eath-

the sequent the Greatlener Sections that the confisce received nor Orders from the Honorable EntiIndia Company.

We find return a Disposition to do all in our Power
to give Satisfation to the Town, but so we underflood from you and the other Gentlemen Selections
at Mest. Clarks Interview with you last Setterday,
that this can be effected by nothing left than our feeding back the Tean, we tog Leave to day, that this is
atterly out of our Power to do, but we do now declare
to you our Readucts to Store the Tean send we shall
have Oppuratury of writing to our Continuous and
facili reverse them further Orders refpecting them; a
not we do most incervely with that the Town confidering the invarped Distributes develocing one as
will be intuited with what we now offer.

We say, * \$ 1.8.

Your most humble Servans,

The & Elista Hatchiefen,

Servan Lannell, you to Soil and

Tolina Norders, Elig

Her & Clarks R. Saw.

John Scotlay, Elig

Mr. Sherell Greenleaf came into the Meeting.

Mr. Sherel Greenleaf came into the Meeting. Mr. Sherif Greatled came into the Meeting, and begg'd Leave of the Moderator that a Letter he had created from thir Governor, requiring him to read a Proclamation to the People here allow bird might be read; and it was accordingly read. Whitenepon it was moved, and the Questian put, Whether the Sheriff (fould be permixed to read the Proclamation—which pailed in the Affirmative, nem. one.

The Proclamation is as follows, viz.

Maffachafets- } By the Governor.

To JONATHAN WILLIAMS, Efg. afting as Moderator of an Affembly of People in the Town of Bollon, and to the People to affembled

WHEREAS printed Natifications were on Monday the 29th Inflant poffed in divers Places in the Town of Boffon and published in the News-Papers of that Day calling upon the People to affemble together for certain unlowful Purpojes in fuch Notifications mentaged: And whereas great Numbers of People belonging to the Town of Boston, and divers others belonging to several other Towns in the Province, did assemble in the faid Town of Boston, on the faid Day, and did then and there proceed to chase a Moderator, and to confult, debate and re upon Ways and Means for carrying fuch unlawful Purpajes into Execution ; openly vislating, defying and fetting at nought the good and subofone Lower of the Province and the Conflictation of Government under which they live: And suboreas the People thus offentied they have been agree to adjourn or confined their Meetics to the stay that they were their Meetics to the stay to the second their Meetics to the second to the second their second their second their second to the s tinue their Meeting to this the 30th Inflant, and great Numbers of them are again met or bled together for the like Purpofes in the Said Town of Boston,

IN Faithfulnels to my Truft and as His Majefty's Reprefentative within the Province I am bound to bear Testimony against this Violation of the Laws and I warn exhort and require you and each of you thus unlawfully , affembled forthwith to difperfe and to furcease all further unlawful Proceedings at your atmost Peril.

Given under my Hand at Milton in the Province afactfuld the 30th Day of November 1773 and in the fouteenth Tear of this Mayelly's Reign.

By Hn Excellency s T. Hutchinson. THO'S FLUCERA, Secr'y.

And the same bring read by the Sheriff, there was immediately after, a loud and very general Hist.

His.

A Motion was then made, and the Queftion put,
Whether the Allewbly would disperie and inscease
all further Proceedings, according to the Governor's Requirement.—It pass'd in the Negative,

A Proposal of Mr. Copley was made, that in Cat's he could prevail with the Mril. Clarkes to come into this Meeting, the Quellier might now he put. Whether they should be treated with Civility while in the Meeting, though they might be of different Sentiments with this Body; and their Periona be fafe until their Return to the Place from whence they should come.— And the Quelition being accordingly put, passed in the Affirmative. Nem, Con.
Another Meeting of Mr. Copley's was put, Whether two Hours thall be given him, which also passed in the Affirmative.

Adjourn'd to Two o'Clock, P. M.

TWO o'Clock P. M. met according to Ad-

TWO o'Clock P. M. met according to Adjurement.

A Motion was made and passed, that Mr. Rotch and Capt. Hall be delived to give their distondance.

Mr. Rotch appeared, and upon w Motion made the Question was per, Whether is, the firm Residution of this Body, that the Tex between Capt. Hall that he returned by Mr. Rotch to England in the Botton is which is came; and whether they accordingly now require the same, which passed in the Rithmative, New Con.

Mr. Rotch then informed the Meeting that he should protest against the whole Proceedings as he had done against the rhole Proceedings as he had done against the rhole Proceedings as he had done against the rhole Proceedings to Yellinday, but that tho' the exturning the Tex is an involuntary Act in him, he yet considers himself is under a Neverlity to do it, and shall therefore comply with the Requirements of this Body.

Capt. Hall being present was farthed to aid or sills in unlocating the Tex at his Persi, and ordered that if he continues Maker of the Velft, he carry the fame back to London; who reply'd he should comply with their Keynirements.

the Lime back to London; who repy d he inocula comply with their Requirements. Upon a Motion, Refulved, That John Rowe, Boy, Owner of Part of Capt. Bruce's Shop expedited with Tea, as also Mr. Timmins, Fador for Capt. Coffin's Brig, be defired to attend.

Mr. Erekiel Cherver was appointed Captain the Watch for this Night, and a fufficient umber of Volunteers gave in their Names for

VOTED, That the Captain of this Watch he defired to make out a Lift of the Watch for the next Night, and fo each Captain of the Watch for the following Nights until the Veifels leave the

Harbour.

Upon a Motion made, Voted, that in Cafe it floud happen that the Warch thould be anyWays molefied in the Night, while on Duty, they give the Alarm to the lakabitants by the tolling of the Bells—and that if any Thing happens in the Day Time, the Alarm be by ringing of the Bells—

the Day Time, the Alarm be by ringing of the Belli.

VOTED. That his Persons be appointed to be in Readiness to give due Notice to the Country Towns when they shall be required for tod on upon any important Occasion. And fix Persons were accordingly chosen for that Purpose.

John Rowe, Esq. attended, and was informed that Mr. Rotch had engaged that his Vellet should carry back the Tea she bev in the fameBostom, & that it was the Expediation of this Body that he does the same by the Tea expected in Capt. Bruce; whereupon he reply'd that the Ship was under the Care of the faid Maller, but that he would use his utmost Endeavour, that it should go back as required by this Body, and that he would give immediate Advice of the Arrival of faid Ship.

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

Mr. Towning non-versed and informed that Capt.

Capt. Hruce's Ship.

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 until the
Owner's Arrival.

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

Mr. Copley returned and acquirited the Body, that as he had been obliged to go to the Coplin, he hoped that if he had exceeded the Time allowed him they would confide the Difficulty of a Paffage by Water at this Sation as his Apology: He then further acquainted the Body, that he had fern all the Configures, and the' he had convinced them that they might attend this Meeting with falter, and had used his utmost Endertours to prevail upon them to give Satisfaction to the Body; they acquainted him, that believing usohing would be fatisfacher there of re finging the Tea, which was out of their Power, they thought it bell out to appear, but would renew their Proposal of florings the Tea; and fibruiting the fount to the Infpection of a Committee, and that they could go no furt acresshort incorring the Tea; they floud do nothing to obstruct the Power in the fating the Tea; they floud do nothing to obstruct the Power in their Procedure with the fame.

It was then moved, and the Quehion put, Whe-ther the return made by Mr. Copley from the Configness, be in the leaft Degree faints dary to this Body, & patied in the Negative. Nem. Con.

Whereas a Number of Merchants in this Pronince have inadverteath; imported Tea from Great Bertain, rabile it is fabject to the Payment of a Duty impajed ayon is by an Ad of the British Parliament for the Parpir of raising a Revenue in America, and appropriating the fame milibrat the Confent of the few who are required to pay it:

RESOLVED. That in thus importing faid Tea, they have jully incurr'd the Dopleafors of our Brethren in the other Colonics.

And Refuted farther. That if any Perfon or Perfons theil breadler cupper I'ves from Great-British and Great-British and Great-British and Great-British and Great-British and Great-British and their british and we will prevent the Landing and Sale of the Rune, and the Payment of any Dury thereon. And we will give the Return thereof to the Place from whence it final come.

RESOLVED, That the foregoing Volt be printed and fent to England, and all the Sea-Ports in this Province.

Upon a Motion made, Voted, That fair Cogies be taken of the whole Proceedings of this Meet-ing, and transmitted to New York & Philadelphia, And that Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS,

Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, Siq; WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Eiq; JOHN ROWE, Eiq; JONATHAN WILLIAMS Eiq ittee to transmit the fame

Voted, That it is the Determination of this Body, to carry their Votes and Refolutions into Execution, at the Rifque of their Lives and Pro-

Voted, That the Committee of Correspondence for this Town, be defined to take Care that every other Veiffel with Tea that arrives in this flar bour, have a proper Watch appointed for her — Aith Voted, That those Persons who are definous of making a Part of these Nightly Jatches, be defired to give in their Names at Mellieurs Edes and Gill's Printing-Office.

Voted, That our Brethren in the Country be defired to afford their Alfithance upon the first Notice given; especially if such Notice be given upon the Arrival of Captain Loring, in Mellicure

Voted, That those of this Body who belong to the Town of Boston do return their Thanks to their Brethren who have come from the neighbouring Towns, for their Countenance and Union with this Body in this Exigence of our Affairs.

VOTED. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to JONATHAN WILLIAMS, ETq. for his good fervices as Moderator.

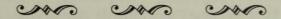
VOTED, That this Meeting be Dilfolved ---And it was accordingly Diffolved.

Printed by EDES and GILL, 1773.

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

HE Boston Tea Party is one of the best-known incidents in American history, ranking in fame with Columbus' voyages, the landing of the Pilgrims, and a few battles like Lexington and Concord. In foreign countries it is perhaps the only fact associated with the town of Boston. This fame is well deserved, for the Boston Tea Party was the catalyst that precipitated the American War of Independence.

It is worth our while, therefore, to examine more closely why this dramatic event came about. The Boston Tea Party resulted from the interplay of at least four important historical factors: first, the social fact that American colonists drank tea, and in large quantities; second, the political fact that the British Parliament taxed this tea; third, the economic fact that the East India Company had difficulty selling its tea both at home and in the colonies; and fourth, the human fact that men charged with governmental responsibility during the tea crisis of 1773-1774 made what in retrospect can be seen as unwise decisions. It is equally important to understand how this episode led to the outbreak of war.

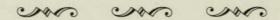


Tea first became popular in England during the course of the eighteenth century. In 1757 Samuel Johnson described himself as "a hardened and shameless Tea-drinker, who has for twenty years diluted his meals with only the infusion of this fascinating plant; whose kettle has scarcely time to cool, who with Tea amuses the evening, with Tea solaces the midnight, and with Tea welcomes the morning." Wherever Englishmen went in the world, they took their tea-drinking habit with them, and so it is not surprising that tea was also popular in the American colonies. By the 1760's Americans consumed each year as much as 1,200,000 pounds of tea, at a rate of at least three-quarters of a pound per capita.

By law the East India Company had a monopoly over the importation of tea from China into Great Britain. After 1721 the American colonies could import tea only from the mother country. But the British government soon discovered that the tea trade was an excellent source of revenue, and during the first half of the eighteenth century tariff after tariff was levied on the importation and sale of tea until by the 1750's the duties amounted to about a hundred per cent ad valorem. While this policy netted the government a considerable revenue, it had a disastrous effect on the East India Company's tea trade. In comparison, tea imported into Holland by the Dutch East India Company was exempt from government duties there and sold for about half the price of English tea. A lively smuggling trade therefore developed, and by 1770 about 7,000,000 pounds of Dutch tea found its way into England each year, to the consternation of Company authorities.

Large quantities of Dutch tea were smuggled into the American colonies as well, averaging as much as 900,000 pounds a year during the middle of the eighteenth century and representing about three-quarters of all the tea consumed there. Profits for illicit traders were immense, and the nature of the American coastline made strict enforcement impossible. Besides, there were never enough customs officials to do the job, and those who tried were subjected to the bullying and insults of waterfront mobs.

The British ministry had of course been well aware of the problem of smuggling both at home and in the colonies. In 1767 Parliament finally enacted legislation to remedy the situation in regard to tea. Called the Indemnity Act, the law among other things allowed for the next five years a full drawback of the English customs duty on all tea exported to America to encourage the legitimate tea trade with the colonies. When the Act took effect in July of that year, therefore, the East India Company was put on a more equitable footing with its continental competitors than ever before. Tea for the American market which had cost 2s. 9d. in London now sold for 2s. 1d. Imports of English tea into the colonies increased immediately, and in 1768 over 800,000 pounds were sent to America, the largest amount ever.



Whatever hopes the East India Company and the honest colonial merchants entertained about a prosperous future, however, were quick-

ly dashed by another act passed by Parliament in 1767. The Townshend Act grew out of the financial crisis that had plagued British ministries since the end of the Seven Years' War. Saddled with the expense of maintaining an army in America and of supporting numerous governmental officials there, Britons not surprisingly looked to the colonies for a source of revenue. Their first effort, the Stamp Act, was repealed in 1766 after less than a year because of violent American protests. The following year the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, offered another means of raising a revenue in America. By his act duties were collected in the colonies on a number of commodities commonly imported from the mother country. By far the most important of these was tea, which was subjected to a duty of three-pence per pound.

The issue of "no taxation without representation," which rallied colonial opposition to the new act, focused on the tea-duty, for of all the newly-taxed commodities, tea was the most commonly used. Agreements signed by merchants not to import British manufactures were quickly supplemented by anti-tea-drinking pledges circulated through the towns and villages of America. Various local substitutes for English tea were publicized by the patriots, including "Labradore tea," made from the redroot bush. Ladies drank the new concoction at parish spinning bees and proclaimed its virtues in the local press. The campaign featured newspaper doggerel like the following verse addressed to the ladies of Boston.

Throw aside your Bohea and your Green Hyson Tea,
And all things with a new fashioned duty;
Procure a good store of the choice Labradore,
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 clever;
Though the times remain darkish, young men may be sparkish,
And love you much stronger than ever.

It is difficult to tell just how effective the campaign against dutied tea was. To be sure, assertions were confidently made that the market for English tea had virtually disappeared by the middle of the year 1769. Evidence beneath the surface, however, indicates that the anti-tea movement was less than fully successful in many parts of the colonies. For one thing, patriots found it necessary to

institute new rounds of anti-tea pledges at frequent intervals and to stir up town meetings to adopt new series of resolutions proscribing the baneful herb.

Contrary to popular belief much the worst offender in the importation of dutied tea from England during this period was the town of Boston. There are two principal reasons for this. First was the fact that Bostonians had never been particularly successful in establishing permanent smuggling routes to Holland. Colonists in other provinces could patriotically swear off dutied tea without the agony of abandoning their favorite beverage, for they continued to be supplied by the New York smugglers. For Bostonians to go without English tea, however, meant that many would have to give up the habit altogether. A second reason, and perhaps more important, was the presence in Boston of two particularly obstinate mercantile firms, Richard Clarke & Sons and the partnership of Thomas & Elisha Hutchinson, sons of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Not until the spring of 1770 did the latter firm finally agree to cease importations of dutied tea and other articles. In the meantime their house alone imported more than 50,000 pounds of dutied tea. In contrast to the situation at Boston the agreements against importing dutied tea at New York and Philadelphia were virtually airtight. For the year 1770 only 147 pounds of legal tea entered at the former port and a skimpy 65 pounds at the latter.

In the spring of 1770 Parliament repealed the Townshend duties on all commodities save tea. Lord North insisted on the retention of that levy as a symbol of Parliament's authority to tax the Americans. With great effort the American patriots attempted to continue their nonimportation agreements in hope of forcing repeal of the tea-duty as well, but to no avail. By the fall of 1770 merchants in the last of the ports had abandoned their boycott of British goods with the important exception of English tea, which patriots all agreed should be blacklisted as long as the duty remained in force.

In most parts of America the continuing ban on dutied tea was quite effective. At New York and Philadelphia together only 1,000 pounds were imported from England during the years 1771 and 1772. Continuation of the duty after 1770, in short, had seriously curtailed the potential market for English tea in America. The only exception was at Boston, where in the two years 1771 and 1772 a total of over 400,000 pounds of dutied tea entered. The Clarkes and the Hutchinsons accounted for much of this tea, but a number of staunch

patriots like John Hancock and Oliver Wendell were apparently also involved. These leaks in the Boston patriots' defenses would later come back to haunt them.

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The crisis came in the fall of 1773 on the issue of dutied tea. The East India Company was in dire financial straits largely because of its expensive operations in Bengal but also because of inefficiency and corruption. The smuggling of tea into England from the Continent had continued at an accelerated pace through the 1760's, and by the spring of 1773 the Company had a surplus of 17,000,000 pounds in its warehouses. A minor stockholder named Robert Herries proposed that the Company be allowed to export some of this tea on its own account to Europe with a drawback on all English duties so that it could be offered there at a price competitive with Dutch tea. Fear that such cheap tea would simply be smuggled back into England convinced the Company officials to ask instead that they be allowed to ship some of their surplus to America. Lord North and the Parliament agreed to the plan in the spring of 1773, perhaps partly because much of the Company's debt was owed to the Government. But in approving the Tea Act he and his supporters refused to repeal the Townshend duty, as Opposition leaders urged them to do. "If you don't take off the duty," warned one member prophetically, "they [the Americans] won't take the tea."

Lord North knew that the potential market for English tea in the colonies was enormous, as much as 2,000,000 pounds a year if the price were low enough. Furthermore, he knew that large quantities of dutied tea had been imported at Boston, more than 600,000 pounds of it since passage of the Townshend Act more than five years before. He concluded, not illogically, that most Americans would not seriously object to the duty if English tea could be made competitive with the tea smuggled from Holland. The East India Company in fact planned to offer Bohea at 2s. 0d. per pound wholesale through its agents in the colonies. Smugglers of Dutch tea would be hard pressed to match the price in the winter of 1773, although by the following spring the price at Amsterdam in fact dropped sufficiently to make such competition once again possible. Lord North was therefore hopeful that at long last the Townshend duty would provide the revenue for which it was originally intended. In the early fall of 1773 the East India Company sent off

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London 16 Sebry 1774.
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House of Lords Record Office

600,000 pounds of dutied tea to four American ports: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. There each shipment was consigned to a group of merchants whose names had been suggested to the Company by English merchants who traded with Americans.

The colonists learned of the impending arrival of the Company's tea in early October 1773. Gradually at first, then with increasing momentum a protest movement swept through the seaports. Inflammatory pamphlets appeared at New York; a mass meeting convened at Philadelphia; Boston patriots caught the fever and aroused their followers to oppose the scheme. In the beginning the smugglers of tea at New York and Philadelphia undoubtedly took a leading role in the protest, railing against the dangers of monopoly inherent in the East India Company's plan. But popular resentment grew out of the fact that the tea was subject to the hated Townshend duty. All the earlier arguments against English tea were now revived with a vengeance, and the whole question of Parliamentary taxation in America was reopened. Many patriots saw in the shipment a devilish plot between the Company and the Ministry to tempt the colonists into recognizing Parliament's claims by offering them cheap but dutied tea. The American susceptibility to the conspiracy theory of history made this argument particularly appealing.

By mid-November 1773, the inhabitants were thoroughly aroused. At both Philadelphia and New York the consignees of the tea publicly resigned their commissions when the authorities failed to intercede in their behalf. But at Boston quite a different situation developed. In the first place, several of the consignees were closely related to Governor Hutchinson, including his own sons. Secondly, the Governor was in no mood to give in to the demands of the patriots that the tea be returned to England as soon as it arrived. After many years of struggle with the likes of Sam Adams, he had reached the end of his patience. Most recently, in the summer of 1773, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay had passed a resolution demanding the removal from office of both the governor and lieutenant governor. Hutchinson was ready for a show-down. He had good reason to think that he could win this contest, for at Boston were stationed two regiments of troops, several ships of the British fleet, and the office of the Customs Commissioners. British authority seemed well established. The patriots, on the other hand, were equally determined to force the issue. Embarrassed by recent disclosures that large quantities of dutied tea had entered at Boston in recent years, Adams and his sup-

BOSTON, December 2, 1773.

THEREAS it has been reported that a Permit will be given by the Custom-House for Landing the Tea now on Board a Vessel laying in this Harbour, commanded by Capt. Hall: THIS is to Remind the Publick, That it was solemnly voted by the Body of the People of this and the neighbouring Towns assembled at the Old-South Meeting-House on Tuesday the 30th Day of November, that the said Tea never should be landed in this Province, or pay one Farthing of Duty: And as the aiding or assisting in procuring or granting any such Permit for landing the said Tea or any other Tea so circumstanced, or in offering any Permit when obtained to the Master or Commander of the said Ship, or any other Ship in the same Situation, must betray an inhuman Thirst for Blood, and will also in a great Measure accelerate Confusion and Civil War: This is to assure such public Enemies of this Country, that they will be considered and treated as Wretches unworthy to live, and will be made the first Victims of our just Resentment.

The PEOPLE

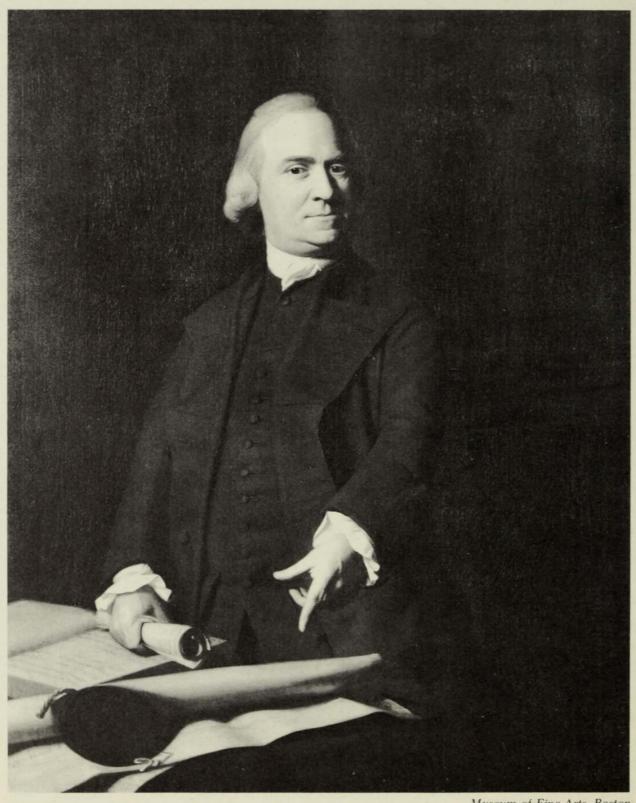
N. B. Captain Bruce is arrived laden with the same detestable Commodity; and 'tis peremptorily demanded of him, and all concerned, that they comply with the same Requisitions.

A handbill warning against landing the tea

porters were stung by criticism from the patriots at New York and Philadelphia that the Bostonians were unreliable. There could be no backing down now.

On November 28 the bluff-bowed ship Dartmouth worked its way into Boston Harbor with the first shipment of tea to reach America under the Company's new plan. Mass meetings immediately demanded that the consignees resign their commissions and order the vessel to return to England. Instead of complying, they took refuge at Castle William in Boston Harbor, along with the Customs Commissioners, where they were safe from the rough tactics of persuasion commonly used by the Boston mob. Since the Dartmouth was in the harbor, its captain had to enter both his ship and cargo at the customhouse, and neither could depart thereafter without a clearance from the Collector. The guns at Castle William commanding the channel gave assurance that the vessel would not leave without permission. Under the law, if the duties were not paid within twenty days, the tea would be landed and confiscated by the customs authorities. The patriots were convinced that once the tea was ashore the consignees would gladly pay the infamous duty, and the tea would soon find its way into the market place. Only by preventing the landing of the cargo could the patriots be certain that the duties would go unpaid. They ordered the ship Dartmouth to lie at Griffin's Wharf, where it was kept under guard, and when two more tea-ships arrived in early December, the Eleanor and the Beaver, they too were brought to the wharf. Dartmouth's tea would be eligible for seizure on December 17, and as that day approached, tension mounted throughout Boston.

In mid-December another series of mass meetings convened to demand that the ships return to England with their cargoes of tea. On the 14th Francis Rotch, son and representative of the *Dartmouth's* owner, was persuaded to ask the Customs Collector for a clearance, but that official refused on the grounds that the duties had not been paid. On December 16, the last day before the deadline, another public meeting gathered at Old South Meeting House. The people ordered Rotch to demand a pass for his vessel by Castle William from Governor Hutchinson. The Governor was then at his country seat in Milton, where he had spent most of the preceding weeks away from the mobs, and consequently he was somewhat out of touch with the sense of growing crisis at Boston. Partly for this reason, or perhaps simply because he was a stubborn man, Hutchinson refused to grant Rotch's



Samuel Adams

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

request for an exception to the rule that a ship had to be cleared first by the customhouse before being allowed to depart.

When Rotch returned to the meeting at Old South, the cold winter darkness had already fallen. The crowd was weary from the many speeches and long waiting, impatient to hear the outcome of the young man's trip to Milton. When they learned that Governor Hutchinson had refused Rotch's request for a clearance, pandemonium broke loose. Sam Adams arose to speak: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country!" As if at a signal a warwhoop sounded at the door and was answered by another from the balcony. "Boston harbor a teapot tonight!" "Hurrah for Griffin's Wharf!" The gathering broke up, and the people streamed out into the night, shouting and whooping as they wound their way through the streets toward the waterfront. There they were met by small bands of men and boys who had come from other parts of town, all converging on Griffin's Wharf. Out of the milling crowd fifty or more men, a number of them roughly disguised as Indians, made for the three tea vessels moored alongside and climbed aboard. While some pried off the hatch-covers, others prepared block and tackle. Then the tea chests were hoisted out of the hold, broken open with axes, and their contents dumped over the rail into the dock. The ebbing tide carried much of the tea out into the harbor, but the remainder piled high alongside the vessels and had to be pushed away to make room for more. In the space of just three hours 340 chests of tea, worth about £10,000, were destroyed.

We will never know for certain who actually took part in the Boston Tea Party. But from hearsay and family tradition historians have compiled a list of over one hundred men who might have been participants. Over half of those whose occupations are known were common laborers, apprentices, or artisans. Only a small number were of the mercantile class. They were a young group, too, mostly in their early twenties, with a goodly number of teen-agers among them. The decks of the tea-ships were familiar to many of the participants who had served among the bands guarding the vessels since their arrival. Some were members of Hancock's corps of cadets; others were Masons, whose organization cancelled its meeting scheduled for that Thursday evening because of sparse attendance. Other participants, having no prior knowledge of plans to destroy the tea, simply showed up at the wharf as the patriotic thing to do or in quest of a little excitement.

And so they gathered along Boston's waterfront. Men like Thomas Melvill, who held an advanced degree from Princeton and was a young



Page from the Pennsylvania Gazette



A contemporary English print

businessman; men like Lendall Pitts, clerk of the market. James Brewer, a blockmarker, apparently offered his house on Summer Street as a meeting place for some of his friends. There Mrs. Brewer helped blacken their faces with burnt cork and sent them on their way. John Crane, Thomas Bolter, and Samuel Fenno, all housewrights, are said to have met at Crane's house on the corner of Hollis and Tremont streets. After joining their neighbors, the Bradlee brothers, they hastened to the waterfront. Some were young apprentices, like Peter Slater and Robert Sessions, who appeared at the wharf when they learned what was going on. Most were Bostonians, but the Tea Party probably included men from many of the neighboring towns and from as far away as Worcester. Best-known among alleged participants were William Molineux, Dr. Thomas Young, and Paul Revere. Workers, craftsmen, and merchants labored side by side that night to defend what they considered their sacred liberty.

Of course the many hundreds of inhabitants who witnessed the scene from the waterfront could thereafter tell their grandchildren that they too were "at" the Boston Tea Party. Their presence was in fact significant, for it prevented the admiral of the royal fleet at anchor in the harbor from raking Griffin's Wharf with his cannon. All British soldiers, incidentally, had been removed to Castle William out in the harbor shortly after the Boston Massacre three years before and were therefore not available to patrol the wharves. The Boston waterfront belonged to the people on that chilly December night in 1773. Neither Boston nor America would be the same thereafter.

Opposition to the East India Company's tea plan throughout America had been based almost entirely on the issue of the tax. To be sure, the smugglers in New York and Philadelphia supported the campaign because their lucrative trade was endangered. But the threat of monopoly was of secondary importance, too remote to concern most Americans. Not so the question of taxation, however, for this was an issue long familiar to all colonists in the fall of 1773. Besides, agitation during the nonimportation period had concentrated on tea as the most common of the dutied articles. Its consumption would imply acquiescence to Parliamentary taxation. No matter that many colonists had in fact drunk dutied tea before. For now the issue had a new aspect to it.

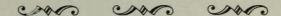
What made the plan to send dutied tea to America particularly ominous was the nature of the arrangement itself. Patriots were quick to maintain that it was a conspiracy between the Ministry and the Company to force American recognition of Parliamentary taxation. Letters from Americans in Britain and from English merchants who resented the



Frothingham's Siege of Boston

scheme for their own selfish reasons added credibility to the charge. Most important, however, was the fact that the colonists were willing to endorse the accusation. Many Americans had long ascribed to a devil theory of the universe. If a belief in the literal existence of Satan had died out with the witchcraft mania at the beginning of the century, the Devil's political cousin remained to haunt Americans of later generations. In short, the Company's cheap tea was bait for a trap set by the enemies of America. To accept these shipments was to admit the right of Parliament to tax the colonists.

Once popular resentment had been aroused, resistance to the Company's tea followed naturally. For in most American ports violence had been a commonplace long before 1765. Thereafter harassment of stamp distributors, of merchants violating nonimportation agreements, and of overzealous customs officials met with little effective opposition from governmental authorities. In the autumn of 1773 the mere brandishing of a tar brush was generally enough to persuade the most stubborn "enemies of the people" to mend their ways. Such was the case with the teaconsignees at New York and Philadelphia. But at Boston the situation was different. There the conspiracy theory seemed particularly plausible, since the consignees were friends and relatives of the governor, and a diabolical governor at that. Hutchinson was even accused of having inspired the Tea Act in the first place. The refusal of the consignees there to resign their commissions and the governor's refusal to let the ships depart with the tea could only be ascribed to motives of the basest kind. Unwilling to permit the cargo to be landed, and with no compromise in sight, the patriots destroyed the tea.



News of the Boston Tea Party spread southward to New York and Philadelphia within a week. At both ports the consignees had already resigned, and when their tea-ships finally arrived, the patriots had little difficulty persuading the captains to return to London with their unwanted cargoes without first entering at the local customhouses. Still the governmental authorities made no effort to force the issue. At Charleston, South Carolina, the tea-ship did enter, but when the duties remained unpaid after twenty days, the cargo was confiscated by the officers and locked away for safe-keeping. Generally speaking, news of the Boston Tea Party was greeted with enthusiasm in most parts of America; those who were repulsed by this act of violence kept their opinions to themselves.



A British Cartoon: Bostonians Paying the Excise Man

Library of Congress



A British Cartoon: Bostonians in Distress from the Boston Port Act

Library of Congress

When first accounts of the incident reached England in late January 1774, the reaction was different. A wave of hostility toward Boston swept the country. Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and long considered friendly to American interests, was exasperated by Boston's latest misbehavior. He recommended to the Cabinet that the port be closed until the Company was compensated for its losses and order was restored. The Ministry had long contemplated altering the charter of Massachusetts Bay to weaken the power of the elective Governor's Council. Now this and other plans for "new modeling" the provincial government were brought before Parliament. Over the opposition of a few men like Edmund Burke the Coercive Acts were adopted by overwhelming majorities.

It is not surprising that when word of Parliament's action reached America, in mid-May 1774, the cause of Boston became the common cause. That town, thought many inhabitants, was being punished for its resistance to a wicked scheme that colonists elsewhere had also opposed. The spirit of unity that erupted in the late spring of 1774 had its immediate roots in the common agitation of the previous autumn. The enormity of the Coercive Acts quickly overshadowed the violence of the Boston Tea Party, which had been a source of private embarrassment to many moderates. Now one no longer had to condone the destruction of private property in order to defend American liberty.

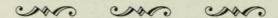
The Coercive Acts had moved the dispute onto new grounds. It was now a question of whether the colonists had any rights at all in the face of Parliamentary oppression. The Port Act punished all Bostonians, innocent and guilty alike, without a hearing and without an opportunity to make restitution before the harbor was closed. The Massachusetts Government Act did violence to the sacrosanct charter itself, for it attacked the basic institutions of self-government. In short, the Coercive Acts were a display of naked power. There was no pussyfooting about virtual representation now, no attempt to make the bitter pill more palatable. Troops and frigates made such legal niceties unnecessary.

The Coercive Acts confirmed for many Americans the suspicion that the British government was in the hands of diabolical men. What happened in Massachusetts Bay would happen one by one in the other colonies as well. The alteration of one provincial charter made it more likely that changes in others were soon to follow. In the absence of a single act demonstrating their good will, the Ministry and Parliament became conspirators against the rights of all Americans. For the first time in the struggle between Great Britain and the colonies a crisis erupt-

ed that seemed to threaten freedom throughout the country. The rights of inhabitants in rural towns and counties were threatened along with those of the seaport-dwellers. And now for the first time country folk could take concrete action in defense of American liberty. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, showed their sympathy for the martyred Bostonians by donations from the produce of their farms. This action gave the people living in areas remote from the seacoast their first real sense of commitment to the cause.

That this spirit of unity was transformed into a union in fact was due partly to the vast improvement of communications between the colonies in the ten years since the Stamp Act crisis. Better roads and more newspapers meant that the resolutions of every town and county were quickly available for all to read. Establishment of formal committees of correspondence was of course a significant step, but their exchanges were supplemented by an even wider private correspondence between patriot leaders of different colonies. By the summer of 1774 Americans everywhere knew that their fellow colonists were ready for common action.

Throughout the summer the movement for a congress of delegates from all the continental colonies gained momentum as inhabitants gathered in town and county meetings to endorse the idea. Provincial conventions in each colony chose delegates and drew up instructions for their guidance. In early September the first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. Within a few weeks it was clear that men of action were in firm control. Proposals for compromise and reconciliation with the mother country had little chance of adoption. Instead, the delegates supported Boston's refusal to pay for the tea and established the Continental Association to enforce a widespread ban on importations from the mother country in an attempt to force the repeal of all odious acts of Parliament passed since 1764. Before adjournment the Congress agreed to meet again if the crisis were not resolved by May 1775. The delegates then went home to urge their fellow colonists to prepare their defenses.

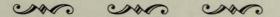


The Boston Tea Party was the catalyst that set off the revolt of the colonies. In three short hours on a cold December night in 1773 a small band of men started a chain reaction that led with little pause to the Declaration of Independence. Perhaps some other event might have had the same result. We will never know. But we do know that the Boston Tea Party had just those characteristics necessary to change the course of history. In September 1773, the vast majority of American colonists

went about their daily affairs blithely ignoring the desperate efforts of a few inhabitants to keep alive the spirit of resentment that had swept through the colonies in the years from 1765 to 1770. In September 1774, these patriots succeeded in bringing about a congress of representatives from all the major colonies and committed those delegates to a position of defiance few of them would have accepted twelve months earlier. For such a reaction to take place in so short a time required a catalyst precisely suited to the conditions around it. The Boston Tea Party was such a catalyst.

Had the Tea Party occurred at New York or Philadelphia instead, as might well have happened under slightly different circumstances, it is questionable whether the same reaction would have followed in Great Britain. The fact that the tea was destroyed at Boston made the deed doubly offensive in the minds of Britons, for Boston had long been regarded as the seat of American agitation. There the Stamp Act riots had been particularly violent. There the Customs Commissioners had been driven to refuge on Castle Island more than once. There British troops were met with open hostility. Even as news of the Tea Party reached England the Privy Council had before it the impertinent demand from Massachusetts Bay that its governor be removed from office. So bad was the town's reputation at home that many Britons attached undue significance to evidence that Bostonians were equally hated throughout the colonies. This assumption was a fatal misunderstanding, for it led the Parliament to believe that the town could be punished without arousing the sympathy of the other colonists.

Within twelve months after the Boston Tea Party the colonists had become convinced that their very freedom was at stake, and the rulers of Great Britain concluded with equal conviction that the Americans were in open rebellion. As George III said of the New England colonies in November 1774, "blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent." During the winter of 1774-75 colonists stocked up on gunpowder and went into military training, while British troops stationed in America prepared for the worst. With both sides more willing to fight than to compromise, an armed clash became inevitable. In April 1775, just sixteen months after the Boston Tea Party, the American War of Independence began on Lexington green.



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