

George III in the Pennsylvania Press:
A Study in Changing Opinions,
1760 - 1776

ROBERT D. FIALA

WAYNE STATE UNIV.
HISTORY DEPT.

WEYERHAEUSER UNIT.
HISTORY DEPT.

Copyright by
ROBERT D. FIALA
1967

GEORGE III IN THE PENNSYLVANIA PRESS:
A STUDY IN CHANGING OPINIONS, 1760-1776

by

Robert D. Fiala

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Graduate Division
of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1967

MAJOR: HISTORY

APPROVED BY:

Richard J. Mikes May 15, 1967
Adviser Date

Edward J. ...
Margaret Stearns
W. O. ...
J. Edward Smith

PREFACE

The causes of the American Revolution have been examined and debated by many writers ever since fighting began between the thirteen colonies and Great Britain. The Declaration of Independence signed in July, 1776, contained a vigorous condemnation of the English king and seemed to imply that had George III not been guilty of such malfesance such a drastic step would not have been necessary. From a person widely hailed as the symbol and the personification of British justice and benevolence at the beginning of his reign, George III became to the majority of vocal Americans the very embodiment of evil and the cause of all their troubles.

Historians several times have examined the credibility of these charges and such is not the purpose of this study. Rather it is the writer's intention to ascertain the attitudes which Americans had toward their monarch and toward the idea of kingship in the period from the accession of George III in 1760 until independence was proclaimed in 1776. A number of historians have attempted to gauge the American attitudes toward Great Britain; several writers have even described the attitude toward George III.¹ Though

¹Stella F. Duff, "The Case Against the King: The

these studies are quite helpful, they are not entirely adequate. Miss Duff's article is too narrowly limited to the Virginia Gazette; Mr. Warren's study is too narrowly limited to specific grievances.

In the late colonial period the printing press increasingly became an important tool in the struggle against Great Britain. Colonial printers and pamphleteers extolled the virtues of the free press in America, as can be seen in this poetic example printed in 1771:

The Press assists to waft the extended Soul,
Thro' boundless Aether, and from Pole to Pole.
Liberty, for Refuge, hangs upon the Press:
From thence she still has hopes of some Redress.²

The decade and a half before the American Revolution has been examined about as much as any other period in American history; still, any attempt to measure public opinion remains difficult. One writer has estimated that between 1200 and 1500 pamphlets--political, economic, and

Virginia Gazette Indict George III," The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, VI (July 1949), 383-397 (this journal is hereafter cited as Wm. & Mary Q.); Giles J. Warren, "The Development and Expression of Anti-British Sentiment in New Jersey from 1763 to 1776 and Its Relation to the Grievances Against King George III as stated in the Declaration of Independence," Unpublished D. Ed. dissertation, New York University, 1949.

²Abraham Weatherwise [pseudonym], Father Abraham's Almanack for the year of our Lord, 1772 (Philadelphia: John Dunlap [1771]). Leonard Levy indicates that in practice there was limited freedom of the press: Freedom of Speech in Early American History: Legacy of Suppression (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963 [1960]), passim. In this study when reprinted editions were used, the author has indicated the date of the original edition in brackets.

religious--were published during the period, exclusive of reprints.³ The publication figures for the newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets for the most part are not available.⁴ Their effectiveness, of course, was limited both by the literacy of the population and the price of the pamphlet. Since there are numerous examples of pamphlets and newspapers being read aloud it can be assumed that the portion of the population acquainted with the arguments of the newspapers and pamphlets was much larger than either circulation or literacy figures might indicate.

Colonial newspapers had neither an editorial page nor what one might call editorials. Most of the reading matter consisted of a variety of items reprinted from other newspaper, often from England, but also, particularly during periods of colonial crises such as the Stamp Act, from other colonial papers. The significant items which appeared in one colonial newspaper were reprinted throughout the colonial seaboard. Though there appeared the texts of a variety of documents and speeches, the majority of the items consisted either of original or reprinted news items, letters, paragraphs, and poems. Most editors, or printers to use the

³Homer L. Calkin, "Pamphlets and Public Opinion During the American Revolution," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXTV (January 1940), 23. This journal is hereafter cited as Pa. Mag.

⁴Arthur M. Schlesinger has compiled some circulation statistics in Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776 (New York: Vintage Books, 1965 [1957]), p. 303.

term of that day, professed an impartiality in choosing the items for their newspapers, though it is probable that many chose materials which would be acceptable to a majority of their readers.

The numerous political pamphlets and broadsides, which Moses Coit Tyler said "gave utterance to their real thoughts,"⁵ often were reprinted in and from newspapers. The political pamphleteer had one advantage over the letter and paragraph writer for newspapers. He could retain an even greater anonymity, since not only did his name not appear, but many of the pamphlets or broadsides did not even carry the name of the publisher. Many of the political pamphlets were learned and heavily documented treatises based on considerable research,⁶ while others were scurrilous ad hominem attacks which had little basis in fact.⁷

This study is an attempt to utilize the popular newspaper and pamphlet press to trace the growing estrangement between the monarch and his subjects before July, 1776. At what point did Americans abandon their hope in George III?

⁵Moses Coit Tyler, The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), I, 17.

⁶See H. Trevor Colbourn, The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965).

⁷See, for example, J. Philip Gleason, "A Scurrilous Colonial Election and Franklin's Reputation," Wm. & Mary Q., 3rd series, XVIII (January 1961), 68-84.

What factors contributed to their final conclusion that the responsibility for the estrangement of the colonies from the mother country was the king's? Because of the vast amount of available material and also because of the widespread reprinting of newspaper articles and pamphlets, the writer has limited his study to the press of one colony, Pennsylvania. He has examined most of the published materials--broad-sides, newspapers, and pamphlets--produced there between 1760 and 1776. The study also includes those pamphlets originally published outside the province but reprinted in Pennsylvania in the period under consideration and certain other non-Pennsylvania pamphlets directly relevant to the person of George III. Approximately two hundred of the nine hundred pamphlets and broadsides read had information relevant to the topic under consideration.⁸ Many of the pamphlets and broadsides which were not used dealt solely with religious or provincial affairs.

The writer would like to express his appreciation for permission to quote from materials in the following institutions: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library of the American Philosophical Society in

⁸The basic bibliography employed was the compilation of Charles Evans, American Bibliography (14 vols. Chicago: Blakely Press and Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1903-1959). Though some of the original pamphlets were used, most were read in the microcard edition based on Evans, Early American Imprints, issued by the American Antiquarian Society. Evans' work and the microcard edition of the pamphlets were also the source for most of the publishing information noted in brackets.

Philadelphia, the New-York Historical Society and the Friends Historical Collection at Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. He is also grateful to the librarians and staffs of the former as well as the following institutions for the assistance given during research: The University of Pennsylvania, Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, the University of Detroit, Wayne State University, William L. Clements Library, the University of Nebraska, Washington University in Saint Louis, and Concordia Teachers College, Seward, Nebraska. His adviser, Dr. Richard D. Miles, has been most generous with his time in the preparation of the manuscript. His assistance on matters of writing style and expression, in addition to his ready willingness to share his knowledge of Colonial American history, have been most helpful. Dr. Goldwin Smith's kindness in reading the manuscript, together with his excellent comments, have also improved the quality of this study. Finally, the writer's wife, Maxine Bickel Fiala, has been most understanding during the course of this project; her sustaining encouragement was most welcome and helped carry it to completion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	11
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE POLITICAL ORDER IN PENNSYLVANIA PRIOR TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III	23
III. TRIBUTES TO A NEW KING, 1760-1763	46
IV. ROYAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STAMP ACT CRISIS, 1764-1766	88
V. THE KING'S "EVIL AND PERNICIOUS COUNSELLORS," 1767-1769	141
VI. AN UNEASY CALM, 1770-1773	198
VII. THE DECLINE OF PENNSYLVANIANS' LOYALTY, 1774	261
VIII. THE END OF LOYALTY IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1775	296
IX. THE GREAT DEBATE, 1776	340
X. A SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	379
APPENDIX	387
BIBLIOGRAPHY	389
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT	427

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The political system of constitutional monarchy which evolved in Great Britain after the Glorious Revolution was an instrument of government widely admired among the enlightened writers of the eighteenth century. Both Montesquieu in The Spirit of the Laws and Voltaire in his Letters on the English produced favorable first-hand impressions of the political system of Great Britain. What was so much admired was the concept of guaranteed liberty which limited the absolutism of the monarch by a balance of power within the government. Yet the precise nature of this government had never been fully analyzed and there often were bitter controversies over the extent of royal or parliamentary prerogative.

The previous century had been one of the most turbulent periods in English history. One king had been beheaded and another, his heirs destined to create a series of crises in the next century, driven into exile. The revolution of 1688-9 had broken the continuity of succession and, for latent sentiment of divine right, had substituted what appeared to some to be almost an elective kingship.¹

¹Some, Bishop William Lloyd, for example, saw

One of the more notable and enduring problems to arise from the Revolution involved the locus of sovereignty in the reorganized government. John Locke, in his Two Treatises of Government published in 1690,² had emphasized a popular and conditional grant of power to the ruler. Should the latter break the mutually-binding civil contract by becoming tyrannical or by violating the principles of justice, the people would have the right to replace him with someone who would respect their rights. The revolution thus reduced the king from his former position, and ended the move toward absolute monarchy which many saw in James II.

William III had come to the throne in 1689 as the result of a political agreement legalized by parliamentary act; both the Bill of Rights and later laws bore witness to the altered structure of government. In his coronation oath William had sworn "to govern . . . according to the statutes in parliament agreed on and the laws and customs" of "the people of [the] kingdom of England and the dominions thereunto belonging."³ The Act of Settlement of 1701 further

William III's accession as an act of God and therefore compatible with divine right theory: "The transferring of power from one to another is the act of God," William Lloyd, A Discourse of God's Ways of Disposing of Kingdoms (London, 1691), quoted in Gerald M. Straka, ed., The Revolution of 1688: Whig Triumph or Palace Revolution? (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1963), p. 25.

²The two treatises were written in the early 1680's during the Exclusion controversy.

³E. Neville Williams prints the coronation oath of William III beside that of James II, facilitating comparison. See Williams, The Eighteenth-Century Constitution, 1688-1815: Documents and Commentaries (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1960), pp. 36-38.

enforced the concept of the limitation of the monarchy by parliamentary fiat by passing over the hereditary claims of the Catholic heirs of James II in favor of the Protestant House of Hanover. Other statutory regulations--requiring parliamentary consent for the monarch to leave the kingdom and to declare war in defense of lands not belonging to the crown of England--also altered the character of royal powers.⁴

By the nature of the revolutionary settlement, then, Parliament could exert a more forceful role in the administration of the state, as both the domestic and the overseas policy came more under the control of a Parliament dominated by the commercial and professional classes. None of the influential classes, however, made any direct attack on the concept of the monarchy, nor was the king to be considered a figurehead.⁵ The settlement perhaps is best explained by a recent writer who stated that there was achieved, and for a time maintained, a constitutional balance of power between a king who was still powerful and a House of Commons which

⁴The regulation regarding the monarch's leaving the country was repealed in 1714. In addition the Act of Settlement established judges in office during good behavior, thus putting them beyond the reach of the king.

⁵For an interesting and important discussion of Republican-Commonwealth sentiment in the eighteenth century see Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth-century Commonwealthmen: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

was newly powerful.⁶

The king had maintained an important place in politics for a variety of reasons. Some prerogatives had always belonged to the king. He was the head of the Church and controlled, with his ministers, the patronage. Theoretically he could make war or peace, summon or dissolve the legislature and veto legislation. According to William Blackstone, author of the first extensive study of the English constitution, the king was "not only the chief, but properly the sole, magistrate of the nation":

In the exertion of lawful prerogative, the king is and ought to be absolute . . . unless where the constitution hath expressly or by evident consequence, laid down some exception or boundary; declaring, that thus far the prerogative shall go, and no farther.⁷

Many in Parliament expressed a willingness and even an eagerness to support the king, influenced not only by his ability to dispense patronage, but also by the sacred, prestigious, and mystical character of the royal office. The crown also remained important in the electoral process; had the ministers controlled electoral influence, they would have established their independence from the crown. While it was becoming more difficult to choose ministers without the approval of Parliament, it was still impossible for a minister who lacked the confidence of the king to

⁶Betty Kemp, King and Commons, 1660-1832 (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1965), p. 3.

⁷William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England: In Four Books (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1771), II, 250.

remain long in office. William Pitt was at the height of his popularity in 1760, though disliked by many of his associates in the Commons. A year later, lacking royal support, he was out of office, demonstrating that the royal choice was still a significant factor in British politics.

The monarch realized, however, that he did not have complete freedom with regard to his choice of ministers. Historically the members of the cabinet, an advisory body, were appointed by the king and were subject to his command. The Revolution had brought not only the king more under the control of Parliament, but also the ministers. In most cases the king had to choose his ministers from among the parliamentary leaders, though theoretically he had complete freedom to choose those acceptable only to himself. Parliamentary control of finances, however, in effect gradually forced the ministers to be responsible to it as well as to the king. A further obvious limitation on the king's freedom to choose his own ministers was that the Hanoverians owed their throne to the Whigs; hence Tories or former Tories could not generally be considered for responsible positions in the government.⁸

In the mid-eighteenth century there was no "loyal opposition" and there were no political parties. The king was not only head of the government, he was also the head of the nation. Since there could be no party-government

⁸D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome, eds. English Historical Documents, 1714-1783, vol. X of English Historical Documents, David Douglas, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 81.

without the influence of the king, there could be no constitutional parliamentary opposition.⁹ Any opposition to the king could be, and was, equated with disloyalty to the state. The terms "Whig and "Tory" "covered types moulded by deeply ingrained differences in temperament and outlook" and often were adopted by or foisted upon particular groups containing individuals with strikingly divergent political views. The differences between them were unclear; perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic on local levels was that of religion--high church opposed to low church and dissent.¹⁰ Yet it should also be remembered that such divisive forces as religion and a de facto monarchy opposed by a pretender had virtually disappeared by mid-century. The grouping of members of Parliament was in part based on blood, class, or local considerations. Politicians decried the insidious and vile nature of parties and factions which would upset the balance of the British constitution. Viscount Bolingbroke sought the removal of party through the union of all men's allegiance in the person of a "Patriot King," while the

⁹Lewis Namier, England in the Age of the American Revolution (2nd ed., London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1961), p. 63.

¹⁰Lewis Namier, Crossroads of Power: Essays on Eighteenth Century England (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), pp. 229-231. See also the lucid discussion of this problem in Archibald S. Foord, His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1964), esp. pp. 1-22. Older and more discursive in nature is Keith Grahame Feiling, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832 (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1938).

elder Pitt sought "the breaking of parties."¹¹

Though politicians abhorred factions and would take no part in "storming the closet," they still had ambitions for power and office. In an attempt to gain power, the potential opposition often coalesced around the Prince of Wales, heir to the throne. With a Hanoverian prince at the center there could be none of the charges of Jacobitism usually leveled against those out of office. Such a development of opposition, however, strained the relations between the monarch and his heir. Each Hanoverian monarch in the eighteenth century had violent quarrels with his prospective heir to the throne.¹² Upon the death of his father, Prince Frederick, in 1751, the future George III was reconciled to his mother and he became the center of opposition to George II. Since George III at his accession had no mature heirs, the opposition tended toward the royal uncles.

Coalescing around the Prince of Wales was one device for insuring an individual's political future, though his accession to power obviously would depend on the accession of a new king. For those somewhat more impatient of office another device could be employed. Members of Parliament attempted to distinguish between the acts of the crown and those of the minister as a way of establishing ministerial responsibility to Parliament. The opposition thus could

¹¹See Feiling, Second Tory Party, p. 2.

¹²Romney Sedgwick, ed., Letters from George III to Lord Bute, 1756-1766 (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1939), xi-xvi.

attack the ministers and demand their removal from office, while not attacking the king. The charges which were raised were high-sounding ones. The minister often was condemned because of widespread corruption in his administration. This charge of ministerial corruption occurred quite frequently in the 1760's and 1770's, most often by individuals eager for office. Another common tactic was to call for the reorganization of the government in order to rescue the monarch from the tyranny of his ministers and in order to preserve the constitution.¹³

George III became King of Great Britain and the British empire on October 25, 1760, succeeding his late grandfather, George II. The motives and intentions of the King when he ascended the throne have been subjected to searching analysis and criticism. Much of the effort of the historians has been centered upon the objectives of the new monarch at the beginning of his reign. Was he "imbued with ideas fundamentally opposed to the system of government which he found in existence"¹⁴ and "intent, heart and soul, on his favorite scheme for establishing a system of personal

¹³Sedgwick, ed., Letters from George III to Lord Bute, xvii. Sedgwick maintains that the charge that George III attempted to subvert responsible government in 1760 "is derived from a political fiction originally invented to enable him and other heirs-apparent to close their eyes to the fact that by co-operating with the opposition they were contributing to the establishment of precisely such a system." Ibid., p. xix.

¹⁴A. Mervyn Davies, The Influence of George III on the Development of the Constitution (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 12.

rule, under which all the threads of administration should centre in the royal closet"?¹⁵ Did he follow the Tory principles of The Idea of the Patriot King¹⁶ in which Viscount Bolingbroke called for George III's father, Frederick, to become King in his own right, rather than succumb to ministerial and parliamentary power? Was the education of the young Prince George after his father's death in 1751 entrusted to Tories influenced by the writings of Bolingbroke?¹⁷ The question of George III's personal government is, of course, significant to the student of American history because of charges which make George III responsible for the entire revolutionary period. It has been a popular interpretation from the time of Thomas Paine

¹⁵George Otto Trevelyan, The Early History of Charles James Fox (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880), p. 70.

¹⁶The Idea of a Patriot King was written shortly after 1738, when Bolingbroke briefly visited Frederick in England. Alexander Pope brought out an unauthorized edition around 1743, and Bolingbroke issued a revised and authorized edition in 1749. Poord, His Majesty's Opposition, p. 149n.

¹⁷See a criticism of this in Sedgwick, ed., Letters from George III, pp. vii-lxvii. Sedgwick concluded that the letters suggest neither that George was acquainted with the writings of Bolingbroke nor that he "was brought up to hold reactionary and arbitrary political views." Ibid., p. lvi. Compare this, however, with Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. "Sir Lewis Namier Considered," The Journal of British Studies, II (November 1962), 28-55. Hereafter cited as JBS.

and the Declaration of Independence to the present.¹⁸

The accession particularly has been a topic of discussion since the publication of Sir Lewis Namier's The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III in 1760 and England in the Age of the American Revolution the following year. Namier concluded that George III operated within the framework of the British constitution and that his accession "did not in itself mark the advent of any new ideas."¹⁹ The basic question of whether the new monarch was actually attempting to be king without limitation by Parliament still, however, remains unsettled.²⁰

¹⁸Representative of this interpretation among the popularizers might be the following by Justin McCarthy: "Pitt had made for George the Third a great empire, which it was the work of George the Third not long after to destroy, so far as its destruction could be compassed by the stupidity of a man." Justin McCarthy and Justin Huntly McCarthy, A History of the Four Georges and of William IV (London: Chatto and Windus, 1901), III, 3-4.

¹⁹Namier, England in the Age of the American Revolution, p. 62. Herbert Butterfield correctly points out that Namier's conclusions on the reign of George III were not original with him, though the method was. See Butterfield, George III and the Historians (rev. ed., New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959), passim, esp. pp. 193-299.

²⁰See, for example, the following recent articles: Harvey C. Mansfield Jr., "Sir Lewis Namier Considered," JBS II (November 1962), 28-55; Robert Walcott, "Sir Lewis Namier Considered," JBS, III (May 1964), 85-108; Harvey C. Mansfield Jr., "Sir Lewis Namier Again Considered," JBS, III (May 1964), 109-119; Herbert Butterfield, "Some Reflections on the Early Years of George III's Reign" JBS, IV (May 1965), 78-101; and Ian R. Christie, "Was There a 'New Toryism' in the Earlier Part of George III's Reign?" JBS, V (November 1965), 60-76.

There had slowly evolved in the eighteenth century the system of cabinet responsibility with a "prime" minister to lead the government. It has often been maintained that Sir Robert Walpole became the first such minister because of the indifference on the part of the first two Hanoverians, who, because of their inability to understand English or English customs and their lack of interest in the country, allowed the ministers to pursue an independent policy. When George III came to the throne in 1760, the argument goes, he attempted to overthrow the constitution by appointing someone to power--the Earl of Bute, who soon assumed the head of the Treasury--who had the confidence neither of the Parliament nor of the people and was dedicated to subverting the constitution of the nation. Yet this simplifies too much a very complex issue. While Walpole was influential, he did not have the authority of a prime minister. After Walpole's resignation from office in 1742 there was a period of flux until the consolidation of the position of Henry Pelham, who dominated English politics from 1745 until his death in 1754. The Duke of Newcastle who succeeded his brother was a busier, but less talented man who "retained the leading position . . . by reducing it to his own dimensions."²¹ Thus there was no established form of responsible government for George III to destroy when he became king in 1760. Studies made of particular periods of the reigns of

²¹Namier, England in the Age of the American Revolution, p. 73.

the first two Hanoverians indicate that the king was an active and viable part of the government, not merely a figurehead who reigned, but did not rule.²²

After the death of Frederick, the Prince of Wales, in 1751, the education of Prince George was placed in the hands of his mother. There arose charges and counter-charges over the tutors chosen, and it was widely rumored that the prince was being indoctrinated with the reactionary views of the hated Bolingbroke. Within a few years he did fall under the influence of John Stuart, Lord Bute, a Scotsman whom rumor linked romantically to George's mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales. It appears that early the young prince had little confidence in his own abilities, as can be seen in a letter he wrote to Bute when he was eighteen: "I am young and unexperienced and want advice. I trust in your friendship which will assist me in all difficulties."²³ The next year, in fear of a political alliance

²²See esp. the following: Namier, England in the Age of the American Revolution, p. 73; Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (2nd ed., London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1957); J. H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole (2 vols. to date, London: The Cresset Press, 1956, 1960); J. B. Owen, The Rise of the Pelhams (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1957); and John W. Wilkes, A Whig in Power: The Political Career of Henry Pelham (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964). Wilkes sees Pelham as playing a most important part in the administration, thus reducing the role of the king. Nevertheless, the latter's role was still large.

²³George, Prince of Wales, to Lord Bute, June 31 [sic], 1756, Sedgwick, ed. Letters from George III to Lord Bute, pp. 2-4.

between Newcastle and Fox which he felt endangered his succession, he wrote in a sterner manner that he would either "meet force with force" or yield his crown, "for I would only accept it with the hopes of restoring my much loved country to her antient state of liberty."²⁴ Two years before he ascended the throne he wrote that by trusting in the "Almighty who best knows what is fit for us" and "Attempting with vigour to restore religion and virtue when I mount the throne this great country will probably regain her antient state of lustre."²⁵ Although such sentiments seem to indicate that he sought to effect some changes in the state they are not proof that the king sought to subvert the constitution. It rather seems that George III was brought up with a profound respect for his office and the constitution. The major crises early in his reign--Wilkes, war in America, the Irish problem--stemmed from a devotion to the constitution and an obstinate refusal to violate the trust which, he felt, God had placed in his hands. He was a man of "high virtue and narrow outlook, who would never conciliate opposition or conceal a hatred." Rather than a king ascending the throne with a new theory of government in 1760, there came an individual less capable of using the prerogatives of his office.

²⁴"George, Prince of Wales, to Lord Bute," June, 1757, Ibid., pp. 5-6.

²⁵"George, Prince of Wales, to Lord Bute," August 20, 1758, Ibid., pp. 12-13.

Another charge levied against the king explains the method which the king allegedly used in his attempt to destroy the constitution; this was the tactic of providing money to secure favorable returns at elections for members of the Commons. Yet in fairness it should be pointed out that the average elector did not conceive of the vote as a trust or an element in choosing a government; rather "it was a privilege attendant upon property or social position and was expected to yield suitable returns."²⁶ It was expected that constituents would receive either a treat or money gifts at election time, but this was not considered bribery, which was punishable. The line separating the two was not clear.²⁷ The question of the propriety of such activity was not seriously discussed except by those who wished to enter office. After the accession in 1760 members of Parliament attacked the king's distribution of titles, offices, and pensions as efforts to maintain his personal influence. The monarch became actively involved in the electoral process and employed the same tactics for election as did those who opposed him. The opposition, in addition, could not call for changes in the electoral procedure--instruction of members, frequent elections, and wider electorate--without destroying their own following in Parliament and.

²⁶Lewis Namier and John Brooke, The House of Commons, 1754-1790 in The History of Parliament (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), I, 180.

²⁷Ibid., I, 180-181.

consequently, their own political power.²⁸ Nevertheless, the number who received money from the crown remained proportionately small.²⁹

The Glorious Revolution had not only enforced the concept of the balance of powers within the "mixed" constitution, it had also complicated relations with the colonies. The question of the locus of sovereignty in the post-1688 government arose particularly in the royal colonies, but the problem was common to each of them. The direct or indirect authority of the king previously had been established in every colony. Did parliamentary supremacy in Great Britain now mean that the political sovereignty resided in Parliament rather than in the king who had granted the charter? Many colonists were to hold, especially after Parliament began to exert a more direct control over them, that the king had not lost his powers over the colonies; colonial assemblies and leaders sent appeals to the king to remove the unjust parliamentary exactions and to dissociate himself from his advisers and the leaders of Parliament who were leading him astray. The actual position of the king,

²⁸G. H. Guttridge, English Whiggism and the American Revolution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 32. Sedgwick, Letters from George III to Lord Bute, p. xviii. Edmund Burke, for example, was strongly opposed to electoral reform because of the threat to the constitution. See Carl B. Cone, Burke and the Nature of Politics, vol. I, The Age of the American Revolution ([Lexington]: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), pp. 174, 181, 191-192, 211-212.

²⁹Namier, Structure of Politics, pp. 177, 215-216, 234.

however, had never been defined.³⁰

There were many problems which faced the British empire after the victory over France. How were the newly-won territories, particularly Canada and the Mississippi Valley, to be incorporated into the mercantilistic empire? In addition it was deemed necessary to define the proper relationship between the colonies and the mother country. After 1760 there occurred a series of discussions concerning the imperial position of the colonies--discussions made necessary not only by the addition of new territory but also by the apparent failure of the existing laws and regulations.³¹ British officials agreed that the various laws of the empire as expressed in the Navigation Acts should be reviewed to prevent the wholesale defiance which they had been receiving. Likewise most Englishmen agreed that the American colonies could assume some part of the expenditure for the imperial defense. It was this need to reorganize the administrative structure of the empire, in addition to the desire to raise revenue, which precipitated the eventual clash between the mother country and the colonies and contributed to the violent difficulties at home.

Before 1760 the main objectives for founding colonies

³⁰Vincent T. Harlow, The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793, vol. I, Discovery and Revolution (London: Longmans, 1952), p. 147.

³¹See Charles A. Ritcheson, British Politics and the American Revolution (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, (1954), pp. 3-5.

were for purposes of trade; goods and markets rather than mere extension of territory or the establishment of large numbers of Englishmen overseas would create a strong kingdom.³² There had been, consequently, no effort to create a tightly-knit political empire, though occasionally there had been attempts to organize unions for defensive measures. The commercial interests of the empire could be seen in the disallowance of colonial laws which were reviewed by the Board of Trade. Most of those rejected, though the total number was not large, related to problems of trade, navigation and the profits of British merchants, as well as possible infringements on the political prerogatives of the crown.³³ There was thus the concept of a self-supporting empire, with the mother country and the colonies complementary to one another.³⁴ Yet it was not against the commercial regulations that the colonists

³²Klaus E. Knorr, British Colonial Theories, 1570-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944), pp. 126-131.

³³Edward Dumbauld, The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), p. 88. See also Charles M. Andrews, "The Royal Disallowance," Proceedings of the American Anti-Quarian Society, XXIV (New Series) Part 2 (October 1914), 342-346, and Elmer B. Russell, Review of American Colonial Legislation By the King in Council. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 155 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915).

³⁴The economic aspects of the colonial question are lucidly described in E. Lipson, The Economic History of England, vol. III, The Age of Mercantilism (6th ed., London: Adam and Charles Black, 1956), pp. 154-197.

objected. Rather it was the attempt to violate the traditions and the constitutional relationships of the empire.³⁵

Traditionalism was at the core of the constitution, according to colonists as well as to those residing in England. There were certain fundamental principles which could never be changed: "the fundamental Laws and Rules of the Constitution, which ought never to be infringed, should be made alike distributive of Justice and Equity, and equally calculated to preserve the Sovereign's Prerogative and the People's Liberties."³⁶ The three elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy shared the power of the state; Americans saw analogous forms in their own governor or lieutenant-governor, council and assembly.³⁷ Blackstone wrote:

If ever it should happen that the independence of any one of the three should be lost, or that it should become subservient to the views of either of the other two, there would soon be an end of our

³⁵Oliver M. Dickerson, The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution (New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1963 [1951]), p. xii.

³⁶[Joseph Galloway?], A Letter, To the People of Pennsylvania; Occasioned by the Assembly's passing that Important Act, for Constituting the Judges of the Supream Courts and Common-Pleas, During Good Behaviour (Philadelphia: [William Dunlap], 1760), pp. 3-4. Bernard Bailyn suggests, with good reason, Galloway as author. See his excellent commentary in Bailyn, ed. Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776, vol. I, 1750-1765 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 249-255.

³⁷Leonard Woods Labaree, Conservatism in Early American History (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959 [1948]), p. 134.

constitution.³⁸

This was a sentiment to which colonial writers subscribed throughout the revolutionary period; they saw themselves as defenders of the prerogatives of the king against the attempts of the Parliament to usurp his powers. It later became evident that the king did not desire their assistance.

American colonists viewed their membership in the British empire with pride. They did not consider themselves inferior to His Majesty's subjects at home; some saw American provinces as part of a greater England.³⁹

Benjamin Franklin in 1760 had made clear his identification with England and also displayed his pride in America:

No one can rejoice more sincerely than I do on the Reduction of Canada; and this, not merely as I am a Colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of Opinion, that the Foundations of the future Grandeur and Stability of the British Empire, lie in America.⁴⁰

America would help create an Empire from the British colonial possessions. Franklin also criticized those who saw a potential threat to England should the colonies become more prosperous:

Their [the colonies'] jealousy of each other is so great that however necessary an union of the colonies has long been, for their common defence and security

³⁸Blackstone, Commentaries, I, 51-52.

³⁹Richard Koebner, Empire (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1961), pp. 90, 93.

⁴⁰"Benjamin Franklin to Lord Kames," Jan. 3, 1760, in The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-), IX, 5-7. Hereafter cited as Labaree, Franklin Papers.

against their enemies, and how sensible soever each colony has been of that necessity, yet they have never been able to effect such an union among themselves, nor even to agree in requesting the mother country to establish it for them. Nothing but the immediate command of the crown has been able to produce even the imperfect union but lately seen there, of the forces of some colonies.⁴¹

Yet there also appears some evidence to indicate that already by the 1760's there was an awareness that Americans somehow were different from their brothers in England. The French traveller J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur pointed this out in his Letters from an American Farmer, and the condescending attitude which many Englishmen adopted toward their thin-skinned Yankee cousin also bears this out.⁴² The distance from the authorities created a tendency to seek autonomous solutions to certain problems of government and society. Though Crevecoeur overstated his case when he suggested that "only the middling and the poor . . . emigrate" to America, there did not develop a formal aristocracy in the New World. A social or political institution such as that of an aristocracy seemed out of place in a land which was blessed with an abundance of available territory. Frederick Jackson Turner late in the nineteenth century formulated his thesis--since modified--to describe the democratizing effects which the frontier had

⁴¹[Benjamin Franklin], The Interest of Great Britain Considered, With Regard to her Colonies, And the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe, To which are added, Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c (London: 1760), in Labaree, Franklin Papers, IX, 90.

⁴²Koebner, Empire, pp. 93-94; see also Bailyn, Pamphlets, I, 54-55.

on American institutions. Yet such a principle had already been seen in colonial times, as in Joseph Read's description of an aristocracy as "a kind of government as repugnant to the genius and temper of America, as despotic monarchy."⁴³

In addition to the frontier, there were certain other aspects of America which were formative influences on the development of an American national character. Carl Bridenbaugh suggests that it was the city and urban life which forged the final link in the American union in the crisis period.⁴⁴ Other historians, such as Michael Kraus and Max Savelle discuss the various areas in which this nascent national character manifested itself.⁴⁵ Its appearance by 1760 has been noted by these, as well as other historians.

⁴³Four Dissertations, on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union Between Great-Britain and her American Colonies. Written for Mr. Sargent's Prize-Medal. To which (by Desire) is prefixed, an Eulogium, Spoken on the Delivery of the Medal at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20, 1766 (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1766), p. 28.

⁴⁴See Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962 [1942]); Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742 (New York: The Ronald Press, 1938); Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).

⁴⁵Michael Kraus, Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution, With Special Reference to Northern Towns (New York: Octagon Books, 1964 [1928]), and The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1961 [1949]); Max Savelle, Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948).

Thus by the mid-eighteenth century there was a variety of factors which contributed to the breakdown of authority of Great Britain over America: the state of flux of the constitution particularly with regard to the question of the locus of sovereignty, the character of the new king and the political system in which he had to work, the crisis within the empire, and finally the differences between Englishmen in America and Great Britain. Indicative of this breakdown of authority or allegiance was the attitude which Americans expressed about their sovereign, George III, whom a number of colonists saw as the basis of unity among the several parts of the empire. As this allegiance disintegrated, all hope of reconciliation vanished.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL ORDER IN PENNSYLVANIA PRIOR TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III

Benjamin Franklin's province of Pennsylvania illustrates well the growing estrangement of Americans from the mother country and from the person of the monarch. Initially settled by Quakers in 1682, Pennsylvania grew rapidly, aided by a fine port at Philadelphia, fertile lands, good publicity, and one of the better colonial governments. Although it was the last of the English colonies to be settled in the seventeenth century, by the time of the revolution its population was about four hundred thousand, nearly as large as Virginia and Massachusetts.¹ Philadelphia's population of 40,000 was second only to that of London in the British Empire.²

William Penn received his charter to a large tract of land in America in payment of a debt which the crown owed his father. As proprietor Penn was empowered to make laws and impose taxes with the advice and consent of his freemen. Yet there were also royal limitations on the proprietary

¹Theodore Thayer, Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776 (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1953), p. 1.

²Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962 [1942]), pp. 3-4.

authority. According to the charter the laws could not be

repugnant or contrary, but as near as conveniently may be agreeable to the laws and statutes, and rights of this our kingdom of England; and saving and reserving to us, our heirs and successors, the receiving, hearing, and determining of the appeal and appeals of all or any person or persons, of, in, or belonging to the territories aforesaid, or touching any judgment to be there made or given.³

The Privy Council was empowered to review, modify, or reject the province's laws; Pennsylvania was the only colony so limited in its charter. In addition, the proprietor had to maintain an agent or attorney in London

to answer for any misdemeanours that shall be committed, or by any wilful default or neglect permitted by the said William Penn, his heir or assigns, against our laws of trade or navigation.⁴

The Charter also included a somewhat cryptic reference to the power of taxation:

We [the king] do covenant . . . that we, our heirs and successors, shall at no time hereafter set or make, or cause to be set, any imposition, custom or other taxation, rate or contribution whatsoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforesaid province . . . or in and upon any goods or merchandise within the said province . . . unless the same be with the consent of the proprietary, or chief governor, or assembly, or by act of Parliament in England.⁵

Penn's agreement to this last part apparently indicates his acceptance of parliamentary taxation; it became a source of

³"The Charter of Pennsylvania (4 March 1681)," in Merrill Jensen, ed., American Colonial Documents to 1776, vol. IX of English Historical Documents, David C. Douglas, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 95.

⁴Ibid., p. 98. See Elmer Becher Russell, The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council, in vol. LXIV of Columbia University, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law (New York: Columbia University, 1915), pp. 37-38.

⁵Jensen, Documents, p. 100.

dispute later in provincial history. The charter illustrates the change in British colonial policy wherein there was a new emphasis on royal authority and the enforcement of mercantilistic principles.⁶

Penn gave his settlers in Pennsylvania an initial Frame of Government in 1682. He declared that

Any Government is free to the People under it (whatever be the Frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a Party to those Laws, and more, than this is Tyranny, Oligarchy, or Confusion.⁷

The end of Government should be the happiness of men, though the form and the style might vary from place to place. The Governor and the Council were to initiate legislation and then submit it to the Assembly for approval or rejection. This was modified in the Charter of Liberties, or Second Frame of Government, given after Penn arrived in America. There was a reduction in the size both of the Assembly and the Council, though their function remained the same. By this Second Frame, enacted in 1683, the proprietor surrendered his triple vote in the Council and possibly placed himself in a position subservient to the Provincial Council.⁸

⁶Compare Penn's charter, for example, with that given Lord Baltimore in 1632, Ibid., pp. 84-93.

⁷Notes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Archives, 8th Series (8 vols., Harrisburg: 1931-1935), I, p. xlvi. See also William Robert Shepherd, History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania, vol. VI of Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law (New York: Columbia University, 1896), pp. 225-316.

⁸Edwin B. Bronner, William Penn's "Holy Experiment": The Founding of Pennsylvania, 1681-1701 (New York: Columbia University Press, Temple University Publications, 1962), pp. 41-42.

He occasionally employed his veto power.

There soon arose difficulties between Penn and the Assembly over the latter's power. The Assembly challenged the leadership of the Governor and the Council on numerous occasions, not always keeping within the spirit of what Penn considered his "Holy Experiment."⁹ There was also evidence of the beginning of the dispute between the Quakers and the non-Quakers, a controversy which continued though the assembly remained under the domination of the governor of Pennsylvania.¹⁰

As political rivalry continued in the colony, there gradually emerged two major factions. The wealthy merchants and farmers of the three large eastern counties--Bucks, Chester, and Philadelphia--comprised a conservative anti-proprietary party. These three counties possessed twenty-four of the thirty-six seats in the Assembly, and, since Quaker influence was preponderant in these counties, the Quakers were able to control the Assembly. Their idea of government was a government by privileged minority; the leaders fought as hard against the extension of suffrage, as they did against the governor.¹¹ This Quaker Party defended the Charter of Privileges of 1701, while seeking to extend their control even further at the expense of the proprietor.

⁹See Ibid., pp. 44-45.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 248-249.

¹¹See the recent account, anti-Quaker party in tone, by William S. Hanna, Benjamin Franklin and Pennsylvania Politics (Stanford University Press, 1964), esp. pp. 1-22.

Penn's successors also abandoned the religion of the founder, so there was added to this rivalry, the element of religious dissension. The Quakers were also aided by the German pietist elements, which favored the former's policy of pacifism.

The opposition to the Quaker party came from two different elements. The first was the Proprietary party, made up of individuals who by inclination or by position supported the proprietor. They opposed any attempted extension of power to the Assembly at the expense of the proprietor. Secondly, there was attracted to the proprietary side those elements which opposed the Quaker domination of the Assembly, though they were not necessarily in favor of stronger proprietary control. Generally this included the Scots-Irish who had settled in the frontier provinces.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Quaker party generally maintained its position with little serious control over the Assembly. To do so, they thought, would jeopardize their own political and religious rights--for Quakers often were a persecuted sect--in addition to the economic gains of the province which they attributed to their policies.¹² Quaker hegemony was aided to some extent

¹²No Quaker served as deputy-governor after the death of Thomas Lloyd in 1694, either because the crown had to confirm the appointment or because the appointee was required to take an oath to support military activities. Howard M. Jenkins, ed., Pennsylvania: Colonial and Federal, A History, 1608-1903 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Historical Publishing Association, 1903), I, 346. Edward Shippen, in 1702-3, and James Logan, in 1736-7, both Quakers, served as interim governors between appointments, Isaac Sharpless, A Quaker Experiment in Government (Philadelphia: Alfred J. Ferris, 1898), p. 70.

by the concern of the proprietors with their own domestic problems of bankruptcy and lawsuits. By mid-century the Assembly was quite powerful and, particularly in time of war, was a distinct threat to the proprietary prerogative.

The major sources of friction between the Assembly and the Proprietary concerned the problems of finances and defense. Provincial funds were a major grievance, in part because the proprietor owned vast tax-free estates in addition to having the authority to collect quit-rent. Consistently the Assembly passed laws raising funds through a tax on these estates, and just as regularly these were vetoed by the deputy governor.¹³ Like other colonies, Pennsylvania was also beset with a chronic specie shortage. Early in the century petitions from the counties had called for the establishment of paper currency in an attempt to remedy the situation, and in February 1722/3 the Assembly passed legislation providing for a small amount of short duration currency. Deputy governor William Keith violated his instructions and cooperated with the debtor classes which wanted paper currency. The Assembly issued £15,000 in bills of credit in March 1722/3 and another £30,000 later that same year to serve as legal tender in all payments.¹⁴

¹³See Shepherd, Proprietary Govt. in Pa., pp. 435-473, and J. Paul Selsam, The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776: A study in Revolutionary Democracy (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1936), pp. 15-18.

¹⁴Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), II, 547-549; Winfred Trexler Root, The Relations of

In the next decades the Assembly assumed all authority over paper money, and through various financial schemes--replacing worn currency, excise acts, interest on loans from the Land Office--was able to secure an independent income of about £6,000 per annum for its own use.¹⁵ This further aided the Assembly in its struggle with the proprietary. Pennsylvania was not included in the Currency Act of 1751 which prohibited legal-tender bills of credit, in part because the proprietor had promised that the Assembly would not expand the amount of currency in use. Thomas Penn thus attempted to reassert his proprietary control after years of comparative neglect by endeavoring to regain his position as an equal in fiscal matters. He planned to reduce the amount issued in paper currency and also control the excise through short term grants. The initial test of this change in policy came in 1753, when Governor James Hamilton followed proprietary instructions and refused approval to a currency bill which lacked a suspending clause. Members of the Assembly had argued that the Royal Order of 1740, which required a suspending clause, applied solely to royal colonies. Penn, however, did not yield. He did not wish to risk control of his province because of a technicality; thus anti-proprietary agitation reached a new level of intensity.¹⁶

Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, Agents for University of Pennsylvania, 1912), pp. 188-190.

¹⁵Hanna, Franklin and Pa. Politics, pp. 40-41.

¹⁶Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 28-29.

The other basic quarrel between the Assembly and the proprietary interests arose over the problems of war and defense. Since the Assembly was controlled by Quakers and their pietistic German allies, it consistently refused to support royal and proprietary orders to provide an army and supplies for defense. Although this had been one of the causes for the temporary conversion of Pennsylvania into a royal province in 1692, defensive appropriations still were delayed. The solution adopted early in the century was that the governor would raise troops on his own authority while the Assembly would agree to make a contribution to the crown to use as deemed necessary. In this way the pacifists could provide needed money, while not directly providing it for defense. By mid-century, however, this arrangement had broken down, and the Assembly came increasingly under attack during the major war with France and the series of Indian border wars. In general the members of the Assembly attempted to follow true Quaker principles toward the Indians--pacification through kindness, presents, personal conferences, and treaties. Although it quite obviously was an encroachment on the prerogatives of the proprietary, it usually was a successful policy.¹⁷

The governor often was caught between the demands of the Assembly and the instructions either of the proprietor or the king's ministers, a situation similar to that in other colonies. In 1740, for example, Governor George Thomas

¹⁷Hanna, Franklin and Pa. Politics, pp. 6-7.

sought to raise troops for imperial use against Spain. Following royal instructions he enlisted servants in harvest season and incurred the wrath of almost every element of the province. The Assembly reacted by revoking the grant of £3,000 for the king's service until the servants were released, and, in addition, withheld the governor's salary. It was reported that at this time one could everywhere hear rude talk against all in authority, "the King not excepted."¹⁸ Thus even at this early date one can see that some identified the difficulties of the province with the decisions of British authorities.

Though the Quakers by mid-century were a minority in the province, they were still able to count on the support of the large number of pacifists--Mennonites, Dunkards, and Moravians--in the large German-speaking population. In addition the German elements were mobilized by the influence of the Pennsylvanische Berichte, the most important German-language newspaper of the time. Edited by the Dunker Christopher Sauer, it was strongly anti-propietary (and later pro-monarchical) in tone, and molded the opinions of many who were not pacifists.¹⁹ Benjamin Franklin, although

¹⁸The Rev. Richard Peters, Proprietary Secretary in Pennsylvania and a vigorous opponent of the Quakers, quoted in Thayer, Pa. Politics, p. 13.

¹⁹Lawrence Henry Gipson, The British Isles and the American Colonies, The Northern Plantations, 1748-1754, vol. III of The British Empire Before the American Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 159-160. See also Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer, Pennsylvania-German Printer: His Youth in Germany and Later Relationships with Europe,"

he generally served as a moderating influence in Pennsylvania politics early in his career, supported the Quakers, while opposing their German allies. In his Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c. Franklin demonstrated his distaste of the Germans and described their threat to the English domination of the colony: "Why should the Palatine Boors be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together establish their Language and Manners to the Exclusion of ours?"²⁰

The Six Nations Confederation had exerted a stabilizing influence on the Pennsylvania Indians, but by mid-century its power was on the wane, while French influence was increasing. The English no longer could protect tribes friendly to their interests, and the frontier became embroiled by a series of Indian raids. The situation on the frontier became even more acute with the outbreak of war

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography LXXXII (July 1958), 316-340. This journal hereafter cited as Pa. Mag.

²⁰This statement proved helpful to the anti-Franklin forces in later electoral campaigns. Originally written in 1751, this pamphlet was not published until 1755 in [William Clarke], Observations On the Late and present Conduct of the French, with Regard to their Encroachments upon the British Colonies in North America . . . To which is added, wrote by another Hand; Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c. (Boston: S. Kneeland, 1755), in Leonard W. Labaree, ed. The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), IV, 234. Hereafter cited as Labaree, Franklin Papers. See also Arthur D. Graeff, The Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities (1750-1776) (Norristown, Pa.: Norristown Herald, Inc., 1939), p. 24, and Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), pp. 218, 315.

with France in 1754. The settlers on the Pennsylvania frontier, primarily Scots-Irish, appealed to the Assembly for protection. Most of the members in the Quaker-dominated Assembly, however, continued to reject the plea for immediate assistance, although after Braddock's defeat in July, 1755, the frontier lay open to attack. The Assembly continued to use this opportunity to gain power at the expense of the proprietor by passing a supply bill which included a tax on the proprietary estates. Such a bill previously had been rejected by the Governor, as it was at this time. As no supply bill was enacted, it was easy to blame the Assembly for the failure to pass the needed requisition, and the Quakers in particular for their pacifistic attitudes.

Yet the Quakers no longer were united with regard to the problems of war and defense. In 1741 James Logan had called upon those Quakers who opposed a defensive war to abandon political life. Such a war, Logan argued, was a necessary part of the regular police action of the state, and therefore could not be a violation of Quaker principles. Those who opposed such a war should be consistent with their principles and withdraw from all offices of civil government, including the Assembly. The Yearly meeting, however, refused to permit Logan's paper to be read; gradually there developed a breach between political and ecclesiastical Quakers.²¹

²¹Isaac Sharpless, "The Quakers in Pennsylvania," in Rufus Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies (New York:

Early in 1755 William Smith, an Anglican minister, published a rather intemperate attack on the Assembly and the Quakers in A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania. The pacifism of the Quakers and their German accomplices, Smith argued, had caused most of the difficulties for Pennsylvania. He even suggested that they might be secret allies of France. Shortly thereafter there appeared an equally partisan reply, An Answer to an Invidious Pamphlet. It blamed the proprietary for undermining the rights and privileges of the people in order to make the province completely subservient to the wishes of the proprietary.²² This partisan exchange foreshadowed a pamphlet war over the power of government in Pennsylvania; it also contained a quarrel which later was to affect the attitude of Pennsylvanians toward the king.

In September, 1755, came a series of bitter exchanges between the governor and the Assembly. The intensity of the controversy shocked English officials and made many of these officials even more favorable to the proprietor. The

Russell and Russell, 1962 [1911]), p. 490. For the text of the letter to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1741, see "James Logan on Defensive War, or Pennsylvania Politics in 1741," Fa. Mag., VI (1882), 403-411. See also Guy Franklin Hershberger, "Pacifism and the State in Colonial Pennsylvania," Church History VIII (March 1939), 54-74; Sharpless, Quaker Experiment, pp. 226-235; and Robert L. D. Davidson, War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756 (New York: Columbia University Press, Temple University Publications, 1957), p. 59.

²²Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 39-40. On the basis of internal evidence the latter pamphlet has generally been assigned to Joseph Galloway.

Assembly's final reply to the governor concluded that "we cannot therefore but be of opinion, that the King is a much better Landlord."²³

While such sentiments in Pennsylvania were somewhat premature, British officials were discussing their own solution to the deadlock over military appropriations. By 1756 Halifax, the President of the Board of Trade, and other leading members of Parliament had agreed on the necessity of excluding the Quakers from power in Pennsylvania, for military reasons as well as for any political motives which Penn might have. Obviously such proposals had profound constitutional implications. Should Parliament gain the right to regulate the membership or the actions of a provincial assembly, little of the Assembly's power would remain. No one, however, rose to question Parliament's right to deny political rights to the Quakers.²⁴

Yet Parliament did not proceed so far against the Quakers in the Assembly. Quakers in England were able, with difficulty, to convince their co-religionists in the Pennsylvania Assembly not to stand for re-election. Though

²³Quoted in Labaree, Franklin Papers, VI, 197. See also Burton Alva Konkle, George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731-1791 (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1922), pp. 13-14, 27. Franklin was a member of the committee which had drafted this reply. Mabel P. Wolff describes the English response, The Colonial Agency of Pennsylvania, 1712-1757 (Philadelphia [Lancaster]: Intelligencer Printing Company, 1933), pp. 176-189.

²⁴Hanna, Franklin and Pa. Politics, p. 97; Root, Relations of Pa. with Br. Government, pp. 306-307.

Quaker influence in Pennsylvania continued to remain strong, this made it possible for control of the Assembly to pass into non-pacifist hands.²⁵

Even though the Quaker influence was reduced, the settlement did not result in proprietary domination of the province. If anything, it increased the hostility between the Assembly and the proprietor. Franklin continued as leader of the anti-proprietary faction, and he was able to secure passage of a military bill which provided for voluntary enlistment, election of militia officers, and that the forces raised be used only within the province. This further intensified the Assembly-proprietary conflict, for the latter had wanted military control in the executive, as it was in other colonies, rather than in the Assembly.²⁶ Concerning Franklin the proprietor declared that "I make no doubt he differs from the Quakers about the Militia Law, but believe he has no great desire to lessen the power of the

²⁵It was reported that a number of Quakers were elected "contrary to their approbation, & Some without their knowledge . . . So strongly were the Publick desposed to have Friends for their Representatives." Copy of an extract of letter from Christ^r Wilson and John Hunt, Nov. 4, 1756. Friends Historical Library (Swarthmore College), Misc. MSS. See also letter of Rev. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Oct. 8, 1756: "The hatred of and opposition to the Prop^{rs} encreases and will be irretrievably fixed by this Election." Pa. Mag. XXXI (1907), 246-247.

²⁶For an analysis of proprietary strength in the province, see G. B. Warden, "The Proprietary Group in Pennsylvania, 1754-1764." Wm. & Mary Q., 3rd series, XXI (July 1964), 367-389.

Assembly."²⁷

If the proprietor, however, continued to obstruct the wishes of the representatives of the people, there were more drastic solutions in the offing. Might it not be to the popular advantage for the province to be governed directly by the king, rather than by the proprietor? Since the crown was the arbiter of disputes, such direct control might immediately secure the benefits of the British constitution and at the same time remove the undesirable proprietary influence on taxation and defense.²⁸ Early in 1756 one correspondent wrote to Thomas Penn that

Many People think their mighty Favorite Mr Franklin has a Design to Dupe them as well as you, by working his Scheme so that the King shall be oblig'd for saving the Province to take it into his own hands.²⁹

Later that year Governor Robert Hunter Morris wrote that

The Quakers, under the Direction of Franklin, are doing their utmost to accomplish a Change in the Government of Pennsylvania, without knowing what they are about, or without considering that they will be almost the only Sufferers by it, the Change I mean is the making this a King's Government.³⁰

²⁷Thomas Penn to Governor Morris, Sept. 19, 1755, Pa. Archives, [1st series], (Philadelphia: Joseph Stevens and Co., 1852), I, 420. See also Sharpless, "Quakers in Pennsylvania," in Jones, Quakers in Am. Colonies, pp. 491-493.

²⁸See, for example, the Report on Grievances of a Committee of the Pennsylvania Assembly, Feb. 22, 1757, printed in Labaree, Franklin Papers, VII, 137-142; see also Shepherd, Proprietary Government in Pa., pp. 540-572.

²⁹William Peters to Penn, Jan. 4, 1756, quoted in Hanna, Franklin and Pa. Politics, p. 115.

³⁰Morris to [?] Penn, Oct. 8, 1756, Ibid., p. 116. Franklin had earlier referred to Morris as "the rashest and most indiscreet Governor that I have known, and will

In late January, 1757, the Secretary for the Province, Richard Peters, a Franklin opponent, examined Franklin's activities in behalf of the change of government and concluded that

considering the popularity of his character and the reputation gained by his Electrical Discoveries which will introduce him into all sorts of Company he may prove a Dangerous Enemy.³¹

Shortly thereafter the Pennsylvania Assembly officially appointed Franklin as its agent in England. Upon his arrival in London, Franklin immediately began to petition the King against the proprietary activities; he also continued to probe the question of converting Pennsylvania into a royal colony.³² He had a close associate, Richard Jackson, a prominent London attorney, draw up a legal opinion on the change. Jackson concluded that the crown could not

establish any other Mode of Government within that Province than that now in Use there . . . except by an Act of the Legislature of Great Brittain; or by the Consent of the Assembly and Proprietary or his Governor.³³

do more Mischief to the Proprietaries Interest than Good, and make them more Enemies than Friends." To Peter Collinson, Aug. 27, 1755, Labaree, Franklin Papers, VI, 169.

³¹Peters to Penn, Jan. 31, 1757, Ibid., VII, 110n-111n.

³²Benjamin Franklin, The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, Leonard W. Labaree, and others, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 243. He also came into contact with the leaders of the anti-proprietary faction of Maryland and perhaps became their secret agent. See Verner W. Crane, Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press, 1758-1775 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 4n. See also Wolff, Colonial Agency, pp. 200-203.

³³Ap. 24, 1758, Labaree, Franklin Papers, VIII, 20.

A royal government, according to Jackson, could neither alter the existing electoral procedure nor abridge the extensive religious rights which the Quakers in Pennsylvania enjoyed. Yet he warned that

should Publick Contention and personal Animosity render Resumption of the Powers by Act of Parliament Necessary, It is far from impossible the Legislature might think it fit somewhat to new model the present Constitution.³⁴

Franklin continued to work for conversion of Pennsylvania into a royal colony. In September, 1758, he reported that "the Government here are inclin'd to resume all the Proprietary Power," though he also indicated that he had some hesitancy: "I only think they [the British administration] wish for some Advantage against the People's Privileges as well as the Proprietary Powers." A petition calling for royal assumption of the government would be favorably heard.³⁵ Isaac Norris, the Speaker of the Assembly, later indicated that a petition to the crown had been written, although it was never submitted.³⁶ Part of the explanation lies in the fact that Franklin's attitude toward the proprietor was more extreme than those of a number of Quakers. Some of the latter argued that it would be to their advantage to have a weak proprietary government rather than a royal

³⁴Ibid., VIII, 21.

³⁵To Isaac Norris, Separate Notes, Sept. 16, 1758. Ibid., VIII, 157.

³⁶Isaac Norris to Franklin, Jan. 15, 1759. Ibid., VIII, 228.

government which would possess uncertain powers.

Despite Franklin's advocacy of royal government, he knew there might be danger in such a step. In a conference with the Lord President of the Council, Earl Granville, Franklin was informed of the relationship of the king to his royal colonies:

[The King's instructions] are first drawn up by grave and wise Men learned in the laws and Constitutions of the Nation; they are then brought to the Council Board, where they are solemnly weigh'd and maturely consider'd, and after receiving such Amendments as are found proper and necessary, they are agreed upon and established. The Council is over all the Colonies; your last Resort is to the Council to decide your Differences, and you must be sensible it is for your Good, for otherwise you often could not obtain Justice. The King in Council is THE LEGISLATOR of the Colonies; and when his Majesty's Instructions come there, they are the LAW OF THE LAND; they are, said his L--p, repeating it, the Law of the Land, and as such ought to be OBEYED.³⁷

Franklin admitted that an application directly to Parliament was somewhat hazardous since a good deal of Prejudice still prevails against the Colonies [and] the Courtiers think us not sufficiently obedient." He was, however, reassured by the words of the Attorney General, Charles Pratt, who felt that Parliament would "establish more Liberty in the Colonies than is proper or necessary."³⁸

Although the provincial leaders did not offer

³⁷Franklin to Norris, Mar. 19, 1759, Ibid., VIII, 293. Franklin records the same conversation in his Autobiography, Labaree, ed., pp. 261-262.

³⁸Franklin to Norris, Mar. 19, 1759, in Labaree, Franklin Papers, VIII, 296.

encouragement for the campaign for royal assumption, Franklin continued to write anti-proprietary essays for the London newspapers in an attempt to remove the prejudice of the British public against the people of the province.³⁹ He attended meetings of the Board of Trade in order to present the side of the Pennsylvania Assembly, particularly during the hearings on laws signed by the discredited William Denny, a governor who was coerced into signing bills for the taxation of the proprietary estates.⁴⁰

Franklin also assisted Richard Jackson in the writing of the most important of the anti-proprietary publications, An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania (1759). This book portrayed the entire course of Pennsylvania history as the history of the struggle of the Assembly to maintain the liberties of the province against the repeated encroachments of the proprietor,⁴¹ and was intended to arouse both English public and official opinion in favor of the province. The author rebutted the charge that the Assembly delayed the war effort by its dispute with the governor. Perhaps because it was

³⁹See Crane, Franklin's Letters to the Press, p. xxxiv.

⁴⁰See Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), XI, espec. May 21, 1760, pp. 107-112.

⁴¹The advertisement for this volume in the Pennsylvania press contained a quotation from page 289: "Those who would give up Essential Liberty, to purchase a little Temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety." Pa. Gazette, Jan. 10, 1760, and later issues.

such a lengthy and detailed argument. An Historical Review actually had little effect.⁴²

In addition to the support of the war effort, the Assembly became involved in three other significant incidents in the latter part of the decade. Late in 1757 William Moore and William Smith were both jailed on charges of having libeled the Assembly. In mid-1759, however, the Privy Council overturned their convictions and issued a report which strongly criticized the Assembly for pretensions to the powers of the House of Commons and for invading the prerogatives of the crown. It concluded that the Assembly "had assumed unlawful power & merited his Majesty's high Displeasure."⁴³

Another major problem concerned taxation. In March, 1759, the Assembly again passed a bill taxing all property, including the proprietary estates. Generals Jeffrey Amherst and John Stanwix advised Governor Denny that, because of the military necessity, he should approve the bill and promised to defend him from action by the proprietor. The Assembly offered Denny a grant of £1,000 and offered to pay his

⁴²Hanna, Franklin and Pa. Politics, pp. 128-132; Howard M. Jenkins, ed., Pennsylvania: Colonial and Federal, A History, 1608-1903 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Historical Publishing Association, 1903), I, 540.

⁴³Albert S. Bolles, Pennsylvania: Province and State, A History from 1609 to 1790 (Philadelphia: John Wanamaker, 1899), I, 359. See Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 68-70. One of the defenders of the accused was Charles Pratt, the Attorney General who had feared the leniency of Parliament's relations with America.

£5,000 bond if he would sign the bill. Denny approved it, but Penn immediately appealed his governor's action to the Board of Trade. This body, responsible for the review of colonial legislation, proposed a compromise which called for limited taxation of the unimproved lands of the proprietor.⁴⁴ Though Franklin in London accepted the compromise, the Assembly rejected it. An agreement for the taxation of proprietary estates was, however, reached the following year between the Assembly and the Proprietor.

One controversy had implications beyond the province and involved the question of the constitutional relationship between the colonies and the mother country. The tenure of judges and justices had been adjudged as independent from the executive in England by the Act of Settlement of 1701 and the colonists sought the same relationship in the provinces, with judges independent from the governors. On September 29, 1759, the Assembly passed a law which created such an independent judiciary. Though it dealt with fundamental questions, it was essentially another round in the political dispute between the governor and the Assembly. Shortly thereafter, the act, signed by Denny, was disallowed. Like other provincial assemblies, the Pennsylvania Assembly had argued that the colonies and their institutions were analogous to England and English institutions; the provinces therefore should enjoy the same rights and privileges. This

⁴⁴Bolles, Pennsylvania, I, 363-364; Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 72-74.

concept was completely rejected by the Board of Trade.

In defense of the law and the concept it embodied there appeared a pamphlet, A Letter to the People of Pennsylvania, which analyzed the ties between the mother country and the provinces.⁴⁵ The laws of the constitution, according to this pamphlet, should be established to preserve both the prerogatives of the sovereign and the liberties of the people; consequently those who review the relationship between these two considerations (i. e., the judges and justices) should be free from the influence of either side. Independence of the judges, according to the author, was part of the ancient constitution of England; it therefore should extend to all Englishmen, whether at home or in America. The author argued that, just as Kings Charles and James dispensed with penal statutes to introduce Catholicism, "your former G-----s have dispensed with the Laws and Fundamentals of your liberties and privileges, in order to introduce Slavery." Americans should insist upon the rights which are their "by the united Consent of Kings, Lords and Commons." Above all, it must be made clear that English

⁴⁵It was probably written by Joseph Galloway. The full title is A Letter, To the People of Pennsylvania; Occasioned by the Assembly's passing the Important Act, for Constituting the Judges of the Supream Courts and Common-Pleas, During Good Behaviour (Philadelphia: [William Dunlap], 1760). Reprinted with an excellent introduction in Bernard Bailyn, ed., Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776 (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965), I, 249-272. Quotations are from the original pamphlet.

subjects should not be at a disadvantage because they were living in America:

Is not our Honor and Virtue as pure, our Liberty as valuable, our Property as dear, our Lives as precious here as in England? Are we not Subjects of the same King, and bound by the same Laws, and have we not the same God for our Protector?⁴⁶

Thus, by 1760, many Americans had already seriously examined their relationship with Great Britain. Pennsylvania politicians and officials, who had for many years been involved in a search for the locus of sovereignty within their province, in particular sought answers to this vexing problem. Was the monarch solely a symbolic head of state and the final arbiter of disputes, as those who desired royal assumption of the colony seemed to feel? Did final authority lay with the monarch or with the people? Was there a sharing of power with the proprietor? Would Parliament play an active role in American affairs, particularly after it was again made evident in the disallowance of the Pennsylvania law for judicial tenure, that the American assemblies lacked powers analogous to Parliament? The formal appeal for royal assumption of the colony was not presented in the 1750's, in part because of the apprehension of some of the actual or potential power of the crown. Exploration of this question continued, however, and it was to come into sharper focus after the change of monarchs in 1760.

⁴⁶Letter to the People of Pennsylvania, pp. 3-4, 26-27, 33, 35-36, 38.

CHAPTER III

TRIBUTES TO A NEW KING, 1760-1763

The attempts to establish Pennsylvania as a royal colony came at a time when Great Britain was engaged in a titanic struggle with France. 1759 was the annus mirabilis, a year of victories, and was a time when patriotic fervor was at its height. As a result there appeared throughout the colonies numerous examples of devotion to the monarch, as well as expressions of admiration for the chief minister William Pitt. William Strahan had reported that "the defense of our Colonies in America is so much at heart with Mr. Pitt, that those who are not sufficiently sensible of their Importance, say he is America-mad."¹ Others expressed their confidence that Pitt could be counted upon to keep France from reappearing as a threat to the British carrying trade.²

George II often was portrayed as an honest and upright individual.³ On the cornerstone of the Philadelphia

¹William Strahan to David Hall, Feb. 27, 1758, Hall Papers, American Philosophical Society Library (AFSL).

²Pb. Gazette, Jan. 10, 1760.

³The New-Year Verses, of the Printers Lads, who carry about the Pennsylvania Gazette to the Customers [Philadelphia: B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1760], Broadside.

hospital Benjamin Franklin had a statement inscribed which said that George II "sought the happiness of his people."⁴ An "Assembly of Spirited Patriots" at Philadelphia drank toasts to the "best of Kings," a common term of address, as well as to "The Promoters of the Militia Bill," thus linking the anti-propietary forces to the king.⁵ There also appeared a series of congratulatory addresses to the king on the victories achieved over the French,⁶ as well as a poem to the memory of General James Wolfe, who had fallen in the campaign against the French in America:

Our Patriot King in Fity drops a Tear,
And mourns a Conquest that was bought so dear.⁷

An almanac published by William Bradford contained the following sentiments:

The Dignity of Kings is great; but then
They're subject to the Fate of other Men.
May Heav'n with Health, long Life and great Success,
The matchless GEORGE; our Royal Sov'reign Bless!⁸

The new year brought a continuation of similar responses:

What a shining Page will the future History of England
afford, when treating of the Years 1759 and 1760;

⁴The cornerstone was laid in 1755. J. Thomas Scharf and Thomas Westcott, A History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1884), I, 244.

⁵Pa. Gazette, Mar. 6, 1760.

⁶Ibid., Jan. 24 and 31, 1760.

⁷Ibid., Feb. 7, 1760.

⁸Andrew Aguecheek [pseudonym], The Universal American Almanack, or Yearly Astronomical, Historical, and Geographical Magazine . . . for the Year of our Lord 1761 (Philadelphia: W. Bradford and A. Steuart, 1760), p. 3.

Louisbourg, Quebec and Montreal, taken in America, and all the Northern Part of that vast Empire reduced to the Obedience of GEORGE II.⁹

George II died unexpectedly at the age of seventy-seven on October 25, 1760, after a reign of over thirty-three years. He was succeeded by his twenty-two year old grandson, who took the title of George III. While George II had been essentially German both in language and temperament and was deeply interested in military affairs and foreign relations, his successor was born in England and was less interested in the exploits of the battlefield. The change of monarchs also portended some changes in policy, given the basic Hanoverian pattern of the opposition of the monarch to his successor.

The news of the death of the monarch at the height of the power of the Empire evoked eulogies from many American provinces. Samuel Cooper, in a sermon preached before the Massachusetts Council and House of Representatives, called the late monarch "truly great and pious," and emphasized that George II

not only conformed to, but had a high Esteem of the British Constitution He approved the Wisdom of our Ancestors, in not placing an absolute Trust in Princes, and in bounding their Authority by indispensable Laws: Nor did He ever discover an Inclination to extend his Prerogative beyond these Bounds, because He wanted no other Power than that of doing Good.¹⁰

⁹Pa. Gazette, Jan. 1, 1761.

¹⁰Samuel Cooper, A Sermon Upon Occasion of the Death of Our late Sovereign George the Second, Preach'd Before His Excellency Francis Bernhard, Esq; Captain-General and

According to Cooper the British colonies were indebted to the late monarch, "not only for their present Security and Happiness, but perhaps for their very Being."¹¹ Samuel Haven, a New Hampshire minister, likewise emphasized the constitutionality of the reign of the late king:

The glory of Britain was never raised into so conspicuous a light, nor were the natural rights of mankind ever better stated, asserted or defended; or a freer spirit of liberty breathed in Europe, than under the late GEORGES, whose names will be handed down to posterity with the highest honor.¹²

Jonathan Mayhew suggested that "every good British subject was habituated to consider [George II] rather under the amiable and endearing character of a father, than the more awful one of a sovereign."¹³ In this pamphlet, however, Mayhew for the most part concerned himself with a discussion

Governor in Chief, the Honourable, his Majesty's Council and House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, January 1, 1761. At the Appointment of the Governor and Council (Boston: John Draper, 1761), p. 29. See the account of the Boston ceremonies in Pa. Gazette, Jan. 29, 1761.

¹¹Cooper, A Sermon, p. 35.

¹²Samuel Haven, The Supreme Influence of the Son of God, in Appointing, Directing, and Terminating the Reign of Princes, A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of King George the Second, and the Happy Accession of His Majesty King George the Third, to the Imperial Throne of Great Britain; delivered at Portsmouth, January 25th, 1761 (Portsmouth, New-Hampshire: D. Fowle, 1761), p. 17.

¹³Jonathan Mayhew, A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of George II, and the Happy Accession of His Majesty King George III, To the Imperial Throne of Great Britain; Delivered Jan. 4th, 1761. And Published at the Desire of the West Church and Congregation in Boston, New-England (Boston: Edes & Gill, 1761), p. 7.

of God's choice of kings and "a retrospect on the events of divine providence"--a summary of English history and the process of Parliamentary Government. He also stressed his hatred of tyranny, a topic he had discussed in his widely-circulated Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to Higher Powers (1750); and he expressed a sincere admiration for the Hanoverians, whose right to the throne he called a "solid, legal, and parliamentary one."¹⁴

In addition to the expressed sorrow over the death of George II and a reaffirmation of constitutional principles, these pamphlets also contained warm thoughts about the new monarch. Mayhew felt the Englishmen had had good fortune in that the new king had ascended the throne "at such a mature age, and adorned with so many royal qualities, as give us the reasonable prospect of sitting under his shadow with great delight."¹⁵ "With what Joy," preached Samuel Cooper, "do we behold a Monarch, born and educated in the Nation which He governs, inheriting the Royal Virtues, as well as Imperial Dignity of his great Progenitors, and 'glorying in the name of Briton'." He concluded with a review of the prospects of the reign just commencing:

What Scenes of future Happiness do we now figure to ourselves? Who does not hope to see the patriotic Plans, which employed the Cares of his royal Ancestors, happily perfected under his auspicious Reign?¹⁶

¹⁴Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁶Cooper, A Sermon, pp. 38, 39.

Henry Caner, the Rector of King's Chapel in Boston and later a Tory, said in a sermon delivered before the Governor and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, that "We have a Prince who is a native of our Country, born and educated among us, with a high Sense of the Excellence of the English Constitution."¹⁷ Thomas Penn wrote that though the death of George II was "a great loss," the new king had "those virtues, and good disposition, that I doubt not will make us happy."¹⁸ William Strahan echoed these sentiments:

The Death of our good old King, under whom we lived so long in perfect Happiness and Security, gave us all the most Sensible Concern: But we begin to cheer up, as the young one behaves remarkably well, and has already given proofs of his having an honest English Heart, and a good natural Disposition.¹⁹

In Pennsylvania the first published account of the death of George II and the accession of the new monarch appeared on January 8. The initial portrayal of the new king could not have been more flattering:

¹⁷Henry Caner, Joyfulness and Consideration; or, the Duties of Prosperity and Adversity. A Sermon Preached at King's-Chapel, in Boston, before His Excellency Francis Bernhard, Esq; Captain-General and Governor in Chief, the Honourable His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives, Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, January 1, 1761, Upon Occasion of the Death of our late most Gracious Sovereign King George the Second (Boston: Green & Russell and Edes & Gill, [1761]), p. 6. On Caner see Frederick Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Church of New England (Lancaster, Mass., 1936), p. 49.

¹⁸Thomas Penn to Mr. Hockley, Nov. 12, 1760, Penn Letterbooks, VI, 323-5, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Richard Hockley was the Receiver General of Pennsylvania.

¹⁹Will Strahan to David Hall, Nov. 17, 1760, David Hall Papers, APSL.

The natural and apparent Solidity of the new King's Judgment, his sedate and manly Disposition, his Love of Justice, his hatred of Flattery, and his Inclination for Business, which sufficiently appears already by his Close Application to it, together with the strict Harmony subsisting among the Ministry, are sure Presages of our being a happy and flourishing Nation under his Majesty King George the Third, and will in some Measure alleviate our great Concern for the Loss of our late most glorious Monarch.²⁰

Nassau Hall of the College of New Jersey was the scene on January 14 of an oration and sermon on the change of monarchs. The orator declared that the new monarch's "highest Ambition shall be to imitate your [George II's] Virtues, and render Mankind happy: While his youthful Breast is even now panting for Glory. . ."²¹ The sermon was delivered by Samuel Davies, President of the College, and contained a series of statements on the British constitution and the powers of the monarch. In the reign of George II, Davies declared that

Prerogative meditated no Invasions upon the Rights of the People; nor attempted to exalt itself above the Law. George the Great but Un-ambitious, consulted the Rights of the People, as well as of the Crown; and claimed no powers but such as were granted to Him by the Constitution: And what is the Constitution but the voluntary Compact of Sovereign and Subject?²²

²⁰Pa. Gazette and Fa. Journal, Jan. 8, 1761.

²¹Samuel Blair, An Oration Pronounced at Nassau-Hall, January 14, 1761; on Occasion of the Death of his late Majesty King George II (Woodbridge, New Jersey: James Parker, 1761), p. 6.

²²Samuel Davies, A Sermon Delivered at Nassau-Hall, January 14, 1761, On the Death of his late Majesty King George II (New York: J. Parker and Company, 1761), pp. 9-10. Advertised as published in Philadelphia by William Bradford Fa. Journal, May 21, 1761. No copy of this imprint has been located.

George II lives in heaven "where all the superficial distinctions of Birth, Riches, Power and Majesty, are lost forever." While congratulating the students in his audience for entering their public life at the same time as the new king, Davies' sermon had a touch of foreboding: "We are passing into a new State of political Existence; entering upon a strange untried Period." He warned that

The best of Kings (with all due Deference to Majesty be it spoken) may have evil Counsellors; and evil Counsellors may have the most mischievous Influence, notwithstanding the Wisdom and Goodness of the Sovereign.²³

He urged all in his audience to remain loyal to the throne: "Let your literary Acquisitions, your Fortune, and even your Lives, be sacred to Him when His Royal Pleasure demands them, for the service of your country."²⁴

Harvard College sponsored later in the year a competition to commemorate the change of monarchs. Thirty-one different literary efforts praised the virtues of the late monarch, the new king, the British constitution, the British empire, and other such topics. The writer of the preface declared that the American provinces formerly had been "too distant and too little known to experience the Royal Magnificence." The accession of George III, however,

will form a new Aera for North America, [and] affords us the first Encouragement to look up to the Throne for Favor and Patronage. . . We are persuaded that this Country will be come a more interesting Object to Great-Britain, than it has

²³Ibid., pp. 17-18.

²⁴Ibid., p. 20.

been in the time of any of your predecessors.²⁵

Benjamin Church described additional benefits which would accrue from the accession of the new king:

Another George, O Albion! All thy own:
From deep despair a nation to redeem,
And check our sorrows in their mid-way stream:
He sways the sceptre, takes the glorious charge;
Unbounded goodness now shall lord at large
His virtues blazon'd wide as fame can wing,
And proud Britannia glories in her King.

May one clear calm attend thee to thy close,
One length'ned sunshine of compleat repose:
Correct our crimes, and beam that Christian mind
O'er the wide wreck of dissolute mankind.²⁶

Bolingbroke's concept of a "Patriot King" who would set himself above party also appeared in several places.

Samuel Cooper wrote the following about "Britannia":

Let your fell bosom swell with joy;
To winds and seas give every care;
For Heaven and Earth delight in Patriot Kings.²⁷

James Bowdoin was more explicit:

There--take thy seat; as much distinguish'd here,
As Britain's throne in yon dimish'd sphere:
Reserv'd for Patriot-kings--alas! how few,
To whom that heav'n-born name is justly due.

This character, dear Brunswick! is thy own:
You shin'd the patriot-king on Britain's throne.
Ev'n Bolingbroke, now purg'd the visual ray
From the thick films that once obscur'd the day.
For Brunswick's sacred head a wreath will bring;
And own in thee, Blest shade! the Patriot king.²⁸

²⁵Pietas et gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos (Bostoni: J. Green & J. Russell, 1761), p. xiii. The preface was in English while the addresses were in English, Greek, and Latin.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 39-41.

²⁷Ibid., p. 52.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 60-61.

Undoubtedly the sentiments which were expressed in early proclamations of the new king contributed to the warm welcome which he received. One such example was that issued on October 31, 1760, "For the Encouragement of PIETY and VIRTUE, and for preventing and punishing of Vice, Profaneness, and Immorality." In it George III indicated he would favor "Persons of Piety and Virtue," would punish evildoers, and would prohibit "all his living Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, from playing on the Lord's Day, at Dice, Cards or any other Game whatsoever, and either in Publick or Private Houses, or other Place of Places whatsoever."²⁹ Such sentiments, though quite genuine examples of the new king's temperament, would obviously have a most favorable impression on the Quakers and pietists of Pennsylvania.

George III announced that it would be his intention to "promote, in every Thing, the Glory and Happiness of these Kingdoms, to preserve and strengthen both the Constitution in Church and State." He would also attempt to prosecute the "expensive, but just and necessary War . . . in the Manner the most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting Peace. . . ."³⁰ Because of the monarch's statement

²⁹Pa. Journal, Jan. 15, 1761 and Pa. Gazette, Jan. 22, 1761. In 1774, when the relations between the colonies and the mother country had become strained, Governor Thomas Gage issued a similar proclamation in Massachusetts. One writer said it was thought to be a burlesque on Gage. See Ibid., Aug. 3, 1774, and Pa. Journal, Aug. 17, 1774.

³⁰Pa. Gazette, Jan. 8, 1761

that he would continue the war, Pennsylvania was again called upon to supply men for the struggle against the French. Governor Hamilton, however, warned General Amherst that he was not optimistic about obtaining aid from the Assembly.³¹

George III was formally proclaimed king in Pennsylvania before a Council meeting on January 21, "with all hearty and humble Affection."³² The Governor read a number of proclamations, one to proclaim the king, one to continue the royal officers in America, one for the alteration of the liturgy, and finally one to continue incumbents in their offices. It was reported that after the ceremony "the most universal Joy was testified by the Acclamations of all present, the discharge of the Fort Guns, three Vollicies of small Arms from the Royal Welsh, the Ringing of Bells, &ca., &ca., &ca."³³ The Governor also gave an "elegant Entertainment," where "His MAJESTY'S and all the ROYAL FAMILY'S Healths were drunk." Later a "considerable Number of

³¹"General Amherst to Gov. Hamilton," Jan. 1 and 18, 1761, Pa. Archives [1st series], IV, 37-38. PRO, CO5, vol. 60, 231. Library of Congress.

³²"Proclamation and Submission of Inhabitants to George III, 1761," Pa. Archives, [1st series], IV, 38. Printed, with slight variations, in Pa. Gazette, Jan. 22, 1761. See also "Recollections of Philadelphia Near Seventy Years Ago," Pa. Mag. XIX (1895), 264-266, containing the recollections of Benjamin Kite of the proclamation of George III in Philadelphia, written Dec. 19, 1828.

³³Pennsylvania Colonial Records: Minutes of the Provincial Council, 1683-1776 (Philadelphia, 1852-1853), VIII, 516; Pa. Gazette, Jan. 22, 1761.

Merchants, and other Gentlemen of the City" attended another entertainment:

they drank His Majesty and all other loyal Healths, together with His Prussian Majesty, Prince Ferdinand, Prince Henry, and all the brave and gallant Generals, Admirals, Officers, Seamen and Soldiers, in His Majesty's Service, &c., &c., &c.

Afterwards "GOD Save the KING, was admirably well sung, with the Chorus, by the company, with Heart and Voice." All, according to the accounts, was "conducted with great Decency."³⁴ On January 23, Governor Hamilton took the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration and then administered them to the other members of the Council. Three days later the Assembly informed the Governor it was ready to take the necessary oaths to the new monarch, "in Order to proceed to Business."³⁵

Thomas Penn had suggested to Hamilton that he transmit a congratulatory address from Pennsylvania to the king as soon as possible: "I would have Pennsylvania in as early in paying its Duty to his Majesty as any of its neighbors."³⁶ The Assembly, however, persisted in its defiance of the Proprietor even over the address to the king:

³⁴Pa. Gazette, and Pa. Journal, Jan. 22, 1761.

³⁵Pa. Col. Records, VIII, 520, 521. The Assembly earlier had adjourned until January 26, awaiting the necessary proclamations from the Board of Trade. Richard Peters to Penn, Jan. 13, 1761, Penn MSS (Saunders Coates), XVII, 155. HSP.

³⁶Penn to Hamilton, Nov. 2, 1760, Penn Letterbooks, VI, 320. HSP.

We hold it our indispensable Duty to present to His Majesty an Adress of Condolence on this affecting Occasion, and at the same Time to congratulate His Accession to the imperial Throne. . . . But as we apprehend that distant Addresses from the different Branches of the Legislature are not only supported by Precedents, but appear to us more dutiful in the Manner, we incline to address His Majesty Separately in Behalf of the People we represent.³⁷

The ceremonies in Philadelphia marking the change of monarchs produced a sermon dedicated to James Hamilton by the Presbyterian minister, Gilbert Tennent. As in the earlier Boston sermons, Tennent emphasized the propriety of the late king with regard to his exercise of power; George II had been

a Prince who thro' the whole Course of his Reign aimed at no despotic tyrannical Sway, but on the contrary expressed due Respect to the representative Body of the Nation, and made its Laws and Constitution the invariable Rule of his Conduct.³⁸

³⁷Jan. 29, 1761, Dreer Collection, 23. HSP. With slight variation in Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, Beginning the fourteenth day of October, 1758 (Philadelphia: Henry Miller [1775]), p. 139. Their address was signed by Speaker Isaac Norris on Feb. 3, 1761. On May 6, Penn wrote the Governor that the address had arrived and was presented to the king: "We much approve of it, and think few have been presented better." Penn to Hamilton, May 6, 1761, Penn Letterbooks, VII, 25-28, HSP.

³⁸Gilbert Tennent, A Sermon, on I Chronicles XXIX. 28. Occasioned by the Death of King George the Second, Of happy Memory, who departed this Life on the 25th Day of October, in the Year of our Lord, 1760, in the 77th Year of his Age, and the 34th of his Reign, beloved and honored by his Subjects, for his Eminent-Royal-Virtues. Together, with some brief Hints, of the amiable Character of his Majesty King George the Third, Now seated on the British Throne and the suspicious Omens, that attend his Infant Reign. Preached at Philadelphia, January 25th, 1761 and published at the request of the Audience (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1761), p. 12. The announcement of its "impending" publication, bordered in black, appeared in the Pa. Gazette, Feb. 12.

Likewise the late sovereign was to be commended for having "left so able, faithful, and resolute a Ministry at the Helm of the Nation," chief of which was William Pitt, who shined "with distinguished Lustre." Yet the new king would also prove to be a fit monarch. He had "early Instruction in the Principles of Liberty, enforced by the amiable Examples of his famous Predecessors and Relatives, since the ever memorable Revolution." His education had imbued his mind with "noble and humane Sentiments," and the royal proclamations were "at least equal to any that ever came from the British Throne in any preceeding Period." In one place Tennent called him "Our pious Sovereign," but includes the footnote "as I trust." Judging by the extensive quotations in the sermon, however, Tennent was obviously much impressed by the "Proclamation for the Encouragement of Virtue and Piety."³⁹

The press printed accounts of the speeches, conversations, and proclamations of the new monarch. His speech of November 18 before Parliament, though in England criticized as evidence of the ascendancy of Bute, was not so criticized at first by Americans. The latter widely and approvingly quoted its most famous phrase: "Born and educated in this Country, I glory in the name of Briton." They were also fond of the King's assurance to his subjects of his devotion to constitutional government: "the Civil and Religious Rights of My loving Subjects, are equally dear to

³⁹Tennent, A Sermon, pp. 16-24.

Me, with the most valuable Prerogatives of My Crown."⁴⁰

One writer hoped that

the abundant Stock of his princely Virtues [would] secure him that unbounded Veneration thro' Life, and Lamentation at Death, as his Royal Grandfather received from an ever loyal and grateful People.⁴¹

The late king continued to be eulogized in the press. One writer asserted that George II

left no Foe in the British Empire, that was not so to his Country. . . . Few of his Predecessors have equal'd him in moderation; in Piety and Justice, none; . . . In him, were united the King, the Hero, and the Christian.⁴²

A report from London indicated that the Dutch considered the death of George II as a great misfortune, as the king often accepted apologies for Dutch irregularities in the war, "without coming to Extremities."⁴³ One aspiring poet, "Fidelia," sent money to the editor of the Pennsylvania Gazette to insure publication of his effort entitled "On the Death of His late Majesty King GEORGE the Second," though the editor asked him to send for the money, "as we take no Gratuity for obliging the Public with such Performances." The poet described other virtues of the king:

See public Sorrow unaffected flow,
O'er George the brave, compassionate and just.

Who sav'd her Sons alike from Papal Pow'r,
Domestic Slav'ry, and the Gallic Chain;

⁴⁰Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, Jan. 29, 1761.

⁴¹Pa. Journal, Jan. 29, 1761.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Pa. Gazette, Feb. 26, 1761.

He concluded with a hope that George III, erroneously referred to as the son of George II, might "to us thy happy Reign restore."⁴⁴ The Reformed minister in Philadelphia, Johann Conrad Steiner, in his memorial sermon, favorably compared the leadership qualities of the late monarch to those of Moses.⁴⁵ On February 19 the Pennsylvania Gazette announced the forthcoming publication at three pennies of America in Tears: A Pastoral Elogy, on the Death of His most Sacred Majesty King George the Second.⁴⁶

Another memorial to the late king was presented in the form of a dialogue and ode at the commencement exercises of the College of Philadelphia on May 23. Francis Hopkinson stressed the benevolent aspects of the late king:

. . . Beneath his equal Sway,
Oppression was not; Justice pois'd her Scale;
 No Law was trampled, and no Right deny'd;
 The Peasant flourish'd, and the Merchant smil'd.
 And oh! my Friend, to what amazing Height
 Of sudden Grandeur, did his nursing Care
 Up-raise these Colonies. . . .

Again there is the emphasis on the constitutionality of the late king's activities; there is also the assurance that the

⁴⁴Ibid., Jan. 29, 1761.

⁴⁵Johann Conrad Steiner, Schuldigstes Liebes- und Ehren-Denkmal, Unserm weyland Allernädigsten und Glorwürdigsten Könige von Grossbritannien Georg dem Zweyten, nach Seiner Majestät tödlichen Hinschiede, so erfolst den 25ten October 1760, aufgerichtet in der Hochdeutsch-Reformirten Gemeine zu Philadelphia, nach Anleitung des Bildes Moses, des Knechts des Herrn, in einer öffentlichen Trauerrede, über die Worte Deut. 34: 5, 7, 8 (Philadelphia: Heinrich Miller [1761]), p. 23.

⁴⁶No copy has been located.

new king would continue in the steps of the old:

See! by the Bounty of all-ruling Heaven,
 Another George to happy Britons given!
 Gay Youth and Glory beam around his Throne,
 And glad Britannia claims him as her own.
 Let us embrace what Heaven in Kindness gives,
 For George the Second in the Third still lives.⁴⁷

It was noted that the town of Reading had a celebration for the accession of the new king with "huge bonfires: in the evening, while all "was conducted with great Decency, and without the least Offence to any."⁴⁸ In addition there were accounts of the celebrations in Boston, New York, and Elizabeth, New Jersey, where "in the Evening, the Exhibition of a considerable Number of fine Sky-Rockets finished the Solemnity." In the latter community the inhabitants were proud that "in Proportion to our Number, no Solemnities of the King, have been carried on with so much Elegance, Unanimity, and upright Conduct, as in this small, tho' Loyal Borough."⁴⁹

There also appeared in the press a series of addresses to the royal family from various groups in London and the empire. There also give some indication of the literature from which Pennsylvanians would form their opinions of the new monarch. A number of clergymen, for example, addressed

⁴⁷Francis Hopkinson, An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and Ode Sacred to the Memory of His late gracious Majesty, George II. Performed at the public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 23d. 1761 (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1761, p. 5.

⁴⁸Pa. Gazette, Feb. 5, 1761.

⁴⁹Ibid., Jan. 22, Feb. 5, Feb. 12, 1761.

the Princess Dowager of Wales, and included flattering references to the new monarch, "whose filial Piety, and other private and domestick Virtues, have shown him to be worthy of a Crown."⁵⁰ The attitude toward the Princess Dowager would be quite different a decade later.

Pennsylvanians likewise read the views of the Protestant dissenting ministers of London and Westminster which were particularly flattering to the new King:

Illustrious and ancient Descent, Princely Education, Prime of Life, Dignity of Person, early Piety and Virtue, Love of Probity and Truth, Regard to Liberty and the Rights of Conscience, and your known Affection for this your native Country, peculiarly endear your Majesty to all your Subjects, and promise them every Thing their Hearts can wish from the best of Kings.⁵¹

The London Quakers assured the king that they were "ever faithful and zealously affected to thy illustrious House, tho' differing in Sentiments and Conduct from others of our Fellow-subjects. . . ." ⁵² General Thomas Gage, at the time Governor of Montreal and its dependencies, replied to an address of the officers of the militia and merchants of the city with a characterization of the new monarch:

[George II] has left the Throne to a young Prince, from whom we are well grounded to expect great Things. Educated under the Care of a Princess, who, more than Woman, is blessed with Qualities that set her above her own Sex, imbibed the Principles of Virtue, Justice, Piety, Wisdom and Moderation; what must we not hope from a Monarch thus formed! . . .

⁵⁰Pa. Journal, Feb. 12, 1761.

⁵¹Ibid., Mar. 19, 1761

⁵²Pa. Journal and Pa. Gazette, Mar. 5, 1761.

The Mildness of His Government will be diffused on all His Subjects.

Also reprinted were the addresses of the Houses of Commons and Lords to the King. The Lords revealed their satisfaction with the new monarch's "early demonstrations of . . . affection to this country," and particularly "with the condescending and endearing manner in which your majesty has expressed your satisfaction in receiving your birth and education among us." The love of the people, according to the upper house, would be the best security for the throne, and from this precept would flow "the strictest adherence to our excellent constitution in church and state." The Commons declared that

The knowledge of your Majesty's royal virtues, wisdom and firmness, opens to your faithful subjects the fairest prospect for their future happiness at home, and for the continuance of that weight and influence of your majesty's crown abroad.⁵³

Unpublished private correspondence also indicates a favorable reaction to the new king. David Hall, Franklin's partner in the Pennsylvania Gazette, received a letter which strongly praised the virtues of George III:

Our young King is every thing we could wish him to be; and has already given such Earnests of what good we may expect under his Reign that we have the best grounded hopes that it will be indeed truly glorious. . . Never was a Young Prince so much, and I think so deservedly beloved; for he seems to have Spirit, Sense and Humanity equal to his Station.⁵⁴

⁵³Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, Mar. 12, 1761.

⁵⁴Will Strahan to David Hall, July 15, 1761, David Hall MSS. APSL.

Thus it appears that there was widespread hope that the colonies would continue to prosper under the benevolent guidance of the third Hanoverian.

The administration of the new king was of concern to some in Pennsylvania though most felt that with Pitt in control of the government there was little to fear. On May 21 it was reported that the Earl of Bute was appointed one of the principle Secretaries of State, replacing Lord Holderness.⁵⁵ Although the press did not make any allusions to adverse effects of this change of position, letters from London to Philadelphia seemed to indicate some reservations about the appointment, as it could lead to the removal of both Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle.⁵⁶ William Strahan, however, writing to David Hall, was favorable to the Scottish Earl:

Lord Bute, no doubt, deserves much Praise; he is an encourager of men of merit, and has a great hand in all the Popular Measures the King is daily taking. He was always a nobleman that in his own family, when his fortune was but narrow, lived with becoming Decency and with remarkable Regularity and Oeconomy.⁵⁷

George III had announced upon ascending the throne that it was his intention to pursue the war with France to a

⁵⁵Pa. Journal, May 21, 1761. It had earlier been reported that Bute was "sworn of his Majesty's Privy-Council," Pa. Gazette, Jan. 15, 1761.

⁵⁶See the letters from Joseph Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen and Edward Shippen, Jr., Mar. 17, 1761. Shippen Letterbooks. HSP.

⁵⁷Will Strahan to David Hall, July 15, 1761, David Hall, MSS. APSL.

successful conclusion. There were numerous rumors of peace throughout the year; and letters from London to Philadelphia and newspaper accounts often reported its imminence.⁵⁸ Others mentioned that the ministry would not be pressured into too hasty a peace without first securing their objectives.⁵⁹

The marriage and coronation of George III was also described in glowing terms in personal letters and in the press:

The Coronation was a splendid Shew indeed. . . and surely nothing earthly could exceed it. . . The King behaved like an Angel. Nothing can exceed the Benignity of his Countenance and Manner. --At his Coronation he seemed to feel the Importance of the Oath he was taking, and conducted himself throughout the whole Ceremony in such a way as must secure him the Esteem and Veneration and affection of all who saw him.⁶⁰

⁵⁸See Joseph Shippen, Jr. to Edward Shippen, Jr., April 11 and May 8, 1761; Shippen Letterbook, and Edward Shippen Jr. to Edward Shippen, Sept. 18, 1761, Shippen Family Papers, XI, 36. HSP. The frequent news discussing the impending peace also had some financial impact upon Pennsylvania. The Assembly's agent in England, Benjamin Franklin, buoyed by the prospects of peace, had invested the parliamentary grant for Pennsylvania's share of the war effort, a total of £26,618 14s 5d, in the stock market. The failure of the peace efforts, compounded by the additional burden of a war with Spain, had caused the prices to fall, and Pennsylvania lost £3,977 9s 8d Sterling. Franklin was blamed for misuse of the provincial funds by his enemies, though the Assembly by reimbursing him for all his losses, absolved him of all blame. The charges were successfully used against him, however, in the election of 1764. See James H. Hutson, "Benjamin Franklin and the Parliamentary Grant for 1758," Wm. and Mary Q., 3rd series (October 1966), pp. 575-595, esp. 588-591.

⁵⁹Will Strahan to David Hall, July 15, 1761, David Hall MSS. APSL.

⁶⁰Will Strahan to David Hall, Oct. 6, 1761, Ibid. The coronation was described in Fa. Gazette, Dec. 24.

Queen Charlotte was described as having "a very gracious and engaging Air, a youthful Look, her Temper excellent, without the least Tincture of Pride."⁶¹

According to Strahan her

Behaviour was also in every Instance unexceptionable; and tho' no Beauty, is yet in my Opinion, vastly agreeable; full of Good nature and Affability; and seemed to have an humble and very becoming and grateful Sense of the high Station to which Providence had so unexpectedly raised her.⁶²

It was reported that the Queen's crown would cost £200,000, while the jewels alone in her stomacher cost £70,000.⁶³ No one at this time, however raised the question of the expenses of the court.

The coronation brought a new series of addresses to the throne. The Quakers of London again addressed the King,

1761. In his coronation sermon Robert Hay Drummond, Lord Bishop of Sarum, once again emphasized the constitutional position of the new monarchs. "In such a Constitution, the power of the prince is not absolute, but sufficient for every right purpose, and which a great and good mind will delight in executing. The obedience of the people is the obedience of men, not slaves; unforced and unfeigned; and therefore the more honourable and more acceptable to the upright king When, to compleat this amiable character, the love of the Constitution is known to be implanted in the bosom of a Prince; this spirit will diffuse itself through all orders of his subjects. . . ." Robert Hay Drummond, A Sermon Preached at the Coronation of King George III. and Queen Charlotte, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, September 22, 1761 (4th ed. Boston: John Perkins, 1762), pp. 11-12

⁶¹Pa. Gazette, Nov. 12, 1761.

⁶²Will Strahan to David Hall, Oct. 6, 1761, David Hall Papers, APSL.

⁶³Pa. Journal, Nov. 12, 1761.

Queen, and Princess Dowager of Wales.⁶⁴ The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, addressing the Irish Parliament, emphasized constitutional ideas and declared that

this Parliament happily commences with the accession of a King, bred under the influence, and formed by the example, of a Prince, who uniformly tempered prerogative with law; and whose glory it was, in the exercise of his power, to protect the rights and liberties of his people.⁶⁵

The Address of the Archbishop, Bishop and Clergy of Canterbury to the king essentially was an appreciative address for the proclamation for encouraging virtue.⁶⁶

Some other addresses indirectly were not so laudatory. A minor reservation appeared regarding the resignation of William Pitt, blamed by many on the Earl of Bute.

The Common Council of London addressed the king on October 2:

The city of London, ever steadfast in their loyalty to their King, and attentive to the honour and prosperity of their country, cannot but lament the national loss of so able, faithful, a Minister at this critical conjuncture.⁶⁷

The "merchants and Traders" of Dublin emphasized their own patriotism in their address to the Great Commoner:

We should therefore think ourselves wanting in duty to our Patriot King, to our Mother Country, as well as our Native, did we omit giving this public testimony of our sense of loss which all sustain, by the

⁶⁴On October 30, 1761. Printed in the Pa. Gazette, Jan. 21, 1762. See also the address of the House of Lords, Pa. Journal, Jan. 28, 1762.

⁶⁵Ibid., Feb. 4, 1762.

⁶⁶Pa. Gazette, Mar. 25, 1762.

⁶⁷Pa. Journal, Jan. 21, 1762.

withdrawing of a Minister of such matchless abilities, as equal fidelity, at so important and critical and conjuncture as the present.⁶⁸

Pennsylvania's congratulatory addresses to the king and queen, however, again were delayed, for the Proprietor had to write a note to his governor, informing him that Maryland had already submitted its addresses: "I wish you had sent me an Address to the King, . . . if you do not send them soon you need not think about them, but I hope they are on their way."⁶⁹

Laudatory odes and addresses on the prowess of British military might appeared in the Pennsylvania press in large numbers, though the scene of action had passed from the North American mainland to, for example, Martinico:

That was a great and worthy Deed I own,
But far superior is the one I joy for,
Know then those Hosts have gain'd another Isle,
And spread their Fame and George's mighty Empire.
That nations dwelling near the scorching Sun
Obey our best of Kings and call him Lord.⁷⁰

Another writer declared that

The amazing rapidity of this conquest [of Martinico] reflects a lustre upon our former triumphs as well as the highest honour upon the royal wisdom that planned and directed . . . In so laudable a pursuit, so becoming the Father of his people, your Majesty may firmly rely on the strong and most cheerful efforts of the greatful citizens of London, united in duty and affection to your Majesty's sacred person and government.⁷¹

⁶⁸Pa. Journal, Mar. 4, and Pa. Gazette, Mar. 18, 1762.

⁶⁹Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, April 25, 1762, Penn Letterbooks, VII, 142. HSP.

⁷⁰Pa. Gazette, May 6, 1762.

⁷¹Pa. Journal, June 17, 1762.

At the public commencement activities of the College of Philadelphia, two members of the first graduating class, Francis Hopkinson and Jacob Duché, presented a dialogue and ode commemorating George III's accession.⁷² In the "Dialogue" Duché wrote of the "loud Fame of his young Monarch's Worth" which

Bound every Heart with Joy, and every Breast
Poured the warm Tribute of a grateful Praise!
For o'er the Realms of BRITAIN reigns supreme,
The Darling of his People, GEORGE the GOOD.

George's reign would "shine distinguish'd from the Rest by Deeds of Valour, Piety and Love" "in the mighty Rolls of British Fame."⁷³ Hopkinson gave evidence of the talent which later enabled him to become a songwriter, among his other avocations, during the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period:

Then BRITAIN! hail these golden Days!
Illustrious shalt thou shine:
For GEORGE shall gain immortal Praise;
and BRITAIN! GEORGE is thine.
To distant times he shall extend the Name,
And give thy Glories to a deathless Fame.⁷⁴

⁷²Duché, Hopkinson's brother-in-law, was Chaplain of the Continental Congress, but later became a loyalist. Hopkinson signed the Declaration of Independence, designed an early American flag, and aided in the struggle against England. Hopkinson had presented a similar commemorative ode the previous year.

⁷³[Jacob Duché and Francis Hopkinson], An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and Ode on the Accession of His Present Gracious Majesty, George III. Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 18th, 1762 (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1762), pp. 4-5.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 8. A copy of the performance was sent to the Proprietor who said he was "very well-pleased with [it] and shall shew it as I think proper." Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Aug. 14, 1762, Penn Letterbooks, VII, 184-190. RSP.

Nathaniel Evans, a well-known Philadelphia lyric poet and Anglican clergyman, wrote that

Thus shine the Acts of each succeeding Day---
 Illustrious George, with blooming Honours crown'd,
 In early Youth a glorious Race to sway,
 In Arms victorious, as for Arts renown'd!

But now new Worlds our Monarch's Scepter own;
 What tho' the Deep disjoins the Distant Land?
 The [S]ea his Empire, and his Isle the Throne,
 From whence to us he sends his mild Command!⁷⁵

Some colonials began to reassess their relationship with England, particularly after it became increasingly apparent that the decisions of the king were not his alone. The monarch, according to William Strahan and the popular opinion in London, was in the hands of Bute.⁷⁶ Strahan, however, dissenting from prevailing London opinion, spoke favorably of Bute and felt that he "means the Honour and Interest of His Country, and is a man of unblemished Integrity; we have therefore much to hope, and little to fear, from his Administration." Strahan felt that George III was "everything we could wish him; but he is but a youth, and cannot be supposed fit to conduct the affairs of this great Nation himself."⁷⁷ An article reprinted in Pennsylvania

⁷⁵[Nathaniel Evans], Ode, On the Late Glorious Successes Of His Majesty's Arms, And Present Greatness Of the English Nation. (Philadelphia: William Dunlap, 1762), p. 11.

⁷⁶Will Strahan to David Hall, June 12, 1762, David Hall Papers, APSL; see George Rudé, Wilkes and Liberty, a Social Study of 1763 to 1774 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965 [1962]), p. 20.

⁷⁷Will Strahan to David Hall, Aug. 10, 1762, David Hall Papers, APSL.

from the Gentleman's Magazine attempted to distinguish between the policies of the king and his minister. Although Bute's supporters strongly criticized the Pitt administration, they forgot that the king thought it "proper to reward that Minister's past Services by such distinguished Marks of His Royal Favour and Bounty."⁷⁸ Clergy also were suspect. An anonymous pamphlet suggested that some clergy of the Church of England were "importing into America the Ante-revolution and Tory Principles of their dear Doctor Sacheverell,"⁷⁹ a champion of the Established Church early in the century.

Some writers warned of possible dangers in monarchical government. Anthony Benezet, in an anti-slavery tract, quoted approvingly the following statement from George Wallis' A System of the Principles of the Law of Scotland:

Government was instituted for the Good of Mankind; Kings, Princes, Governors, are not Proprietors of those who are subject to their Authority; they have not a Right to make them miserable. On the contrary their Authority is vested in them, that they may, by the just Exercise of it, promote the Happiness of their People.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Pa. Gazette, Jan. 13, 1763.

⁷⁹The Conduct of the Presbyterian-Ministers Who Sent the Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Year 1760. Considered, and set in a True Light: In Answer to Some Remarks thereon (Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1761), pp. 18-19. "By an Elder of the Presbyterian Church."

⁸⁰Anthony Benezet, A Short Account of that Part of Africa, Inhabited by the Negroes. With Respect to the Fertility of the Country, the good Disposition of many of the Natives, and the Manner by which the Slave Trade is carried on. Extracted from several Authors, in order to shew the Iniquity of that Trade, and the Falsity of the Arguments usually advanced in its Vindication (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1762), p. 23.

Poor Richard Improved contained a poem entitled "The Patriot," which indirectly indicated the debilitating nature of the court:

Thrice happy Patriot, whom no Courts debase,
 No Titles lessen, and no Stars disgrace!
 Still nod the Plumage o'er the Brainless Head;
 Still o'er the faithless Heart the Ribband spread.
 Such Toys may serve to signalize the Tool
 To gild the Knave, or garnish out the Fool;
 While you, with Roman virtue arm'd distain
 The Tinsel Trappings, and the glittering Chain!
 Fond of your Freedom, spurn the venal Fee,
 And prove he's only great---who dares be free.⁸¹

Tributes to the royal family, however, continued to appear. Queen Charlotte's birthday celebration was described as "the most brilliant ever known"⁸² and the birth of a Prince brought a large-scale celebration in London, duly recorded in the Pennsylvania papers. It was said that the person who informed the king of the birth received a present of a £500 bank bill.⁸³ Of the numerous addresses presented, that of the London Quakers is typical:

In the Prince of Wales we behold another pledge of the security of these inestimable privileges, which we have enjoyed under the monarchs of thy illustrious house: Kings, distinguished by their justice, their clemency, and regard to the Prosperity of their people: A happy presage, that under their descendants,

⁸¹Poem for October in Richard Saunders [pseudonym], Poor Richard Improved; Being an Almanack . . . for . . . 1763 (Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, [1762]). The first portrait of George III appeared in another almanac: John Tobler, The Pennsylvania Town Crier and Countryman's Almanak for 1763 (Germantown: Christopher Sauer, [1762]).

⁸²Pa. Gazette, Sept. 2, 1762; see also the account of the rather elaborate birthday celebration for the King the next year. Ibid., Aug. 18, 1763.

⁸³Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, Oct. 14, 1762.

our civil and religious liberties will devolve, in their full extent, to succeeding generations.⁸⁴

At the anniversary commencement of the College of New Jersey there was read a glowing tribute to the king:

Long may a GEORGE the regal Sceptre sway;
And scatter Blessings with a lib'ral Hand
Around the peaceful Globe; but dire Dismay
On all who dare his injur'd Arms withstand.⁸⁵

Another ceremony duly recorded was the order of installation of George III as sovereign of the Order of the Garter. It was quite an expensive ceremony, and the accounts said that it was "customary for the Crown to defray the whole of it, when any of the Royal Family are installed."⁸⁶ No one yet, however, raised his voice to begrudge such expenses at court.

The Peace of Paris which ended the war between Great Britain and France was proclaimed in March, 1763. Though Pitt had attacked the preliminary terms as too generous, the ceremonies relating to the conclusion of peace provided still another opportunity for praise of the monarch.

It was reported that the king was saluted all the way to the House of Lords "with the joyful acclamations of the most numerous concourse of people, perhaps, ever assembled on such an occasion." In his speech the king

⁸⁴Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, Dec. 16, 1762.

⁸⁵The Military Glory of Great-Britain, an Entertainment Given by the Late Candidates for Bachelor's Degree, at the Close of the Anniversary Commencement, Held at Nassau-Hall, New Jersey, September 29, 1762 (Philadelphia: Wm. Bradford, 1762), p. 15.

⁸⁶Pa. Journal, Nov. 25, 1762.

reported that there had been an immense territory added to the empire and that there was "a solid foundation laid for the increase of trade and commerce."⁸⁷ Both activities, of course, would contribute to the prestige of the king in the provinces.

There was also a series of celebrations throughout the empire. The College of Philadelphia, for the third consecutive year, incorporated a dialogue and ode laudatory to the monarch into its public commencement. The Rev. Nathaniel Evans' ode contained praise, not only for the coming of peace, but also for George III:

Hail! Happy Britain, in a Sovereign blest
 Who deems in Kings a virtuous Name the best;
 Guardian of Right and sacred Liberty,
 Rome's glorious Numa shall be seen in Thee;
 Beneath thy smile fair Science shall increase,
 And form one Reign of Learning and of Peace
 E'en we who now attempt the Muse's Shell
 Great GEORGE'S sweet Munificence can tell,
 Tho' far, far distant from his glorious Throne,
 Yet has our Seat his regal Bounty known:
 So universal shines the God of Day,
 Each Land enlight'ning with his genial Ray.⁸⁸

A similar sentiment was expressed by the same author at the College of New Jersey:

Paint the bright Aspects of thy radiant Form
 I'd draw our monarch on Britannia's Throne
 With Laurels of unfading Glory crown'd.

⁸⁷Ibid., Jan. 27, 1763.

⁸⁸Nathaniel Evans and Paul Jackson, An Exercise Containing a Dialogue and Ode on Peace, Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 17th, 1763 (Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1763), p. 6. A portion was reprinted in the Pa. Gazette, May 26, 1763.

An Olive Scepter waving in his Hand.⁸⁹

The address of the Quakers to the king concerned itself primarily with the cessation of hostilities, but also contained praise for the king:

The proofs we have received of thy royal condescension and indulgence, the lasting impressions of gratitude to the memory of the King of thy illustrious House, fill our hearts at this time with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty.⁹⁰

In addition to those accounts which were solely filled with praise for the king, there also appeared several words of warning about possible consequences. A London man was reported to be planning to put the following inscription in his window:

Long live, and heaven continually bless, our native British King, true friend to Liberty, and the affectionate father of his people. Prosperity to Britain! but shame, disappointment, and confusion to every wretch; who, to maintain wealth, power, or honours, seeks to divide the nation, and would raise his fortune on the ruin of his country.⁹¹

St. Paul's Cathedral in London was the scene of an address to the "Principle Inhabitants of North America on occasion of the peace." In it the Rev. John Brown, vicar of Newcastle, reflected on the implications of the new empire and peoples and argued in favor of the extension of religious

⁸⁹Nathaniel Evans, A Dialogue on the Peace, An Entertainment, Given by the Senior Class at the Anniversary Commencement Held at Nassau-Hall, September 28, 1763 (Philadelphia: Wm. Bradford, 1763), p. 9.

⁹⁰Pa. Journal and Pa. Gazette, Aug. 18, 1763.

⁹¹Pa. Gazette, Aug. 25, 1763.

liberty in America. Americans should be "animated by a generous Zeal for the real Welfare of Mankind" so as to be united in the face of expanded "popery" in the North American possessions.⁹² This implication of the peace would also become significant a decade later.

Such articles and statements condemning factious sentiment within the state often appeared in the press both in the mother country and in the colonies. Political parties and factions in England were denounced as disruptive of the constitution, and many in the early 1760's hailed their disappearance. One writer declared in 1762 that "there are now no Parties capable either to drive or entice a Minister from the Path of his Duty."⁹³ There was a similar attitude toward party and faction in the colonies, though no one there forecasted their demise. Jacob Duché, for example, was directing a general censure at parties when he spoke of their effect on an individual who probably would have stayed in the Assembly until his death

had not the prospect of parties and divisions in the state threatened him with a breach of his peace of mind, and prompted him to a timely resignation,

⁹²John Brown, On Religious Liberty: A Sermon, Preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, On Sunday the 6th of March, 1763. On Occasion of the Brief for the Establishment of the Colleges of Philadelphia and New-York. Publish'd at the Request of the Managers of the Charity. To which is Prefixed An Address to the Principle Inhabitants of the North American Colonies, on Occasion of the Peace. (Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1763), p. v.

⁹³Pa. Gazette, Jan. 20, 1763.

when he was convinced that the influence of a good man would have but little weight.⁹⁴

Benjamin Chew reported that the disputes between the Assembly and Council had

divided the Inhabitants of this City (and indeed the whole Country) into Parties. . . The Violence and Warmth of Party Zeal and Fury that of late has been so prevalent among us has greatly interrupted that social Happiness which in most other places subsists among Neighbors and fellow Citizens.⁹⁵

Both the proprietary and Quaker factions in Pennsylvania, however, as in England, professed loyalty to the king, though each side was wont to accuse the other of disloyalty.

William Smith, a champion of the proprietary cause and Provost of the College of Philadelphia, visited England in 1762 in order to raise funds for the college. The visit provides some interesting correspondence on the function of the addresses to the king, as well as information on the person of the king. George III received many favorable comments when he allowed Smith and Dr. James Jay of New York to solicit funds, and particularly when he even gave of his personal funds to aid the colleges.⁹⁶ The address to the king was a crucial problem. New York had already sent two

⁹⁴Jacob Duché, The Life and Death of the Righteous. A Sermon, Preached at Christ-Church, Philadelphia, on Sunday February the 13th, 1763, at the Funeral of Mr. Evan Morgan (Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1763), p. 22.

⁹⁵Benjamin Chew Letter, Jan. 19, 1761, Records of the Proprietary Government, Provincial Secretary, General Correspondence, 1750-1761. HSP.

⁹⁶See Edward Robins, "David Garrick and 'Old Penn'." Pa. Mag. XXXIX (January 1915), 48-52.

addresses while Smith had none from Philadelphia: "Judge, then, how Little I am made to look & how ungrateful we appear." Smith sent some very clear instructions of what should be included:

What a noble Subject have you for an Address to his Majesty? At once you have congratulations on his Marriage, the Birth of a Prince, & humble Acknowledgements (for we must not call it thanks) for his Countenance to our College; with Promises of approving ourselves worthy of it by our Care to instill Principles of Loyalty into the Youth--We have also to congratulate him on the Establishment of a Peace. . . . It will be taken well in us as Americans to express ourselves full on this head, as we well may; & to take Notice of the fresh Opportunities this glorious Event gives of being more than a Conqueror of great Countries, namely of following that noble Disposition of his Soul Expressed in our Brief That the greatest Satisfaction wch. he can derive from the late Extension of his Dominion will be to see these Advantages improved for enlarging the Sphere of Protestantism and that our Institution may be a happy Means of forwarding these godlike Designs.⁹⁷

Smith was told "Let the Proclamation of Peace but once arrive and we will insinuate into ye Royal Mind every thing you are pleased to recommend to us."⁹⁸ The address of the Trustees of the College did just that:

the eyes of the whole world are fixed in admiration upon your Majesty, and acknowledgements and applauses are poured forth before your throne, from every part of Your extensive dominions, for restoring peace to contending nations. . . . We humbly crave your

⁹⁷Wm Smith to Richard Peters, Feb. 12, 1763, Wm Smith, D. D. Papers, II, 110. HSP. William Pitt further ingratiated himself to the colonies involved by giving £50 and "declaring it the noblest Scheme that could animate the Breast of a Christian." Wm Smith to Richard Peters, Mar. 11, 1763, Ibid., II, 121. HSP.

⁹⁸Richard Peters to William Smith, April 28, 1763, Ibid., II, 125-126.

Majesty's favourable acceptance of our unfeigned congratulations on this occasion.⁹⁹

Though Pennsylvanians seemed satisfied with the peace contracted with France, letter and newspaper excerpts which appeared in the press showed that some in England were not so pleased. The Proprietor declared that

great endeavours [are] used to inflame our People against it, but the Ministers that have withdrawn from the Publick Services, and not only Ministers, but the King himself most vilely traduced.¹⁰⁰

William Strahan confessed that there was "a general Want of Ability in the People at the Helm, and every body takes Advantage of it." He concluded that the king was not the "man of that sagacity I once took him for, tho' extremely good-natured and well disposed," and later declared that "tho' the King means well, he knows little of Men or Business." Should Pitt again enter the ministry, as Strahan believed would happen, "the King is nobody from that Moment."¹⁰¹ The king was thus described as basically honest, though indecisive and easily misled by ministers. Such was to be the prevailing sentiment in America almost to the final break with England. There continued to be expressions of affection to the king and "detestation at the treatment

⁹⁹Pa. Gazette, Oct. 20, 1763. See also the letters from Wm. Smith to Richard Peters, Aug. 11 and 25, 1763, Wm Smith, D. D. Papers, II, 143, 145-147.

¹⁰⁰Thomas Penn to Mr. Hamilton, Mar. 11, 1763. Penn Letterbooks, VII, 250-253. HSP.

¹⁰¹Will Strahan to David Hall, May 10 and Aug. 12, 1763, David Hall Papers. APSL.

his Majesty has met with, and the endeavours used to disturb Government."¹⁰²

The Earl of Bute was the most criticized of the ministers of the king. He had, or was thought to have had, a considerable influence in colonial affairs. It was rumored that he had secured the appointment of William Franklin as governor of New Jersey.¹⁰³ The province of New York had sent Bute an address of thanks for assistance given the college's solicitation of funds.¹⁰⁴ Scandal had linked his name with the Princess Dowager, the king's mother, and many talked about the sinister Tory and Jacobite influence with which the Scottish lord had indoctrinated the new king. Such accusations appeared infrequently in the Pennsylvania press at this time, though they often appeared by the end of the decade. Since the king's name was so closely linked to that of Bute it perhaps was inevitable that some of the abuse directed at the minister would also affect the king. Even after Bute's resignation in April, 1763, many felt that he continued as the power behind the throne. Yet, soon after Bute's resignation, the Pennsylvania Journal reprinted a laudatory account of the former minister, whose conduct "shines with a Splendor of Generosity and Disinterestedness

¹⁰²Thomas Penn to Mr. Hamilton, May 20, 1763, Penn Letterbooks, VII, 269-273.

¹⁰³Thomas Penn to Mr. Hamilton, Mar. 11, 1763, Ibid., VII, 250-253.

¹⁰⁴Wm Smith to Richard Peters, Feb. 12, 1763, Wm. Smith, D. D. Papers, II, 110. MSF.

that must strike every unprejudiced Mind." The writer expressed his sincere sorrow over the

loss of that Constitutional Minister . . . I call him Constitutional, because he was not forced upon the King by a prevalent Faction, but chosen by his Master, and therefore liable to the Check and Controul of Parliament, which a Minister is not, who seizes Government at the Head of a Party, and will be supported even in the worst Measures, by the Party whom he leads.

In the same issue there appeared an account of Bute being mobbed and confined to his house for three days.¹⁰⁵

In England the most intemperate attacks on the ministry appeared in The North Briton, edited, for the most part, by John Wilkes. The last number issued, No. 45, was a vigorous attack on the Speech from the Throne in which Wilkes told the king to dissociate himself from those who had concluded the peace with France. Though Wilkes claimed to be a staunch supporter of monarchy and that his attack was on the ministers who wrote the speech, the Secretary of State, Lord Halifax, authorized issue of a general warrant for Wilkes' arrest for seditious libel. The Wilkes case immediately became an emotional issue in London, and eventually resulted in the declaration of the general warrant of the type issued by Halifax was illegal. The effects of the Wilkes case soon spread to America.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵Pa. Journal, June 30, 1763.

¹⁰⁶The best recent accounts of the Wilkes case in London are Ian R. Christie, Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform: The Parliamentary Reform Movement in British Politics, 1760-1785 (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1962); George Rude,

North Briton No. 45 was reprinted in the Pennsylvania press in both newspaper and pamphlet form; and the colonials thus had easy access to some of the anti-government literature which had become so prevalent in Britain. The responsibility for unfortunate government policies, according to Wilkes, should not be placed on the king, but rather on the minister:

Every Friend of his Country must lament that a Prince of so many great and amiable Qualities, whom England truly revere, [sic] can be brought to give the Sanction of his Sacred Name to the most odious Measures, and to the most unjustifiable, public Declarations, from a Throne ever renowned for Truth, Honour, and unsullied Virtue. . . . A despotic Minister will always endeavour to dazzle his Prince with high flown Ideas of Exerogative and Honour of the Crown, which the Minister will make a Parade of firmly maintaining. I wish as much as any Man in the Kingdom to see the Honour of the Crown maintained in a Manner truly becoming Royalty. I lament to see it sunk even to Prostitution.¹⁰⁷

There also appeared in Philadelphia in 1763 a detailed account of the proceedings against Wilkes, "a friend to liberty and his country, and a steady asserter of invaluable rights and privileges of Englishmen."¹⁰⁸ This pamphlet,

Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); and Robert H. Rea, The English Press in Politics, 1760-1774 (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1963) The general warrant was finally declared illegal by Lord Camden in Entick v. Carrington (1765).

¹⁰⁷Pa. Journal, June 30, 1763. As a gesture of impartiality, the editor placed the article praising Bute, mentioned above, in the adjoining column.

¹⁰⁸An Authentic Account of the Proceedings Against John Wilkes, Esq; Member of Parliament for Aylesbury and Late Colonel of the Buckinghamshire Militia, Containing All the Papers relative to this interesting Affair, from that Gentleman's being taken into Custody by his Majesty's

which originally appeared in London, contained a number of excerpts from statements of Wilkes and his supporters. In a speech before the Bar of the Court of Common Pleas, Wilkes said that No. 45

takes all load of accusation from the sacred name of a prince, whose family I love and honor, as the glorious defenders of the cause of liberty, whose personal qualities are so amiable, great, and respectable, that he is deservedly the idol of his people.¹⁰⁹

Wilkes saw it as his duty to rescue the name of the prince from "ill-placed Imputations, and fix them on the Ministers, who alone ought to bare [sic] the Blame." The king, according to tradition and reason, can do no wrong, for he is "fenced about" by laws. Wilkes advised all Englishmen to

keep a watchful and jealous Eye over the Servants of your Prince, and bring into Light the iniquitous Attempts of corrupt Ministers, to separate the Interest and Glory of his Majesty from the Prosperity and Happiness of his People.¹¹⁰

Although the Wilkes case had produced extensive popular disturbances in England, the Proprietor did not seem too concerned by the turn of events. Writing to Richard Peters he said that

you look upon the disturbances in England as you call them in too serious a light. There has been

Messengers, to his Discharge at the Court of Common Pleas, With An Abstract of that precious Jewel of an Englishman, The Habeas Corpus Act. Also the North Briton, No. 45. Being the Paper for which Mr. Wilkes was sent to the Tower. Addressed to all Lovers of Liberty (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1763), p. 3.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 19.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 33-36.

several violences committed, but I suppose a few Months will thoroughly settle all their contentions.¹¹¹

Yet the contentions were not settled in England, nor were the repercussions stilled in the provinces. In the accounts of the insults both to Bute and the king and of the treatment given Wilkes, Pennsylvanians could see certain facets of the mother country which they did not wish to emulate. They were incensed by the treatment given the king, but perhaps even more so by the action of the ministry against Wilkes.

Though Britain was now the most powerful nation in the world, her domestic problems still remained, and were increasing:

Where Britain stood a Hundred Years ago,
 She still remains, begirt with Liquid Waves,
 And dreads less Danger from a foreign Foe,
 Than from her treach'rous Friends, domestic Knaves.¹¹²

An address delivered in London in May, 1763, conveyed a similar opinion, but saw the solution in the monarch:

We cannot help lamenting those efforts which are made to revive and keep up political factions, the bane of the publick good; we detest, from the bottom of our hearts, those daring insults, which have been offered by seditious and profligate writers to the best of Kings. Liberty we value more than our lives. Liberty will ever be maintained and cherished by a Sovereign who hath approved himself the true father of his country.¹¹³

¹¹¹Aug. 31, 1763, Penn Letterbooks, VII, 347-348. HSP.

¹¹²Andrew Aguecheek [pseudonym], The Universal American Almanack, or Yearly Magazine . . . for the Year of our Lord 1764 . . . (Philadelphia: A. Steuart [1763]), p. [35].

¹¹³Pa. Gazette, Aug. 25, 1763.

It thus was possible and even fashionable to toast both "Wilkes and Liberty" and "George and Liberty."¹¹⁴

A curious pamphlet appeared in 1763 which purported to be a prophecy of future events in America. The printer declared that "the Uncommonness of its Style is a certain Evidence of its being genuine." It rather ominously depicted the future course of British power in North America:

Thro' the Darkness, moving toward the West, I see a human Form, dark Mists obscure her Face . . . "here will I fix my Reign" . . . Yes, She shall reign for Years, and spread her Sway, till from a Northern Clime a Hero comes to shake her Throne; Then She shall quit the Field, and he shall reign, and send forth Chiefs to fight her warring Sons; but they from Time to Time, shall vex his Reign, strive to o'erthrow his Government, despise and trample his Authority, and set at nought his Counsels, shall ever try to shake his Peace and make his Crown fit heavy on his Head.¹¹⁵

Another writer, who signed himself "J. W." declared that

Any Notion that the Colonies are likely to be Independent, or have any Desire to be so, is a mere Chimaera, engendered in suspicious Brains, and already fully refuted by able Writers in England.-- Are we not intitled to all the Rights of Englishmen?¹¹⁶

In the first few years of the new regime and prior to the changes in the British colonial policy, Americans expressed an affection and admiration for both the mother

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵A Prophecy, Lately Discovered; In which are Predicted many Great and Terrible Events (Philadelphia: A. Armbruster], 1763), pp. 10-11.

¹¹⁶An Address to the Freeholders of New Jersey, on the Subject of Public Salaries (Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1763), p. 17.

country and the king. That this was not a blind obedience to Britain can perhaps best be seen in the initial addresses to the new king and the eulogies of the old. It was the constitutional monarch whom they admired from the very beginning. Such was to be their attitude for the next decade.

CHAPTER IV

ROYAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STAMP

ACT CRISIS, 1764-1766

The year 1764 was crucial both in the general history of the Pennsylvania province and in a study of the attitudes expressed there toward the monarch. Early in the year western settlers openly challenged the defense policy of the Assembly, forcing an Assembly-Proprietor alliance against the west. This agreement, however, proved to be temporary, as the Assembly, led by Franklin, soon opened a new campaign to take Pennsylvania from the hands of the proprietor and convert it into a royal colony.

After the cessation of hostilities between the French and the British, many in America felt there would no longer be a need for standing armies or for maintaining provincial troops. The encroachment on Indian lands coupled with Indian uneasiness over the cession of lands east of the Mississippi, however, brought a series of Indian attacks upon the western frontier. The British commanders again requisitioned supplies from the colonies to put down this rising by Pontiac and others. Again the Pennsylvania Assembly proved intransigent, though the uprising eventually was put down.

From these troubles on the frontier, which had resulted in the loss of a number of lives, there emerged a new militancy among the Scotch-Irish and German elements in the west. In December a group of western settlers massacred some peaceful Conestoga Indians near Lancaster, bringing forth condemnation from both the Assembly and the new governor, John Penn, nephew of the proprietor, and the first Penn to live in the province since the founder returned to England in 1701. In February a group of frontiersmen who were known as the "Paxton Boys" marched on the capital which had been so callous to their difficulties, and which in addition was sheltering a number of Indians who had taken refuge there.

The invasion of the white settlers brought an end to the quarrels in the city, as the diverse elements united to provide for defense. The Assembly voted a bill of credit without raising the constitutional question, while Franklin formed defensive arrangements for the city, even enlisting a number of Quakers. Franklin and a committee of the provincial government, however, were able to dissuade the marchers from attacking the city, and in a few days the Paxtons returned to their homes.

The Paxton threat to the city resulted in a vigorous pamphlet war. Although the primary themes of the pamphlets produced did not concern the person of the king, each side did profess to have the interests of the king at heart.

Those who supported the western settlers felt it had been the Paxton's "Duty to Kill a Pack of villainous, faithless savages, who they suspected, and had Reason to believe were Murderers, Enemies to his Majesty, his Government and Subjects."¹ The anti-Paxton forces, however, intimated that the Paxtons sought to destroy the constitution and establish a republic: "Did they propose to have thrown of[f] the Reins of Government entirely?"² Another writer asked whether, in view of all their actions and words, one could possibly believe the Paxtons when they said they were "attach'd to the Person and Reign of our dear Sovereign King George the Third."³ Religious prejudice also played a role. In one pamphlet a Quaker told a Presbyterian that

¹[Thomas Barton], The Conduct of the Paxton-Men, Impartially Represented with Some Remarks on the Narrative (Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1764), p. 12.

²An Answer to the Pamphlet Entituled The Conduct of the Paxton Men (Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1764), p. 3. One writer asked whether Great Britain would allow "the Administration of Justice in so valuable a Province as Pennsylvania to be interrupted; the Goals [sic] broke open; the Civil Officers insulted; Trade rendered precarious; and everything put into confusion by a Mob? No certainly." A Serious Address, to Such of the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, as have cannived at, or do approve of, the late Massacre of the Indians at Lancaster; or the Design of killing those who are now in the Barracks at Philadelphia (Philadelphia: [Anthony Armbruster], 1764), pp. 9-10.

³A Dialogue, Containing some Reflections on the late Declaration and Remonstrance; Of the Back-Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania. With a serious and short Address, to those Presbyterians, who (to their dishonor) have too much abetted, and conniv'd at the late Insurrection, By a Member of that Community (Philadelphia: [Andrew Steuart], 1764), p. 10.

the latter was attempting "to destroy the best of Kings, and the best of Governments."⁴

The nature of the constitution was discussed on numerous occasions during this time, and letters praised the virtues of the royal person in the administration of the country. One writer emphasized both the propriety of addressing the throne and the powers of the monarch. The constitution was a document

where all the Laws are founded in Reason, and the Power of the King himself as well as of every Individual in the Government, is limited and govern'd by these Laws; We have a Right to expect, and almost an assurance to obtain, every thing we ask in a regular manner, especially under the Reign of a King who seems so well disposed to promote the Happiness of his people and do Justice to all.

He emphasized that one should not expect the king to grant remonstrances "made with Clamour and Disrespect," even if they were reasonable requests.⁵ George III in his Speech from the Throne likewise emphasized his concerns with the proper desires of his people: "the Interests and Prosperity of my People are the sole Objects of My Care." He wished Parliament to "pursue such Measures as are conducive to those Ends, with Dispatch and Unanimity."⁶

⁴The Paxton Boys, a Farce. Translated from the Original French, by a Native of Donegall (Philadelphia: [A. Armbruester], 1764), p. 14. See also the burlesque on the pacifistic Quakers arming themselves in defense of the Indians in Philadelphia, Ein Schön weltlich Lied. Melodie: Ein Soldat bin ich eben und steh vor meinem Feind [Philadelphia: Anton Armbruester, 1764].

⁵Pa. Journal, Feb. 9, 1764.

⁶Ibid., Feb. 16, 1764.

The march of the Paxton Boys gave new impetus to Franklin's project to convert Pennsylvania into a royal province. The governor was blamed for allowing the Paxton march to threaten the peace of the province, and, as John Penn continued to refuse to sign the Assembly's tax bill, there even arose talk of forcefully replacing the proprietary arms over the Speaker's chair with those of the king.⁷

In the spring of 1764 the Assembly appointed a special committee to consider the grievances against the proprietor; two prominent members were Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway. The report contained twenty-six resolutions which condemned both the proprietary system and the activities of the Penn family. The proprietors, according to the resolutions, had misrepresented the province to British officials: "the bad light this Province unhappily stands in with our gracious Sovereign and his Ministers, has been owing to Proprietary Misrepresentations and Calumnies." Also the proprietary government was dangerous both to the Crown and to the liberties of the people; these dangers would become increasingly important during the time when the proprietary estates were becoming more valuable. After adopting the report, the Assembly adjourned to consult their constituents on the question of changing the form of government.⁸

⁷Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 90-91.

⁸The text of these resolves was printed in the Pa. Gazette, Mar. 29, 1764. On the question of conversion

In general the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish of the west opposed the change and supported the proprietor, though they were less concerned with the change of government than with mounting an anti-Quaker and pacifist offensive. The proprietor had claimed his every effort to provide defense for the west had been blocked by the Assembly, which he claimed again was pacifist. Franklin probably contributed to the formation of the alliance between the aristocratic proprietary interests and the western settlers by leading the Assembly in the efforts to change the form of government. Franklin, of course, traditionally had had Quaker support, though the latter were divided in their position. The majority supported the change to counter rising Presbyterian influence, while a number of important leaders--Israel Pemberton, William Logan, and Isaac Norris--in addition to the Yearly Meeting, opposed the change. Both the German and the Anglican votes were also divided.⁹ The proprietor actively worked for the German vote and had some success in breaking the traditional Quaker-German alliance. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, for example, refused to "interfere in such critical, political affairs," and advised his elders

into a royal province, the following are the most helpful: Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 89-110; Hanna, Franklin and Pa. Politics, pp. 154-168, quite different from Thayer in interpretation; David L. Jacobson, "John Dickinson's Fight Against Royal Government, 1764," Wm. and Mary Q., 3rd series, XIX (January 1962), 64-85; and J. Philip Gleason, "A Scurrilous Colonial Election and Franklin's Reputation," Ibid. XVIII (January 1961), 68-84. "A Scurrilous Colonial Election and Franklin's Reputation," Ibid. XVIII (January 1961), 68-84.

that they "should not allow themselves to become involved in the dangerous controversy between our provincial assemblee and the proprietors of Pennsylvania, etc., etc."¹⁰

Most Pennsylvanians, however, seemed to be actively interested in the battle in the Assembly. Political writers and pamphleteers issued numerous tracts on the controversy. Thirty-five hundred persons signed a petition in favor of the change. Others, such as the Quakers, professed personal loyalty to the proprietor, and emphasized that as a religious society they had

carefully avoided admitting Matters immediately relating to Civil Government into our Deliberations, farther than to excite and engage each other to demean ourselves as dutiful Subjects to the King, with due Respect to those in Authority.¹¹

Benjamin Franklin produced one of the most important arguments in favor of the change in "Cool Thoughts," an essay which originally appeared as a Supplement to the Pennsylvania Journal.¹² He argued that weakness was part of the very nature of proprietary government and that the

¹⁰The Journals of Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, trans. (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1945), I, 55, 56. The entries are for March 29 and 30.

¹¹Pa. Gazette, Mar. 1, 1764. Also issued as a pamphlet, The Address of the People Call'd Quakers, in the Province of Pennsylvania, To John Penn, Esquire (Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1764).

¹²In the issue of April 26. In pamphlet form it appeared as [Benjamin Franklin], Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs. In a Letter to a Friend in the Country (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1764). Also published by Andrew Steuart. The quotations are from the Pa. Journal.

only solution to the problems of Pennsylvania lay in conversion to a royal colony. To those who argued that the royal government would establish the Church of England, or at least establish a bishop, Franklin replied that the conversion would have no effect; a resident bishop could come even without the change. Above all, he emphasized that the substitution of the king for the proprietor would produce no change in the fabric of the constitution of Pennsylvania:

The King's Governor only comes in Place of a Proprietary Governor; he must (if the change is made) take the Government as he finds it. He can alter nothing. . . . His Majesty who has no Views but for the Good of the People will thenceforth appoint the Governor, who, unshackled by Proprietary Instructions, will be at Liberty to join with the Assembly in enacting wholesome Laws.

There appeared, however, well-reasoned warnings against any proposed change of government. One pamphlet decried the growth of factions which would loosen the bonds of civil society. "Philanthropos" predicted dire results from this growth of faction, though he never directly mentioned the proposed change of government:

fellow-citizens imbrue their hands in one another's blood, and triumph in one another's ruin. This produces changes of government, destruction of liberty, and introduces tyranny and slavery. The constitution is broke, and the whole benefit of government lost; or things are fixed upon an ill-foot, and misery entailed upon posterity.¹³

A number of writers blamed Franklin for having stirred up

¹³The Universal Peace-Maker, or Modern Author's Instructor (Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1764), p. 14.

these factious interests within the province.¹⁴

One of the most outspoken of the pamphleteers who opposed the change was a Scotch-Irishman, Hugh Williamson, a classmate of Hopkinson and Duché at the College of Philadelphia. Williamson wrote a series of anti-Quaker pamphlets entitled The Plain Dealer, in which he charged the Quakers with having invaded the king's prerogative by conspiring "with foreign princes, with whom we are at war." Since the Quakers had "never paid a farthing of a tax for the King's use," it was obvious that the Quakers were not seeking a royal government because they loved the king so much. Rather they had "some hopes of keeping the people under a Quaker-yoke for ever by this scheme."¹⁵ One problem which Williamson faced--along with those others who opposed the change--was how to bring about opposition to the change without appearing disloyal to the Crown. According to

¹⁴See the following exchange of pamphlets: [David James Dove], The Quaker Unmask'd; or Plain Truth, Humbly address'd to the Consideration of all the Freemen of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: [Andrew Steuart], 1764); The Author of Quaker Unmask'd, Strip'd Start [sic] Naked, or the Delineated Presbyterian Play'd Hob With (Philadelphia: [Anthony Armbruster], 1764); Remarks on the Quaker unmask'd; or Plain Truth Found to be Plain Falsehood: Humbly address'd to the Candid (Philadelphia: John Morris, [1764]); The Quaker Vindicated; Or observations on A late Pamphlet, Entitled The Quaker Unmask'd, or Plain Truth ([Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart], 1764).

¹⁵[Hugh Williamson], The Plain Dealer: or, A few Remarks upon Quaker-Politicks, And their Attempts to Change the Government of Pennsylvania, With [s]ome Observations on the false and abusive Papers which they have lately publish'd, Numb. 1 (Philadelphia: [Andrew Steuart], 1764), pp. 6, 9. This was dated April 12, 1764.

Williamson, Pennsylvania was already under the king's government--the "Proprietor is our Governor under the King; and he nominates a Lieutenant-Governor for his Majesty's approbation." He warned that

if we get a new government, the Parliament must alter our Charter first, and then we shall have new privileges and new laws. We know what we have, and we can hardly get better, but we may get worse, when it may be too late to repent.¹⁶

He expressed a similar sentiment in the third issue published on May 12: "The only question is, shall we . . . part with a valuable Charter and very extensive privileges, for one that will certainly be much more contracted."¹⁷ He said that it was probable that Pennsylvania soon would have "stamp-offices, customs, excises, and duties enough to pay, we don't want to pay tythes into the bargain," an obvious reference to the possible establishment of religion under a royal government.¹⁸

This latter statement is also significant in that it shows an awareness of the changed attitude in London toward the colonies in America. William Allen had already written from London in late 1763 that there was "a Stamp Office to

¹⁶Ibid., p. 17. See also Seiner Königlichen Erhabesten Majestät im Hohen Rath, nahe sich Diese demüthigste Vorstellung und Bitte von Seiner Majestät gehorsamst-getreuen Unterthanen, den freyen Einwohnern der Provinz Pennsylvania [Philadelphia: Anton Armbruester, 1764], p. 1. Richard Jackson had earlier made Franklin aware of this same objection. See Labaree, Franklin Papers, VIII, 20.

¹⁷[Hugh Williamson], The Plain Dealer: or Remarks on Quaker Politics in Pennsylvania, Numb. III (Philadelphia: [William Dunlap], 1764), p. 21.

¹⁸[Williamson], Plain Dealer, Numb. I, p. 17.

be erected which will be the beginning of misery for if they once begin to tax us I fear they will increase our Burdens."¹⁹ In May the Pennsylvania Gazette contained an article which discussed the possibility of new taxes. Franklin had conceded that "the Parliament may establish some Revenue arising out of the American Trade to be apply'd towards supporting . . . Troops," but he concluded that there was little or no connection between this changed attitude in England and the attempt to secure direct royal control:

Our continuing under a Proprietary Government will not prevent it, nor our coming under a Royal Government promote and forward it, any more than they would prevent or procure Rain or Sunshine.²⁰

Franklin's supporters continued their attacks on the proprietary, emphasizing particularly the implied anti-royalism of those who opposed royal government. The proprietors had even, with regard to their refusal to permit taxation of their estates, set themselves up with powers greater than those of the king of England: "Was this not setting up a Claim the Kings of England never pretended to, was this not making themselves superior to Royalty itself!"²¹ Could the "best of Sovereigns," they asked, ever contemplate

¹⁹Wm. Allen to Benjamin Chew, Dec. 9, 1763, Chew Papers, Cliveden.

²⁰"Cool Thoughts," Pa. Journal, April 26, 1764, Supp.

²¹An Address to the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania. In Answer to a Paper called The Plain Dealer (Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester, 1764), p. 4.

a challenge to the liberties of those in the colonies?:

What Objection then can you have to a Governor commissioned by His Majesty, and independent of the Proprietaries, whose Views, partial Interests and Instructions, are incompatible with the Rights of the Crown and your Welfare.²²

The foremost opponent of the attempt to establish a royal government in Pennsylvania, and, by implication, the primary supporter of the proprietary interests, was John Dickinson, a wealthy young lawyer who was talented both as a writer and as a debater. Dickinson's opposition to Franklin's proposal, however, came not so much because he liked the proprietary government, but because he feared possible adverse consequences of a closer connection with the crown.²³ He participated in the Assembly debate when the resolution for the change of government was given its second reading on May 24 and warned against a change which could destroy privileges "in the blaze of royal authority." The province already was "under the disadvantage of royal and ministerial displeasure" because of its failure to provide military supplies during the struggles against the French and the Indians. This disadvantage could not be overcome by the petition for royal control, however, since the petition was motivated not by affection for the king but by disaffection for the proprietor. Dickinson emphasized

²²Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

²³H. Trevor Colbourn, "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," Pa. Mag. LXXXIII (July 1959), 286.

that, though the change could be disadvantageous to the province, his argument was not directed against the king:

for with the most implicit conviction I believe, he is as just, benevolent, and amiable a Prince, as heaven ever granted in its mercy to bless a people. I venerate his virtues beyond all expression. But his attention to our particular circumstances, being impossible, we must receive our fate from ministers; and from them. I do not like to receive it.²⁴

Pennsylvania already had a "perfect religious freedom," wisdom of laws, and the people had some authority in the government; these could be lost in a conversion to a royal province:

Let any impartial person reflect, how contradictory some of these privileges are to the most antient principles of the English constitution, and how directly opposite some of them are to the settled prerogatives of the crown.²⁵

The major rejoinder to Dickinson's speech was delivered by Joseph Galloway, Franklin's principle lieutenant in the Assembly.²⁶ Galloway repeated many of the

²⁴John Dickinson, A Speech Delivered in the House of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1764, On Occasion of a Petition, drawn up by Order, and then under Consideration, of the House; Praying his Majesty for a Change of the Government of this Province, With a Preface (Philadelphia: Wm. Bradford, 1764), pp. 3, 5, 13. This was reprinted several times, including once in London and a translation into German; in addition, "the Substance of it" appeared in the Pa. Journal, July 19, 1764, and in the Pa. Gazette, July 26, 1764.

²⁵Ibid., p. 16.

²⁶Published in August as The Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esq; One of the Members for Philadelphia County; in Answer to the Speech of John Dickinson, Esq; Delivered in the House of Assembly, of the Province of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1764, On Occasion of a Petition drawn up by Order,

arguments delivered earlier in favor of the change. With regard to the charge that the government in England was unfavorably disposed toward Pennsylvania and would impose severe restrictions, Galloway replied that there was not the least Danger" of being deprived of privileges in the proposed change, for

the present Ministry, besides the Disposition to mild and equitable Measures which they have already manifested, will undoubtedly be very cautious how they give any Handle to a virulent Oppostion, by so great an Act of Injustice, as the depriving a free People of those Privileges they have so dearly bought.

In addition, the question of the ministry was academic. It was to the king that the petition would be directed, and even Dickinson had admitted that George III was "just, benevolent, and amiable." Galloway declared that

it is his [George III's] Justice we implore, and his Virtue on which we rely for a Protection against the Oppression of his private Subjects. . . . Is he such a Cypher in the Government, that this important Transaction, in which the Rights of Thousands of his Loyal Subjects, are concerned, will not come to His Notice? Is he possessed of so much Justice and Benevolence, and will he permit such Injustice to be done us, without Interfering? . . . He has not appeared this nothing in the Constitution.

According to Galloway it had been the "arbitrary [proprietary] Instruction . . . that prevent[ed] our shewing cheerful Obedience to the Royal Orders, and our Loyalty and

and then under the Consideration of the House: praying his Majesty for a Royal, in lieu of a Proprietary Government (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1764). Galloway declared that his speech was printed from notes which he later had to put in order. A considerable controversy developed whether this was the substance of the speech delivered. Whether spoken or not, it does contain a summary of the anti-proprietary position.

Affection to the best of Sovereigns." The province could not be so disadvantaged under a royal government. The king, Galloway reminded his audience, did not possess the power to strip the people of Pennsylvania of their rights. Even were it within his power, George III would always reflect the privileges granted by his royal predecessors. He argued that since the crown had "no private Interest to promote; the public Good will be its great Object."

Galloway concluded that

the Royal Government shews its Limits; they are known and confined; and rare it is, that any Attempts are made to extend them. But where Proprietary Power will terminate, where its Limits will be fixt, and it's [sic] Encroachments end, is uncertain.²⁷

The petition for the change of government passed the Assembly with only four dissenting votes and was signed by Franklin, the newly-elected Speaker, on May 26. The colonies around Pennsylvania, according to the petitioners, enjoyed a "Happiness and Security" which proprietary government prohibited; it was only under a royal administration that Pennsylvanians could enjoy all the privileges granted by the king and his predecessors. The petitioners also requested that the proprietor be compensated out of the royal funds.²⁸

The opposition to the change of government, however,

²⁷Ibid., pp. 5, 7-8, 19, 21, 41.

²⁸To the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council, The Petition of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of Pensilvania (Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1764), p. 2.

did not relent in its attack on Franklin and his supporters. In July there appeared a public protest against the petition of the Assembly. A counter-petition appealed to the king to disregard the Assembly's petition

as exceeding grievous in its Nature; as by no means containing a proper Representation of the State of this Province; and as repugnant to the general Sense of your numerous and loyal Subjects in it.²⁹

The opposition emphasized that they would like to be under the personal government of the king, but that the remote situation made this impossible.

Much of the emphasis of the pamphlet war of the summer of 1764 was directed toward the annual fall election for members of the Assembly; the change of government was the central issue. On September 4 Dickinson published a reply to Galloway's recently published Assembly speech of May. Dickinson reiterated his conviction that "If we are to lose nothing by the change, I am as willing to be under the immediate government of the crown, as the proprietors," yet felt that the province "might find it more difficult after a change, to contend for the preservation of our privileges, with the crown and the clergy. . . . than with the proprietors."³⁰ Dickinson admitted that he was not favorable to

²⁹To the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. The Representation and Petition of Your Majesty's dutiful and Royal Subjects, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1764).

³⁰John Dickinson, A Reply to a Piece Called the Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esquire (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1764), pp. 4, 10.

the way in which the proprietor had acted: "what I desire is, vigorously to oppose those [proprietary] demands; and to try the force of that influence, without risking too much in the contest." He emphasized, however, that the attempt to alter the government "might be deemed in Great Britain a surrender of our charter--or at least a sufficient foundation for the parliament's proceeding to form a new constitution for us."³¹

Each side charged its opponents with seeking private gain for its stand on government, and emphasized the justice of its own cause. Anti-proprietary forces declared that

altho' the Friends of Liberty struggle hard to throw off the galling Yoke of Tyranny; there are some selfish Wretches, who for private Advantages wish to continue under it.³²

Another pamphlet, a coarse lampoon directed against the proprietary forces, purported to be minutes of a council of Presbyterian ministers. In the alleged opening prayer the

³¹Ibid., pp. 15, 24. This charge was refuted in a number of pamphlets. See, for example, Etliche merkwürdige Funckten, betreffende die Verwechselung des Governments. Gerichtet an die deutsche Einwohner der Provinz Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Anton Armbruester, 1764), p. 2

³²The Scribler, Being a Letter from a Gentleman in Town to a Friend in the Country, concerning the present State of Public Affairs; with a Lapidary Character ([Philadelphia]: Anthony Armbruester, 1764), p. 18, cf. p. 5. See also [Isaac Hunt], A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians. Or a Brief Examination of their Loyalty, Merit, and other Qualifications for Government. With some Animadversions on the Quaker unmask'd, Humbly Address'd to the Consideration of the Loyal Freemen of Pennsylvania, Numb. 1. (Philadelphia: [Anthony Armbruester], 1764); and Eine Anrede an die Deutschen Freyhalter der Stadt und County Philadelphia (Philadelphia: [Anton Armbruester], 1764).

ministers prayed that God would

turn the Hearts of the ignorant Dutch from King George to serve the P[roprieto]r in such a manner as well enable us to establish our Religion upon the Necks of both! Confound our Enemies the Assembly and all their Adherents, who are Lovers of Monarchy and Abhorrrers of Presbyterianism . . . Let the King's Name become odious and stink in the Nostrils of the Dutch.³³

But just as there were intemperate publications against the proprietor and those who opposed the change of government, there were also attacks on Franklin and his followers. One member of the Assembly, Isaac Sanders of Lancaster, openly denounced the petition and, even though censured by the Assembly, was warmly praised by a number of the leading persons in the county.³⁴ Hugh Williamson directed another uncomplimentary pamphlet against Franklin, and the Germanic elements were aroused by the re-publication of some of his earlier anti-German statements.³⁵

³³The Substance, Of a Council Held at Lancaster, August the 28th, 1764. By a Committee of Presbyterian Ministers and Elders deputed from all Parts of Pennsylvania, in order to settle the ensuing Election of Members for the Assembly. Published at the Request of their respective Congregations. ([Philadelphia: A. Armbruster], 1764), pp. 2-3.

³⁴Pa. Journal, Aug. 16, 1764; Jacobson, "Dickinson Against Royal Government," p. 80.

³⁵[Hugh Williamson], What is Sauce for a Goose is also Sauce for a Gander. Being a Small Touch in the Lapidary Way. Or Tit for Tat, in your own Way. An Epitaph on a certain great Man. Written by a departed Spirit and now Most humbly inscrib'd to all his dutiful Sons and Children, who may hereafter chose [sic] to distinguish him by the Name of A Patriot (Philadelphia: [A. Armbruster], 1764). Williamson had brought up the scandal of William Franklin's birth. See also An Answer to the Plot [(Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1764)], broadside. See Franklin's Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind in Labaree, Franklin Papers, IV, 234.

Franklin's major opponent among the Germanic elements was Christopher Saur, a sectarian publisher of Germantown and the wealthiest and most influential German publisher of colonial Pennsylvania. Saur strongly defended the property rights of the proprietary interests, and printed numerous anti-Franklin pamphlets and protests against the change. His Germantauner Zeitung had a widespread appeal among the pacifist sects.³⁶ According to one pamphlet Saur published on September 28, it was the proprietary government of the Penns which had attracted so many Germans to Pennsylvania. The province was already under the protection of a gracious king. It already had many advantages over the royal colonies--there was no established religion and there was free voting for sheriff in every county. The writer also appealed to the heritage of the residents of the province. If royal government were so necessary and so much better than proprietary rule, why had not their noble ancestors sought conversion? It certainly would not be necessary to change the form of government now that the

³⁶This newspaper originally began to appear in 1739, as the Hoch Deutsche Pennsylvanische Berichte. Its name was changed to the Germantauner Zeitung in 1762 and several times thereafter. Except for several scattered issues, this newspaper was not available for this study. See Carl Wittke, The German Language Press in America ([Lexington]: The University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 14-20; Oswald Seidensticker, The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830 (Philadelphia: Schaefer and Koradi, 1893); and Martin Grove Brumbaugh, A History of the German Baptist Brethren in America (Mount Morris, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1899). Saur's name was variously spelled Sauer, Sower.

threat from the French and the Indians had been met. It, of course, was not true, as Franklin and the Assembly had charged, that the land was full of riot, violence, and confusion. The author was also convinced that if the proprietor would break the charter, the king would take the colony under his direct rule, without even being asked; obviously the proprietary government was not exceeding its authority.³⁷

There also appeared German tracts in favor of abolishing the proprietary government.³⁸ Foremost among the anti-proprietary Germans, was the influential publisher Henrich Miller, from whose press came pamphlets to counter those of Saur. One writer, for example, declared that if the present proprietor were as good a friend to the Germans as the founder had been there would be no need for the change.³⁹

³⁷Anmerkungen über Ein noch nie erhört und gesehen Wunder Thier in Pennsylvanien, genannt Streit und Strauss Vogel, heraus gegeben von einer Teutschen Gesellschaft freyer Bürger und getreuer Unterthanen Seiner Gross Brittanischen Majestät [Germantown: Christoph Sauer, 1764] pp. 4-11. See also [Ludwig Weiss?], Getreue Warnung gegen die Lockvögel. Samt einer Antwort auf die andere Anrede an die deutsche Freyhalter der Stadt und County von Philadelphia (Philadelphia: [Henrich Miller], 1764).

³⁸See Eine Anrede an die Deutschen Freyhalter der Stadt und County Philadelphia (Philadelphia: [Anton Armbruester], 1764); Eine andere Anrede an die Deutschen Freyhalter der Stadt und County Philadelphia von etlichen von ihren Landsleuten (Philadelphia: Anton Armbruester, 1764); end Der Lockvogel Warnungsgesang Vor den Stossvögeln: Oder Nöthige Beantwortung der sogenannten Getreuen Warnung, gegen die Lockvögel, &c. ([Philadelphia: Henrich Miller], 1764).

³⁹Eine Neue Anrede an die Deutschen in Philadelphia Cauntly, &c. [Philadelphia: Henrich Miller, 1764], p. 4.

On the day of the election there appeared a dire warning against possible effects of the change to a royal government. A royal government was a form where

all officers are nominated by the Governors, where every fifth, or tenth Man, without regard to His religious Persuasion, is balloted out, and obliged to serve or find another in his Stead; where all Sheriffs are nominated by the Governor and you could not have the Benefit of a Jury chosen by a Sheriff of your own Election.⁴⁰

The issues were summarized in a bit of verse that same day:

They [Galloway and Franklin] vow to get eternal Fame,
All Things they'll change, yet keep the same;
Thro' Rocks and Shelves our Bark they'll paddle,
And fasten G[eorge] in Will's old Saddle.⁴¹

Despite the warnings against the change of government, the election resulted in a victory for those in favor of the change; the proprietary forces won only one-third of the thirty-six seats in the Assembly, though both Franklin and Galloway were narrowly defeated.⁴² Franklin, however, remained the unofficial leader of the anti-proprietary forces. Approval of the petition for royal government was quickly resolved, and Franklin was appointed agent to deliver the petition for the change to the king. The Assembly demanded that Franklin cede none of the rights guaranteed by the

⁴⁰To the Freeholders and Electors of the City and County of Philadelphia [Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1764], p. 2.

⁴¹From a satire on Galloway's speech: Advertisement and not a Joke, A Speech there is, which no man spoke, October 1, 1764. [Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1764], broadside.

⁴²Jackson's letter appeared in the Fa. Journal, Sept. 27, 1764, supplement.

Charter of 1701.

There appeared on October 20 a protest against the appointment of Franklin as agent, particularly on personal grounds, but Franklin countered with Remarks on a Late Protest, in which he emphasized his loyalty to the crown and decried any notion of personal gain.⁴³ When he left Philadelphia for Chester, where he boarded his ship for England, he was given a most warm send-off. A celebration was given in his honor and an anthem was sung:

Thy Knowledge rich in Store,
On Pennsylvania pour,
Thou [sic] great Blessing:
Long to defend our Laws,
Still give us greater Cause,
To sing with Heart and Voice,
GEORGE and FRANKLIN.

.
GOD Save Great GEORGE our King;
Prosper Agent Franklin;
Grant him Success:
Hark how the Vallies ring;
GOD Save our Gracious King,
From whom all Blessings spring,
Our Wrongs redress.⁴⁴

Yet even before Franklin left for London, it was privately circulated that the petition had little chance of success. One writer declared that "the Proprietors take great pains to keep in with the Court so that the Petition

⁴³[Benjamin Franklin]. Remarks on a Late Protest against the Appointment of Mr. Franklin as Agent for this Province [Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1764]; also published as a supplement in the Pa. Journal, Nov. 22, 1764.

⁴⁴The Election: A Medley, Humbly Inscribed to Squire Lilliput, Professor of Scurrility [Philadelphia, 1764], broadside.

for the change of Government will not meet with Success."⁴⁵

The writer was correct.

It was ironic that the movement for a royal colony reached so advanced a state at the same time as the ministry in London was proceeding with its plans to levy duties on the colonies. Franklin had known of this change in policy, yet in "Cool Thoughts" had expressed his belief that the form of government would make little difference in the passage or the enforcement of such an act. In Poor Richard Improv'd for 1765, published in September, 1764, it was stated that taxes have increased "and now it is said we are to be burthened with the Payment of new Duties." Yet this knowledge did not affect Franklin's determination to proceed with his move toward the conversion of the colony.⁴⁶

The proprietary forces were able to take advantage of this change in British policy. William Smith, the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, recently returned from London, dwelled at length on Franklin's character and influence: "your former anarchical schemes and virulent conduct, had rendered you very exceptionable to some of the king's ministers." Smith on numerous occasions identified the proprietary cause as the popular cause. He had supported the rights of America

⁴⁵"Samuel Meredith to his Cousin," September 21, 1764, reprinted in "American Politics Discussed in Commercial Letters, 1764-1766," Pa. Mag. XVII (1893), 211-212.

⁴⁶Poor Richard Improv'd . . . (Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, [1764]), p. [2].

in England; Franklin had not. Pennsylvanians in general, according to Smith, felt

it to be their essential right as British subjects, to assess their own taxes; and that any law to subject them to internal taxations, otherwise than by their own representatives, would be disfranchising them of their right of Englishmen.⁴⁷

Those who sought the change of government obviously would be in favor of the ministerial despotism.

Although the sentiment for the conversion of the colony into a royal province had been strong, it is perhaps apparent that the move was one of expediency rather than of an over-zealous attitude in favor of the king. Royal control, it was thought, would be easier to bear than proprietary rule. Each side claimed strong allegiance to the king; each denounced the other for anti-royalist sympathies. It appears, however, that the only anti-monarchical sentiment to appear in the Pennsylvania press at this time was that of polemical imputation. There remained some sentiment for the change of government the next year, though because of the growing controversy over the Stamp Act, the support notably had waned. A "Lover of Truth" launched another vigorous attack on the proprietary and announced firm devotion to the monarch:

The Quakers, when they found Life, Liberty and Property were no longer secure under a P-----y Government, did, from a perfect Confidence in their Sovereign, unite in petitioning for a

⁴⁷[William Smith], An Answer to Mr. Franklin's Remarks, on a Late Pamphlet (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1764), pp. 6, 17. Translated into German the following year.

Royal Government.

On the other hand the proprietary was more concerned with "spreading Disaffection to the King, and an Aversion to a Kingly Government among your whole People."⁴⁸ Another flattering portrait of the king appeared with the republication of Robert Dodsley's The Oeconomy of Human Life, a collection of moral precepts originally published in 1750; Dodsley held that

The glory of a king is the welfare of his people; his power and dominion resteth on the hearts of his subjects. The mind of a great prince is exalted with the grandeur of his situation; he resolveth high things, and searcheth for business worthy of his power. . . His magistrates are just, his ministers are wise, and the favourite of his bosom deceiveth him not. . . . His subjects are faithful . . . Security and peace bless the dwellings of his people; and glory and strength incircle his throne for ever.⁴⁹

A dialogue composed for the commencement exercises of the College of Philadelphia expressed thanks for George III's generosity to the collection raised in Great Britain for the colleges of Philadelphia and New York:

Sons of Science! loudly sing;
Let these vaulted Roofs resound,
Learning's Friend is Britain's King;
Tell it to the World around.⁵⁰

⁴⁸An Address to the Rev. Dr. Alison, the Rev. Mr. Ewing, and others, Trustees of the Corporation for the Relief of Presbyterian Ministers, their Widows and Children: being a vindication of the Quakers. From the Aspersions of the said Trustees in their Letter Published in the London Chronicle, No. 1223 ([Philadelphia: William Dunlap], 1765), p. 15.

⁴⁹[Robert Dodsley], The Oeconomy of Human Life (Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1765), pp. 41, 43. This has also been attributed to the Earl of Chesterfield.

⁵⁰Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, June 13, 1765.

It is interesting to note the response of those who supported the change of government to the growing controversy over John Wilkes. Isaac Hunt continued to publish a series of attacks on the Presbyterians and proprietors; his scurrilous attacks caused his application for a master's degree from the College of Philadelphia to be denied in 1766. Hunt was vigorous in his attacks on Chief Justice William Allen and attempted to link his name to what Hunt thought was the most scandalous Englishman:

Instead of the King's Health, Success to the Minority (who oppose the King's Measures in England) is his standing Toast: and, instead of the King's Picture, he [Allen] has hung up the portrait of John Wilkes! -- the most vile Calumniator of Majesty that has ever yet appeared!⁵¹

Wilkes was also censured in a scurrilous piece on his trial. The narrator described a fictitious courtroom scene and declared that those who opposed Wilkes

were to a Man true and loyal Subjects and loved the King and Government in our Hearts, and we hoped we should always be Governed by faithful Subjects to his Majesty, as we were and always should be loyal to him and all authority it may please him to set over and govern us.

Upon hearing this Wilkes reportedly

swell'd with rage, and in a violent Passion
Curst the King's Government, and said no King's

⁵¹[Isaac Hunt], A Humble Attempt at Scurrility, In Imitation of Those Great Masters of the Art, the Rev. Dr. S---th; the Rev. Dr. Al----n; the Rev. Mr. Ew-n; the Irreverend D. J. D-ve. and the Heroic J--n D-----n, Esq; Being a Full Answer to the Observations on Mr. H----s's Advertisement ([Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester], 1765, p. 23. See also the eight numbers of his The Substance of an Exercise, had This Morning in Scurrility Hall ([Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart], 1765).

Government for him, he did not like to be under a yoke, he would rather chuse to be in a Penn.⁵²

This alleged cursing of the king's government took place on October 1, ironically the same day as the election in Pennsylvania. The author concluded with a short and rather poorly written poem:

The Duty of all Parent's with the Rod's
To train their Children in the fear of GOD,
And like the Bee, to use it as their sting,
To learn them how to pray for George their King.⁵³

Some opponents of the proprietary thus in effect were aligning themselves with the ministerial faction against John Wilkes. Though the effect of this anti-Wilkes propaganda is difficult to measure, it undoubtedly could have added to some anti-monarchical sentiment after Wilkes became a popular hero in America.

The Stamp Act, the news of which was printed in the Pennsylvania Gazette of April 18, also influenced the question of the form of government for Pennsylvania and the attitude toward the king. Proprietary supporters used the changes in British policy as evidence that Pennsylvania was safer in their hands than in the hands of the crown. Franklin was accused of having promoted the Stamp Act, and though his supporters countered this, it was hard to refute.⁵⁴

⁵²O! Justitia, A Complete Trial, God gives, and takes away. Well, Justice Shall Take Place. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester, 1765], pp. 7-8.

⁵³Ibid., p. 16.

⁵⁴Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 112-117; Verner W. Crane, "Benjamin Franklin and the Stamp Act," Col. Soc. of Mass.

A number of pages in Poor Richard Improv'd for 1766, published in September of 1765, for example, were devoted to a dispassionate explanation of the provisions of the act.

The newspapers were united against the act. William Bradford, editor of the Pennsylvania Journal and one of the leading Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia, was outspoken in his opposition to the measure.⁵⁵ Throughout 1765 and the next year Bradford published denunciations of the act, in addition to long excerpts from the opposition in Parliament. Colonel Barré, for example, opposed the measure and held that the Americans had always been "a brave people, inflexibly loyal, and affectionately attached to his Majesty's person and family, and the British Constitution." Yet the colonists still held fast to their "native rights, to preserve which they quited their native country." Should these rights be restored, Barré declared, "they would in a few years be the strongest bulwark to the British monarchy."⁵⁶ This, of course, implied that the recent acts were detrimental to the

XXII (1932), 56-77; and Hanna, Franklin and Pa. Politics, pp. 171-187. See also James Biddle, To the Freeholders and Electors of the Province of Pennsylvania [Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1765], an anti-Franklin broadside, and To the Freeholders And other Electors of Assembly-Men, for Pennsylvania [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1765], in favor of Franklin.

⁵⁵See Arthur M. Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776 (New York: Vintage Books, 1965 [1957]), p. 74, and J. W. Wallace, An Old Philadelphian, Colonel William Bradford (Philadelphia, 1884), not available for this study.

⁵⁶Pa. Journal, May 9, 1765.

prestige of the crown. Most writers emphasized that their opposition to the act did not "proceed from a factious spirit, or a heart disaffected with his Majesty's person and government" and denied that they desired to throw off allegiance to the crown:

For never were subjects more strongly and affectionately attach'd to their Sovereign, than the colonies are, without exception, to his Majesty King George the third, and his Royal House; never were people more unanimous and firm in their adherence to the laws and constitution of England, or more ready to risk their lives and properties in their defence. This affection and loyalty proceeded both from a sense of duty and interest, for under their lawful sovereigns, his Majesty's predecessors, they enjoy'd, and were protected in the possession of their rights and privileges, and found their King ever ready to hear their petitions and promote their welfare.⁵⁷

A similar expression of loyalty appeared two weeks later in an article reprinted from the Maryland Gazette. The author had heard that Parliament would not hear any colonial petitions against the new tax policy, even though the zeal of Americans had always been for "his Majesty's Person and Government." He concluded, however, that the colonists were not dependent on the people of Great Britain, and thus reached a position akin to the later idea of a commonwealth united through the crown: "I know of no Dependence or Relation, only that we are all the common Subjects of the same King." Parliament could not, without violating the constitution, legislate for the colonies or even make rules such as postal regulations:

⁵⁷Ibid., June 27, 1765.

I think from the Nature of our territorial Rights such a Regulation might have come with much more Propriety from the King, who is supreme Lord of these Dominions, than from the Parliament, and then the Concurrence of the Colonies would have been of Course given thereto.⁵⁸

Bradford also reprinted some definitions of treason from the Connecticut Gazette which could be applied to the contemporary situation of the colonies:

2. To attempt the Subversion of the most happy constitution upon Earth, is Treason.
3. To assert and maintain that the King is not to rule for the Good of his Subjects, is Treason.
4. To maintain that the King and Parliament may enact Laws contrary to the fundamentals of the constitution, is Treason.⁵⁹

Thus, although many expressed a firm devotion to the king, it was also necessary to point out that the king was under the constitution. He could no more violate its provisions than could his ministers or Parliament. In general, however, the king was pictured in rather flattering terms, and writers commonly distinguished between the activities of the king and those of his ministers or Parliament. In August the text of the Act of Succession was favorably recorded along with the king's statement that it would be pleasing to him "if the Nobility would follow his example, in wearing nothing but what is of English Manufacture."⁶⁰

But by autumn there began to appear more forthright

⁵⁸Ibid., July 11, 1765.

⁵⁹Ibid., Aug. 15, 1765.

⁶⁰Pa. Gazette, Aug. 8, 1765.

statements critical of the Stamp Act in the Pennsylvania press. In a letter to the printer, one writer sought a solution to what he called "the incredible scarcity of money" and described the position of the king:

. . . . How then shall we extricate ourselves? Our foreign trade labours, by which we have been enabled to support ourselves, while we extended the dominions of the best of Kings over half the globe; enriched his metropolis, supported his manufactories, made his merchants as princes, multiplied his subjects, and dismayed his enemies: and our trade with each other does little more than change the property, besides leaving something in the coffers of our sovereign.

The writer concluded that Americans should work on their own solution to the problem: "by every system of internal American Oeconomy, we will endeavour to rid us of this foreign tribute."⁶¹

At the same time there was evidence of continued loyalty to the royal family. Reports from Boston described the celebration in honor of the Prince of Wales' birthday and, erroneously, Pitt's appointment as a secretary of state. Loyal sayings--"God bless our true British King," "Long live their Majesties," "Heaven preserve the Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family," "Pitt and Liberty for ever" reportedly spread throughout the city: "High and low, rich and poor, young and old, white and black, bond and free, joined the chorus."⁶² Simultaneously there appeared the text of a circular letter from Massachusetts calling for a meeting of

⁶¹Pa. Journal, Sept. 5, 1765.

⁶²Pa. Gazette, Sept. 5, 1765.

representatives of the colonies "to consider of a general and united, dutiful, loyal and humble representation of their condition to his Majesty and the parliament, and to implore relief." There were also accounts of the colonial action against the stamp distributors in Connecticut and Rhode Island. At no time was the king linked to the passage of the act.

Though most attacked the whole concept of taxation for revenue, several Pennsylvanians defended the right of Great Britain to levy a tax on the colonies. Joseph Galloway, writing as "Americanus," felt that while it would be better for Americas to tax themselves, this had not worked in practice. He denounced the numerous statements against the Act:

At a time when almost every American pen is employed in placing the transactions of the parliament of our mother country in the most odious light, and in alienating the affections of a numerous and loyal people, from the royal person of the best of sovereigns; permit me, however unpopular the talk, thro' the impartial channel of your paper, to point out the imprudence and folly of such conduct.

The colonists could complain of the heaviness of the tax as injurious to their commerce, but they could not, Galloway argued, object to the principle involved.⁶³ Galloway's letter provoked spirited replies. Exception was taken to the constitutionality of the taxing power of Parliament. In addition, since Galloway previously had been a strong supporter of the movement to change the form of government from

⁶³Pa. Journal, Aug. 29, 1765.

proprietary to royal, the former could be seen as champion of the rights of the provinces.

Loyal testimonies to the goodness of the king appeared in almost every issue of the press during the crisis. Many writers emphasized that "Every body knows that the present clamour is not against his Majesty, but against the proceedings of a wrong-headed ministry."⁶⁴ Boston celebrated the anniversary of the coronation with the ringing of bells, while the militia and cadets testified "their Loyalty to the Best of Kings." The Freeholders of Boston also prepared a petition to the king "under whose gracious Care and Protection, we have the strongest Reason to hope, that the Rights of the Colonies in general . . . will be confirmed and perpetuated."⁶⁵

One of the stronger denunciations of the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies appeared in The Constitutional Courant, dated September 21, and originally published in New Jersey. The author, "Andrew Marvell," promised to publish anything which would "promote the cause of liberty, of virtue, of religion, and my country, of love and reverence to its laws and constitution, and unshaken loyalty to the King." George III, according to this account, was the common father of the provinces, "and must be supposed to be under no temptations to sacrifice the rights of one part of

⁶⁴Ibid., Sept. 19, 1765.

⁶⁵Pa. Gazette, Oct. 3, 1765.

his subjects to the caprice of another." The crown had the power of enacting the laws; all colonials knew that the sovereign would never execute a law "iniquitous and unreasonable" to the colonies if he knew their true state. Thus it was imperative that the colonists "besiege the throne with petitions." Just as a king who attempted to take away the liberty and property of his people without their consent would be denounced as a tyrant, so also it was true when Parliament sought to undermine their liberties. The writer concluded that whatever the action of the Americans

it cannot be offensive to our sovereign: He glories in being a King of freemen, not of slaves . . . tho' full of loyalty to the best of kings, and ready to spill the last drop of blood in his service, yet we dare bid defiance to all who are betraying the sovereign, and sacrificing his people.⁶⁶

The Stamp Act was to go into effect on November 1, a date which Henrich Miller reminded his readers was the anniversary of the Lisbon Earthquake.⁶⁷ The Pennsylvania Journal published its edition of October 31 with a tombstone masthead, while the issue of the Pennsylvania Gazette which ordinarily would have appeared on October 31--before the act went into effect--had the title "No Stamped Paper to be had," in place of its masthead, and printed its regular news. The next issue of the latter paper was headed "Remarkable Occurences" and also contained news of the

⁶⁶The Constitutional Courant. Containing Matters Interesting to Liberty, and no wise repugnant to Loyalty. Numb. 1 ([Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester], 1765).

⁶⁷Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence, p. 3.

opposition to the Stamp Act throughout the provinces. Henrich Miller suspended his Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote "until it would appear whether means can be found to escape the chains forged for the people and from unbearable slavery."⁶⁸ A letter to the printer from "Amicus Publico" summarized the thoughts which many writers were expressing in the newspapers. The author congratulated the people on their show of true loyalty to "his Majesty's Person and Government" in their defense of the British Constitution. The writer concluded

May King George the Third long live, to reign over a free and happy People; be ever blessed with a pious, wise and faithful council, and see his dear and loyal American Subjects live in Peace and Happiness.⁶⁹

Reports from the various colonies seemed to indicate a strong support of the position of the king in the Stamp Act crisis. The merchants in Philadelphia addressed a memorial to their counterparts in England. In it they emphasized that they were "a dutiful and loyal People to his Majesty King GEORGE the Third, [and] have the warmest

⁶⁸Quoted in Daniel Miller, "Early German American Newspapers," part XXII of "Pennsylvania: The German Influence in its Settlement and Development" in vol. XIX of Pa. German Society (1910), 27. See also James Owen Knauss, Jr., "Social Century as Revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America," vol. XXIX of Pa. German Society (1922), 151-154. The Staatsbote, under various names, consistently opposed the English policies.

⁶⁹Remarkable Occurances [For Pa. Gazette, No. 1925].

Affection for our Mother Country, and its Constitution."⁷⁰
 At Newport the inhabitants held a mock funeral for Liberty
 but sang praises to the king:

The Birthright of Britons is FREEDOM,
 The contrary is worse than Death's Pangs,
 HUZZA for GEORGE the Third.⁷¹

The resolves of the provincial assemblies followed a
 similar pattern. The Massachusetts House of Representatives,
 for example, resolved that "this House owe the strictest
 Allegiance to His Most Sacred Majesty King GEORGE the third:
 that they have the greatest Veneration for the Parliament."⁷²
 The Connecticut House of Representatives declared that

We do most expressly declare, recognize and acknow-
 ledge His Majesty King George the Third to be [the]
 lawful and rightful King of Great-Britain, . . . &
 that it is the indispensable [sic] Duty of the
 People of this Colony . . . always to bear faithful
 and true Allegiance to his Majesty; and him to defend,
 to the utmost of their Power, against all Attempts
 against his Person, Crown and Dignity.⁷³

The inhabitants of Plymouth declared that they had "evinced
 our Loyalty to our King, our Affection to the British
 Government and our Mother Country, on all Occasions."⁷⁴
 A similar resolution of the New York General Assembly

⁷⁰To the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain. The Memorial of the Merchants and Traders of the City of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1765), p. 3.

⁷¹Remarkable Occurances [For Pa. Gazette, No. 1925].

⁷²Pa. Gazette, Nov. 21, 1765.

⁷³Ibid., and Pa. Journal, Nov. 21, 1765.

⁷⁴Pa. Gazette, Nov. 28, 1765.

appeared shortly thereafter.⁷⁵ The freemen of Talbot County, Maryland, pledged themselves "to defend the Crown, Dignity and Succession, of the king and cheerfully support the British Constitution."⁷⁶ In a letter discussing the nature of liberty published late in November, a writer urged that his readers continue to "manifest a love, veneration and esteem for our rightful sovereign king GEORGE the third."⁷⁷ John Dickinson declared that the Americans had been inspired in their activities against the stamp distributors by "the generous Love of Liberty, and guided by a perfect Sense of Loyalty to the best of Kings, and of Duty to the Mother Country."⁷⁸ American allegiance to Great Britain was "secured by the best and strongest ties, those of affection; which alone can, and I hope will form an everlasting union between her and her colonies."⁷⁹ Thus the writers seemed to indicate that they opposed the Stamp Act not only because of local issues of revenue but also because of deeper constitutional issues. By opposing the act they would be protecting

⁷⁵Ibid., Dec. 26, 1765. For the South Carolina resolutions see Ibid., Jan. 2, 1766.

⁷⁶Ibid., Dec. 12, 1765.

⁷⁷Pa. Journal, Nov. 28, 1765.

⁷⁸[John Dickinson], Friends and Countrymen ([Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1765]), broadside.

⁷⁹[John Dickinson], The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies on the Continent of America, Considered, In a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in London (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1765), p. 36. Advertised in the Pa. Journal, Dec. 12, 1765.

the prerogative of the king whom they loved.

The Stamp Act Congress also emphasized its loyalty to the king. It had included in the preamble to the Resolves of October 19 the statement that the members were "sincerely devoted with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to His Majesty's person and Government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession." In their first resolution they said that they "owe the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that is owing from his subjects born within the realm," and at the end of the document, concluded that it was their duty "to endeavour by a loyal and dutiful address to His Majesty" to secure the repeal of the Stamp Act.⁸⁰ The Stamp Act Congress also passed additional petitions to the King and House of Commons and a memorial to the House of Lords. The first was a profession of all due respect to the king, while the others demonstrated respect, but emphasized the rights of Englishmen. In the petition to the king the signers declared that two essential provisions of the English constitution had been violated by the recent legislation: "the right of your faithful subjects freely to grant to your Majesty such aids as are required for the support of your government over them,

⁸⁰"Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress," in Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution, 1764-1788, and the formation of the Federal Constitution (2nd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1965 [1929]), pp. 32-34.

and other public exigencies, and trials by their peers."⁸¹

In an essay which described the nature of the relations between the colonies and the mother country, one author proposed a "juncture" of colonial representatives in North America which would pass legislation which affected them. This constitutional arrangement would be somewhat similar to that of a federated empire:

suffering the colonies to continue under their present constitution, and in the enjoyment of those privileges and immunities, which are the birthright of free born English subjects, they being under different forms of government, independent of each other, and all subject to the King of Great-Britain, will most effectually secure their dependence on Great-Britain, and nothing but some great and general oppression could unite them in a rebellion, or ever make them wish for a change of government.⁸²

This is quite similar to the argument advanced by Richard Bland two months later when the latter announced the union of the colonies to be through the instrument of the crown rather than through the Parliament.⁸³

Yet it was also possible to express some reservations about the position of the monarch in the constitutional structure. Since direct attacks would be considered in

⁸¹The texts of these three petitions were printed in the Pa. Journal, May 1, 1766, Supplement.

⁸²Pa. Gazette, Jan. 30, 1766.

⁸³Richard Bland, An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, Intended as an Answer to the Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies, and the Taxes imposed upon them considered. In a Letter addressed to the Author of that Pamphlet (Williamsburg: Alexander Purdie & Co., 1766), esp. pp. 13-21, 26.

poor taste, the device used in 1766--as well as later when the crisis intensified--was that of reprinting older works which described the nature of kingship. In 1766 there appeared in Philadelphia a reprint of a treatise on kingship by the sixteenth century historian and scholar, George Buchanan. His De Jure Regni, originally published in 1579, was a forthright statement in favor of a limited monarchy, emphasizing the shortcomings of a king and also the mutual responsibilities of the subject and the king: "kings are not ordained for themselves, but for the people."⁸⁴ He held that it had to be remembered that a king was a man, "erring in many things by ignorance, often failing willingly."⁸⁵ Such a work probably would not have appeared unless the printer would be assured of some success in his venture.

William Strahan in London indicated similar reservations about the king in a letter to David Hall. Though George III was "one of the best Men breathing," he was deficient in his administrative capacities; he was "not blessed with that share of Fortitude, Courage and Steadiness, so necessary to the Maintenance of his Personal Authority, and to the due Management of his Servants." Strahan

⁸⁴George Buchanan, De Jure Regni Apud Scotos, or A Dialogue, concerning the due Privilege of Government in the Kingdom of Scotland, Betwixt George Buchanan and Thomas Maitland, by the said George Buchanan, and Translated out of the Original Latin into English (Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1766), p. 13, also "A king doth rule his subjects, and reign over them by their own consent," p. 54.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 18.

suggested that "even upon the ablest Head," the Crown was "hardly able to retain its just and proper Weight in the Legislature." The administration of government was "growing daily weaker and weaker, which in the End must lead to Anarchy and Confusion."⁸⁶ Such sentiments obviously would not strengthen the feelings toward monarchy in America.

Such explicit reservations about the person of the king, however, did not appear in the press. Rather, as agitation against the Stamp Act continued, the protestations of loyalty to the king became even more insistent. Those who opposed the act claimed a greater degree of loyalty to the king than those who supported it: "We profess an unfeigned Allegiance to our King; let us shew ourselves worthy Subjects of a Prince, whose chief Glory is to rule over a free People."⁸⁷ The Sons of Liberty were also anxious to show their loyalty to the Parliament, as well as the crown:

Animated with zeal and love for the good of our country, at the same time paying due obeisance to, and having the highest esteem for, the honour of the British Parliament; and, as in duty bound, supplicating Heaven's choicest blessings for our lawful Sovereign King George the Third, and all the illustrious House of Hanover; with pleasure acknowledge and glory in our loyalty and fidelity to the best of Kings.⁸⁸

⁸⁶"William Strahan to David Hall," April 7, 1766, Pa. Mag. X (April, 1886), 94-99.

⁸⁷Pa. Gazette, Feb. 20, 1766.

⁸⁸Ibid., Mar. 13, 1766.

The Sons of Liberty of Richmond, Virginia, declared that they acknowledged "all due allegiance and obedience to our lawful sovereign GEORGE the THIRD, KING of GREAT BRITAIN."⁸⁹ while the members of that organization in Williamsburg declared that

we acknowledge our sovereign Lord King George III. to be our rightful and lawful King, and that we will at all times, to the utmost of our power and ability, support and defend his most sacred person, crown, and dignity; and will be always ready, when constitutionally called upon, to assist his Majesty with our lives and fortunes, and defend all his just rights and prerogatives.⁹⁰

This latter statement, of course, placed a limitation on the amount of support which they would give the king. They would be ready to defend the king's "just" rights only when "constitutionally" called upon.

A new ministry of Old Whigs under the Duke of Rockingham had come to power in July, 1765; it was this ministry which was in power as news of the protests in America reached London. Although Parliament had recessed for the summer and would not resume until December 17, reports of a change in policy began to circulate in America early in 1766. In a letter dated November 9, a "gentleman" in London wrote that

there is a Plan formed for your [American] Relief by the new Ministry, who are really Friends in America---It is not your Mother Country; it is not your King who oppresses you; but it was a bad

⁸⁹Pa. Journal, April 10, 1766.

⁹⁰Ibid., April 17, 1766.

Ministry, who carried Things so far, as to bring universal Odium on Themselves.⁹¹

There also appeared three letters from the London Chronicle in which the North Americans were characterized in a very favorable light; the American cause was just.⁹²

William Pitt had been one of the heroes of America during the Seven Years' Wars, and it was Pitt who again provided the necessary strength to turn the tide of political stalemate in England.⁹³ Pitt had declared himself in opposition to every measure of the Grenville Ministry, and held that while parliament possessed supreme authority over America in legislative matters, taxation was a free gift of the people and was not part of the legislative power. While Great Britain could limit the trade of the colonies, this did not include the idea of taxation for revenue. Pitt's speech was reprinted in the Pennsylvania press and was warmly endorsed by almost all provincials. Americans were particularly pleased with Pitt's idea that they were not subject to Parliament's power of taxation because they had no representation there and with his statement that he

⁹¹Pa. Gazette, Jan. 16, 1766.

⁹²Pa. Journal, Jan. 23, 1766. It is interesting to note the comparison between the British and Americans made in this issue: "The North-Americans, we should consider, are yet a rough and hardy people, uneffeminated by the luxury, and uncontaminated with the vices, that are preparing the inhabitants of the mother country to become slaves."

⁹³See O. A. Sherrard, Lord Chatham and America (London: The Bodley Head, 1958), pp. 182-186; Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution (new ed., New York: Collier Books, 1963 [1962]), pp. 334-336.

"rejoice[d] that America has resisted."⁹⁴

The first news of Parliamentary action on the question of repeal of the Stamp Act appeared in the press early in May, 1766:

The certain Assurances, brought us by the last Packet, that the Stamp-Act would, before this time, be repealed, and many of our commercial Grievances be redressed, are Matters that cannot but fill every Breast in America, with the deepest Sentiments of Loyalty and Gratitude to our Most Gracious SOVEREIGN, who has lent so indulgent an Ear to our just Complaints; as well as evince to us the Justice and Tenderness of the British Parliament and Nation in general.⁹⁵

The words of this initial announcement, coupled with the petitions of the Stamp Act Congress to the king which had appeared in the press the previous week, made it clear in the minds of many that it was the crown which would bring the redress of grievances.

The news of the repeal arrived on May 19, and immediately there were made arrangements for illuminating the city the next day; each announcement contained an acknowledgment to the king.⁹⁶ The celebration, which

⁹⁴See Fitt's Speech in the Pa. Gazette, Ap. 24, 1766. Reprinted in The Speeches of the Right Honourable Mr. Pitt, General Conway, George Grenville in Parliament, on Tuesday the 14th Day of January, 1766, for and against the Repeal of the Stamp Act, taken down by a Gentleman on the Spot, and by him transferred to his Friend in Philadelphia [Philadelphia, 1766], 2 pp.

⁹⁵Pa. Gazette, May 8, 1766.

⁹⁶See, for example, Philadelphia den 19ten May 1766 [Philadelphia: Anton Armbruster, 1766], a broadside.

Galloway bitterly blamed on the Proprietary Party,⁹⁷ was, according to the accounts, quite joyous, but "not disturbed by any riot or mob, as is common on such occasions."⁹⁸ The barrels of beer given to the populace undoubtedly added to the festivities. The principal inhabitants participated in a celebration of their own at the state house, with over three hundred in attendance. After the dinner toasts "in flowing glasses" were drunk beginning with the King and concluding with "The Liberty of the PRESS in AMERICA." Twenty-one toasts were listed, but the account declares that there were "many others of the same public nature"; after each toast seven guns were fired. In the afternoon a resolution was passed:

That to demonstrate our Affection to Great-Britain, and our Gratitude for the Repeal of the STAMP-ACT, each of us will, on the Fourth of June next, being the Birth Day of our most gracious Sovereign GEORGE III, dress ourselves in a new Suit, of the Manufacture of England, and give what HOME SPUN we have to the POOR.⁹⁹

Further demonstrations of affection for the king were given at the public commencement of the College of Philadelphia on May 20. As the exercises were held the day

⁹⁷Thayer, Pa. Politics, p. 125. Galloway previously had attempted to rid Pennsylvania of the proprietors and had supported the Stamp Act. He saw the celebration as a proprietary attempt to secure personal advantage from the repeal. The Proprietary Party could pose as the champion of American liberties.

⁹⁸Pa. Journal, May 22, 1766; the account in the Pa. Gazette of the same date is almost identical.

⁹⁹Pa. Journal, May 22, 1766; see also Pa. Gazette, May 22 and Der Wochentliche Philadelphiaische Staatsbote, May 26, 1766.

after the news of the repeal arrived, it is, however, possible that this had already been planned for the program:

. . . But a gracious George
 Shall reign the Friend of Justice and of Man.
 His placid Brow no Terror sheds around,
 No Vengeance nerves his royal arm to strike
 The Blow; and triumph o'er a prostrate Land.
 Mercy in him her mildest Beams unites
 To claim a People's Love.¹⁰⁰

At these same exercises there also were read four essays "on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and her American Colonies," written in competition for a medal offered by John Sargent, a Bristol merchant and member of the House of Commons. John Morgan declared in the initial presentation that

The riches of a good King consist in the wealth of his subjects. The affections of his people are security and happiness. All they possess, their fortune and property, are at his disposal, because they are employed to secure both him and themselves. A wise government ought therefore to secure the possession of property, and raise no taxes but what they shall see a real necessity for doing.

The members of the colonies could best preserve their union with Great Britain by demonstrating "their loyalty to the best of Kings, and their subordination to the government of Great-Britain."¹⁰¹ Francis Hopkinson concluded the reading

¹⁰⁰Pa. Journal, June 5, 1766. The dialogue and ode performed that night were written chiefly by Thomas Hopkinson, one of the candidates.

¹⁰¹Four Dissertations, on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union Between Great-Britain and her American Colonies. Written for Mr. Sargent's Prize-Medal. To which (by Desire) is prefixed, an Eulogium, Spoken on the Delivery of the Medal at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20, 1766 (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1766), pp. 25, 28. Morgan was Professor of the

of the essays with an appeal to unity under the king:

Are we not one nation and one people? and do we not own obedience to one common King? . . . We of America, are in all respects Englishmen, notwithstanding that the Atlantic rolls her waves between us and the throne to which we own allegiance.

It would be impossible, Hopkinson argued, to "throw off our dependance, or dissolve this Union, without breaking the very bonds of nature."¹⁰²

The press of May 22 carried full details of the repeal of the Stamp Act; it was made clear that the people of London supported the repeal as much as did the Americans. After the repeal had been effected the king was warmly cheered by various groups in that English city. In America also George III received numerous sentiments of appreciation for having repealed the act--for many felt it was he who had secured its repeal. One writer declared that

We revere the clemency of our most gracious sovereign King GEORGE, whose compassionate ears have opened to the voice of our distress, and who has added a fresh proof to us of his being indeed the father of his people. Long may he set [sic] easy on the British throne, & long may the American colonies feel the sweets of being governed by the wise, the prudent,

Theory and Practice of Physic in the College of Philadelphia. See also Moses Coit Tyler, Literary History of the American Revolution, I, 224-226. The Pa. Journal announced the impending publication of this pamphlet early in June, but it is possible that it never appeared until the fall. See Thomas R. Adams, American Independence, The Growth of an Idea: A Bibliographical Study of the American Political Pamphlets Printed Between 1764 and 1776 Dealing with the Dispute Between Great Britain and Her Colonies (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1965), p. 29.

¹⁰²Four Dissertations, pp. 108-109.

and the just legislature of England. May the house
of Hanover continue to exercise their benign sway
over us, while the sun and moon endure.

George III, according to the writer, was "a prince of
heaven-born virtues, and ever tender to the cries of injured
innocence. He revoked his act."¹⁰³

William Pitt was also linked with the change of
policy. One poem, written in honor of the Sons of Liberty,
included references to the heroes of the moment:

So Liberty we thought was dead, begins now to
 arise,
For Pitt like summer does appear to stop the
 sacrifice;
.....
No Stamps at all? you Britons sing,
And drink a health to George our King;
Rich Pomona the goddess cries,
Burn the Scotch Boot, and repeal my excise.

The writer continued by expressing hope for the preservation
of the dynasty:

Hail mighty GEORGE, may heaven thou attain,
To keep thee from thy foes, and bless thy
 royal dame,
O! may CHARLOTTE like a fruitful tree,
Fulfill thy race, for Briton's loyalty.
Long may you reign, and subjects you obey.
Your wills for liberty, may ne'er decay,
The glorious sun to shine upon thy crown,
To dazle [sic] traylor's eyes far from
 renown.
Who like a stinging snake appear in view,
Striving to make all subjects for to rue,
Their itching hands want for to have the crown,
To thrust thy race from off the British
 throne.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³pa. Journal, June 5, 1766.

¹⁰⁴Good News for America. To the Sons of Liberty
[Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester, 1766], broadside.

A similar effort also linked the activities of the King,

Pitt and the Sons of Liberty:

Ye SONS OF LIBERTY rejoice!
For GEORGE and PITT's our friends,
H-ske, Gr-nv-llie, B-te, all worse-than mad,
Shall ne'er obtain their ends.

.....
Of GEORGE our King, and PITT we'll sing!
Immortal PITT! to thee
The sons of Freedom justly owe,
Their all, their Liberty.

.....
Now let the sons of LIBERTY,
In Paean loud proclaim;
The honors due to GEORGE our King,
And PITT's immortal Name

Thanks be to George our gracious King,
To Pitt, and every friend:
I' Th' British Senate, who espous'd
Our cause, unto the end.¹⁰⁵

A poem posted in Boston on May 22 when news of the repeal of the Stamp Act arrived contained, in addition to laudatory comments, sentiments which were to be repeated several times in the ensuing crises:

Our FAITH approv'd, our LIBERTY restor'd,
Our hearts bend grateful to our sov'reign lord;
Hail darling Monarch! by this act endear'd,
Our firm affections are thy best reward;
Shou'd Britain's self, against herself divide,
And hostile armies frown on either side;
Shou'd hosts rebellious, shake our Brunswick's throne,
And as they dar'd the parent, dare the son;
To this assylum stretch thine happy wing,
And we'll contend, who best shall love our KING.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵[Thomas Plant], Joyful News to America, A Poem. Expressive of our More than Ordinary Joy on the Repeal of the Stamp Act. Together with the Praise of Liberty and Two Acrosticks [Philadelphia, 1766], pp. 4, 5, 7. This was also issued as a broadside by Andrew Steuart.

¹⁰⁶Fa. Journal, June 5, 1766.

Americans were even more loyal to their monarch than were the British.

Another pamphlet by John Dickinson on the problem of the Stamp Act appeared about a week after news of the repeal had arrived. Dickinson criticized the act but eloquently emphasized his loyalty to the crown and government:

I am devoted to my gracious sovereign, and his truly royal house, by principle and affection. They appear to me to have been called by providence to the throne; not to have gained it by the least share of the guilt, or even of the art, that has so often exalted the most unworthy to the most splendid stations. . . Their government does not afford only gleans of joys, but cheers with flowing uniformity, except where some evil spirit interrupts our felicity--But these interruptions have never lasted: can never last, while princes of the line of Brunswick . . . preside over us. Their amiable qualities are hereditary; these render, if I may be allowed the expression, our happiness hereditary; and I might therefore be justly deemed very deficient in sense or integrity, if it was not among my most ardent prayers, that the scepter of his dominions may be held by our present monarch and his family, till time shall be no more.

With regard to Great Britain, Dickinson confessed that "I glory in my relation to her. Every drop of blood in my heart is British."¹⁰⁷

The repeal also brought a series of addresses to the king from the provincial assemblies, thanking him for his efforts on behalf of the colonies. One of the most flattering was that of the House of Assembly of South

¹⁰⁷[John Dickinson], An Address To The Committee of Correspondence in Barbadoes. Occasioned by a late letter from them To Their Agent in London. By a North American (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1766), pp. 9-10. The pamphlet was announced for publication on May 30, 1766. See Pa. Journal, May 29, 1766.

Carolina:

. . . animated with the utmost duty and loyalty, and impressed with the deepest respect and gratitude to your most sacred Majesty, beg leave to approach your royal presence, by offering our sincerest thanks for your Majesty's great goodness and condescension in hearing the petitions of your American subjects. . . . Were it possible that any thing could add to the loyalty of a people always devoted to your Majesty's person, family, and government, this recent instance of your royal goodness must have had that effect.¹⁰⁸

The king's birthday, coming approximately two weeks after the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act arrived in America, was a time of festivities in honor of George III. Pitt and the king were toasted in Philadelphia:

Fill your glasses, King and Pitt;
Laugh and worldly cares despise
On the banks of Schuylkill sit,
Drink the King, and Pitt the wise;
Why should we refuse to join
In toasts so noble so divine.

The poetry became even worse in the last verse:

Happy! Happy! happy we,
In George our Father and our King,
True-born Sons of Loyalty:
Hark! the hills and valleys ring,
Heighten joy, now let's be gay,
This! is sure the King's Birth Day.

CHORUS

Drink and set your hearts at rest,
In George, our king, we're [sic] ever
blest.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸Pa. Journal, Nov. 20, 1766. The resolution was passed on June 27, 1766, but publication was delayed until it had been presented to the king.

¹⁰⁹A Grand Chorus, to be Sung on the Fourth of June, Being his Majesty's Birth Day: at an Entertainment on the Banks of Schuylkill, by a Large Company of the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia [Philadelphia: 1766], broadside.

A similar celebration was held in New York in gratitude to the king who, "together with a large patriotic Majority in both Houses of Parliament, heard the Cry of the distressed Americans, and repealed that intolerable Grievance the Stamp-Act, and are now planning other benevolent Act." Acclamations of "Long Live the King, the Darling of His People," rent the air; it was also reported that forty-one toasts were drunk, the final one to "All true Hearts, and sound Bottoms."¹¹⁰

The Pennsylvania Assembly likewise contributed a loyal address on the king's birthday:

The paternal Concern for the Welfare and Prosperity of all Your Majesty's Subjects, however remote. . . cannot fail of fixing, in the Hearts of the good People of this Province, the most inviolable Affection and Loyalty to Your Royal Person and Government, and exciting their sincerest Prayers for the long Continuance of Your Majesty on the Throne of those extensive Dominions, whose Happiness and Glory have been the invariable Objects of Your Care and Attention.

It concluded with a statement of reassurance to the king that the Assembly would do its utmost

to Promote and establish this Union of Affections and Interests, so essential to the Welfare of both, and to preserve that Loyalty and Affection to your Majesty's Person and Government, which we esteem to be one of their first and most important Duties.¹¹¹

The Stamp Act crisis had strained relations between the colonies and the mother country, but no one blamed the

¹¹⁰Pa. Gazette, June 12, 1766; the account of the official celebration in Philadelphia listed only seventeen toasts, Ibid.

¹¹¹Pa. Chronicle, Jan. 26-Feb. 2, 1767.

king for the passage of the act. The Stamp Act, the colonists believed, had been brought about by an act of Parliament or by the treacherous deception of ministers. Repeal had been secured by the goodness of the king. It is apparent from reading the issues of the popular press during this crisis period that the king's reputation in Pennsylvania had not declined. On the contrary, he emerged from the crisis with an enhanced reputation for fairness, honesty, and adherence to the constitution of Great Britain.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KING'S "EVIL AND PERNICIOUS COUNSELLORS," 1767-1769

In July, 1766, the Marquis of Rockingham was dismissed from the leadership of the government, and William Pitt was entrusted with the task of forming a new administration. Pitt was ennobled as the Earl of Chatham and became the Lord Privy Seal, and though in England he lost power and prestige in the move from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, Americans generally were satisfied that a friend of America was now the leader of the government. The new ministry, according to a letter printed early in 1767, seemed "much disposed in Favour of America, and its Liberties, as well as those of Pennsylvania in particular."¹ The Chatham administration would restore tranquility to the troubled waters. Due to Chatham's illness, however, the administration and the formulation of policies came under the control of subordinates.

There had already been some signs of uneasiness over the possible direction of the ministry.² Shortly before the

¹Pa. Chronicle, Jan. 19-26, 1767.

²See Tyler, Literary Hist. of Am. Rev., I, 226-229.

repeal of the Stamp Act, Parliament, through the Declaratory Act, claimed that the king and Parliament were supreme over America "in all cases whatsoever." This threat to the American status within the empire passed almost unnoticed in the colonies, since news of the repeal arrived at the same time. Some colonists, however, began to investigate the ultimate purpose of their British brothers. The same newspaper which carried the optimistic report of friendship toward the colonies carried a second letter in which a writer warned that "Our Merchants are still contemplating new Schemes for the Service of the Colonies."³ Thus some seem to have placed responsibility for the passage of the acts on the merchants. Neither the king nor Parliament were vilified in the press of Pennsylvania for such pretensions, and the collusion of the king with Parliament went virtually without notice.

The anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act brought a series of celebrations in the colonies; in particular, the Americans expressed appreciation to the King for his part in securing the repeal. The address of the Maryland House of Delegates to the King is typical:

Permit us, most Gracious Sovereign, with Hearts animated by the warmest Sentiments of Duty and Loyalty, to assure your Majesty of our invincible Attachment to your sacred Person and Government; of our Readiness, upon all Occasions, to support, with our Lives and Fortunes, your Majesty, and the Protestant Succession in the august House of Hanover; and that it will ever be our most fervent

³Pa. Chronicle, Jan. 19-26, 1767.

prayer to Heaven that there may never be wanting a Prince of your illustrious Line to sway the British Sceptre, with that Spirit of Wisdom, Equity, and Moderation, so conspicuously and uniformly⁴ displayed by your Majesty, and your Royal Progenitors.

Similar articles favorable to the monarch and the colonies were reprinted from London papers. On the king's birthday the Pennsylvania Journal reprinted a letter in which the writer strongly defended the position which the colonies took with regard to the Stamp Act, and identified the colonial cause with the cause of the king. Since the colonies had begun as private ventures with the leave of the king, the writer argued, Parliament was not involved in determining laws:

The right to the territory in America, was supposed to be in the King, that is so far as to exclude the claim of any other European Prince; but in reality was in the tribes of Indians who inhabited it, and from whom the settlers were obliged to purchase or conquer it at their own expence, without any expence to parliament.⁵

Another excerpt from the London Chronicle likewise defended the acts of the colonists. The latter could best show their loyalty by "voluntary grants by themselves, of what is their own." Only through such a method could they recommend "themselves to the favour of their sovereign."⁶ Thus it was

⁴Ibid., May 25-June 1, 1767. See also the addresses of the Pennsylvania Council and Assembly to the King, thanking him for the repeal of the Stamp Act. Ibid., June 8-15, 1767.

⁵Pa. Journal, June 4, 1767. Reprinted from the London Chronicle.

⁶Pa. Chronicle, June 1-8, 1767.

to the king alone that the colonists were responsible.

Most of the colonial writings on the relationship between the colonies and the mother country were opposed to parliamentary claims of supremacy, though they were not expressly reiterated as news of the Declaratory Act reached America. American writers resolved their constitutional scruples through a reference to the king, about whom few had misgivings. Essentially the appeals to the king, however, though expressive of sincere loyalty, were ritualistic verbal formulas of allegiance to the mother country rather than cartes blanches for anything the monarch might seek to enact in the future.

A letter which appeared in July, ostensibly about local issues, also contained some significant statements about the American attitudes toward Great Britain and the monarch before the crisis of the Townshend Acts loomed large. The writer utilized the current interpretation of the Magna Carta and emphasized the contractual nature of the agreement signed between King John and the "people." Because of this document the king no longer could abrogate the law of the land; no one could be deprived of his freehold without proper legal basis. Just as the Magna Carta had limited the powers of King John, so also it would limit the power of a tyrannical monarch:

Those, who would advance the regal authority to a boundless height upon that hackney'd maxim of the law--that the King can do no wrong--should at least qualify it with this very just observation of my Lord Coke-- . . . The King can do nothing but what

is consistent with the law.

Similarly, Parliament was limited in its powers, for it made little difference whether the king or the Parliament limited the freedom of the individual:

The natural rights of mankind are immutable-- some of them inalienable. Security of liberty and property are essential to the welfare of society; and if either of these is violated, even on the most specious pretences of public utility, adieu to all social happiness.⁷

Another writer emphasized a similar attitude toward the king. The colonists had always been dependent upon the crown of Great Britain: "Never were a people more in love with their King, and the constitution by which he has solemnly engaged to govern them. George the third is the darling of America." Yet, he argued, some members of Parliament wanted the colonists to express this same degree of dependence on the Parliament and "recognize their unlimited right both of legislation and taxation." This they could not do. Members of Parliament were concerned only about their own interests; the king, on the other hand, was "held a responsible trustee of the rights of the people." Gone also was William Pitt's distinction between legislation and taxation: "The bill of rights is our special security that

⁷Ibid., July 6-13, 1767. Further evidence can be seen in a series of toasts given in Boston expressing support for those who abhor slavery. See Ibid., Aug. 24-31, 1767. An interesting and informative study of the interpretation of the Magna Carta to the time of Coke is Faith Thompson, Magna Carta: Its Role in the Making of the English Constitution: 1300-1629 (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1948).

we shall be governed by no law to which we do not consent in our own persons or representatives by us elected for that purpose."⁸

Rumors of another attempt on the part of Great Britain to impose taxes on the colonies continued to appear in the Pennsylvania press. The Pennsylvania Chronicle reprinted an extract from a pamphlet in which the writer declared that the landed gentlemen should not expect to relieve their own debts by taxing the colonies, who would be unable to bear the burthen."⁹ An extract from the Edinburgh papers printed in late July had also indicated the direction toward which Great Britain was moving:

A Plan is said to be under Consideration for Taxing America. . . . Bets lately ran high with Regard to America.--But it seems to be almost over with poor America!--The knowing Ones offered 82 to one against her.¹⁰

The Plan devised for America was the series of enactments known collectively as the Townshend Acts, the most important of which was the Revenue Act passed on June 29, 1767.

Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the government nominally headed by the Duke of Grafton, was a brilliant orator but he is somewhat difficult to categorize. William Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, was expected to have led the government but his new title and his recurring illness

⁸An article reprinted from the Boston Evening Post, in the Pa. Journal, Sept. 24, 1767.

⁹Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 21-28, 1767.

¹⁰Ibid., July 27-Aug. 3, 1767.

prevented him from doing so. Leaderless, the subordinate ministers acquired a greater latitude for action. As the convivial Townshend--whom contemporaries dubbed "Champagne Charlie"--was one of the more outspoken and intelligent of the ministers, it was natural for him to assume an important role in the government. It was his financial program which caused his name to be remembered by future generations. Townshend had somewhat rashly boasted of his ability to secure an American revenue without creating ill-will in those provinces. When George Grenville led a successful campaign to reduce the land tax, Townshend was forced to redeem his pledge for additional revenue.¹¹ By the new measures Townshend not only attempted to support the military establishment in America--as earlier did the Grenville government--but also sought to raise money for the civil list in the New World, thus making British officials independent from their colonial assemblies. Duties were imposed on a variety of products imported into the colonies: glass, lead, paint, tea, and paper.

Although the king had approved the new duties in person on July 2, he did not appear, in most instances, in an unfavorable light in the Pennsylvania press. Actually, it appears that the king's position was somewhat ambivalent. He earlier had opposed Grenville's attempt to reduce the

¹¹See Hitchenson, Brit. Politics and the Am. Rev., pp. 94-96, and D. A. Winstanley, Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966 [1912]), pp. 137-147.

land tax while the finances were in such an unsettled state. In addition, he was placed in a difficult position since his government was virtually leaderless. It appears that he saw this latter legislation as necessary, and yet was counting on the recovery of Chatham to solve his political problems.¹² Regardless of motivation, he did work with Townshend, and never, as some colonists later intimated, strongly supported the colonial position. In his speech to both Houses of Parliament on July 4, George III had emphasized that he sought to "preserve the Peace, and, at the same Time, to assert and maintain the Honour of my Crown, and the just Rights of my Subjects." Parliament, according to the King, had laid "a solid Foundation . . . for securing the most considerable and essential Benefits to this Nation."¹³

Such close identification with the legislation, however, seemed to disturb only a few. From the London Magazine of July, 1767, the Pennsylvania Chronicle reprinted several characterizations of the King and his predecessors. George II had been a virtuous individual who "no less endeavoured to make his people free and happy at home, than to carry the glory of the British arms to the highest pitch everywhere abroad." In contrast, the characterization of George III was much harsher:

¹²Ritcheson, Brit. Politics and the Am. Rev., p. 103. On George III and Grenville, see the letter of the king to the Duke of Grafton, Feb. 24, 1767, in The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December 1783 (6 vols. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1927), I, 452.

¹³Pa. Chronicle, Aug. 31-Sept. 7, 1767.

The English at that time [1760] entertained the fondest hopes of being happy under the government of a prince who was born in their country, and, who, it was natural to imagine, would have a predeliction for them. But in a few months every Englishman of any great talents, or consideration, was disgraced. . . Lord Bute established his omnipotence thro' every department of the state.¹⁴

Two techniques of showing disfavor of the monarch were here utilized. By stressing the goodness of his predecessors, it would be easy for some to imply that George III did not have such qualities. In addition, Lord Bute was revealed as the real power within the government. Both devices would be freely employed in the future.

The same issue of the press which carried the texts of the new acts also contained a warning for the colonists. The American cause was becoming much less popular in the mother country. The colonists were forewarned "not to weaken their Hands and strengthen those of your Enemies, by rash Proceedings, the Mischiefs of which are inconceivable."¹⁵

Yet the King and royal government continued to receive favorable publicity. Two months after news of the Townshend Acts reached Philadelphia, the College of Philadelphia held a public commencement. Again the exercise was laudatory of the mother country:

And name we Britain without filial Awe!--
The Queen of Justice, Liberty and Law;
Britain, whose Blood thro' antient Worthies runs,
Her Charter seal'd by Heroes and their Sons;
Britain, whose Name strikes Terror all around,

¹⁴Ibid., Oct. 12-19, 1767.

¹⁵Ibid., Sept. 21-28, 1767.

The Sons of Freedom glory in the Sound.
 Be this great Truth upon our Hearts imprest,
 He loves his King, who serves his Country best.¹⁶

Although the agitation against the Townshend Acts was not as vigorous in Pennsylvania as in some colonies, it was a Pennsylvanian who produced the most widely quoted argument against the new duties. In December there was published the first of a series of "Letters" from "A Farmer in Pennsylvania." The author was John Dickinson, earlier the champion of the proprietary cause and an opponent of Benjamin Franklin. Dickinson, with his denial of the authority of Parliament to levy any taxes, direct or indirect, on the thirteen colonies, perhaps did more than anyone else to create a united opposition to the Townshend Acts. The letters were reprinted in twenty-one of the twenty-five existing newspapers.

The first of the twelve letters appeared in the Pennsylvania Chronicle on December 2; it was reprinted in the Pennsylvania Gazette the following day, while the Pennsylvania Journal began printing them on December 10. They did not appear in the German newspapers. In the

¹⁶Thomas Coombe, An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and two Odes, Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, November 17, 1767 (Philadelphia: William Goddard [1767]), p. 4. Reprinted also in the Pa. Chronicle, Nov. 16-23, 1767. Coombe had graduated from the College the previous year. He was ordained an Anglican clergyman in 1769 and served as chaplin to the Marquis of Rockingham. He later served as assistant minister at two churches in Philadelphia, but during the Revolution returned to England where he spent the remainder of his life. See Dict. of Am. Biog., II, 395-396.

Letters Dickinson was primarily concerned with analyzing the relationship between the colonies and the instruments of government in England. He appears as the champion of liberty against the attempted usurpations of the British Parliament.¹⁷

In his first letter Dickinson expressed his concern over the designs of Parliament with regard to the colonies. The New York legislature had refused to comply with the act which required each colony to provide food and shelter for soldiers stationed within its borders. Parliament responded by suspending the New York legislature. This "parliamentary assertion of the supreme authority of the British legislature" Dickinson denounced as a violation of the spirit and letter of the constitution. Even though the decision to suspend the legislature had only affected the New York colony, it was necessary for all the colonies to "support their sister." In the second letter Dickinson admitted that Parliament had "a legal authority to regulate the trade of Great Britain, and all her colonies." Never before the Stamp Act, though, had duties been imposed for the purpose of raising a revenue.

The first two letters, according to Dickinson in the third number, had been generally well received by the readers. They also provoked a reply which seemed to place

¹⁷The most accessible authentic reprinting of the Letters is that based on the first printed edition. All quotations here used are taken from this recent edition: Empire and Nation: Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, John Dickinson, Letters from the Federal Farmer, Richard Henry Lee, Intro., Forrest McDonald (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962).

a similar restriction on the person of the King:

The King has an indisputed right to use a discretionary power in proroguing and dissolving the parliament; but, whenever this prerogative may be exercised to the ruin of the nation, I hope we shall not want a Pym or a Hampden to reduce it within its natural bounds. The idea of unlimited power is inconsistent with the genius of liberty.¹⁸

Dickinson, however, expressed support for the person of the King and urged his readers to do likewise. In the third number he warned "against those, who may at any time endeavour to stir you up, under pretences of patriotism, to any measures, disrespectful to our Sovereign and our mother country." He declared that "Great Britain, under the illustrious house of Brunswick, a house that seems to flourish for the happiness of mankind, has found a felicity unknown in the reigns of the Stuarts." In George III, Dickinson declared, "we have an excellent prince, in whose good dispositions toward us we may confide."

Yet Dickinson himself also expressed some reservations to the activities of the crown. Contributions to the crown ought to be voluntary, rather than forced.¹⁹ He even formulated a hypothesis on the misuse of the prerogative by a prince who would destroy the independence of the House of Lords by advancing "many needy, profligate wretches to that rank." Likewise it was possible for the Commons to be influenced by "displaced, discontented, demagogues" to abuse

¹⁸"A Citizen to the Farmer," Pa. Gazette, Dec. 17, 1767.

¹⁹In the fourth letter.

their sole control over money matters. He also described the ruination of Roman liberty by the Caesars who spoke at all times of liberty and freedom:

All artful rulers, who strive to extend their power beyond its just limits, endeavor to give their attempts as much semblance of legality as possible. Those who succeed them may venture to go a little further; for each new encroachment will be strengthened by a former.

Thus it was necessary for the people at all times to watch and investigate the designs of any new laws or activities.²⁰ Dickinson also emphasized the difference between the personal allegiance to the person of the monarch and blind obedience to every pronouncement: "whatever regard we entertain for the persons of those who govern us, we should always remember that their conduct, as rulers, may be influenced by human infirmities." If a law were to be passed which was injurious to the welfare of the colonies, it should be such human infirmities which should be blamed: "we cannot suppose, that any injury was intended us by his Majesty, or the Lords."²¹

In his eleventh letter Dickinson used Charles I as an example for the course of action which should be followed:

Had all the points of prerogative claimed by Charles the First, been separately contested and settled in preceding reigns, his fate would in all probability have been very different.

Thus it would also be to the advantage of the person of the monarch to oppose the violation of prerogative. Failure to

²⁰Letter Six

²¹Letter Seven

do so might produce an excessive reaction from the people:

For when their passions were excited by multiplied grievances, they thought it would be as dangerous for them to allow the powers that were legally vested in the crown, as those which at any time had been by usurpation exercised by it. Acts, that might by themselves have been upon many considerations excused or extenuated, derived a contagious malignancy and odium from other acts, with which they were connected.

He was also more forthright in his warnings against the usurpation of power by the prince:

A bold, ambitious prince, possessed of great abilities, firmly fixed in his throne by descent, served by ministers like himself, and rendered either venerable or terrible by the glory of his successes, may execute what his predecessors did not dare to attempt. . . . It is true, that a strong spirit of liberty subsists at present in Great Britain, but what reliance is to be placed in the temper of a people, when the prince is possessed of an unconstitutional power, our own history can sufficiently inform us.

Dickinson concluded his series with the following statement:

Is there not the strongest probability, that if the universal sense of these colonies is immediately expressed by RESOLVES of the assemblies, in support of their rights, by INSTRUCTIONS to their agents on the subject, and by PETITIONS to the crown and parliament for redress, these measures will have the same success now, that they had in the time of the STAMP ACT.

Dickinson's letters inspired many to resist the new taxes as set up by Townshend. The problem was, however, how could the colonists oppose the new policies without appearing to be disloyal to the king? Perhaps the most widely employed defense of George III was the explanation that he had become captivated by an evil ministerial clique. Such a theory was to persist, appearing even in the Great Declaration of July.

1776. One extract of a letter from London, however, attempted to show that the king went along with the Townshend policies: "He [Townshend] was the finest speaker I ever heard, had withall a great turn for satire, which he dealt out profusely, but without any malignancy. Lord B-te has lost a friend, and the K-ng a greater one."²² Thus George III was closely identified with a hated minister. Most of the writers, however, appeared sympathetic toward the king. "Rusticus", in a poem dedicated to the farmer, discussed this very problem of an evil minister: "When Mi-st-ers to feed insatiate Pride, / Their Truth, their Country and their K--g misguide." He called upon all Americans to address petitions for redress of grievances to the king:

With modest Boldness make your Troubles known;
 The Way is shortest to address the Throne;
 To Jove, your Charter and your Sovereign trust.
 He may be tardy, but he will be just;
 Of ev-ry noble Sentiment possess,
 Injustice reigns not in his royal Breast,
 Supremely good, compassionate and brave,
 None more than he detests the Sound of Slave,
 None more than he would feel unfeigned Joy,
 Your Griefs to soften, and your Wrongs destroy.²³

Some still looked upon the king to end their grievances by removing from his counsel all the evil ministers:

Some are of Opinion, the *** will throw all Parties
 off, and chuse such Men for transacting public
 Business that shall be as their Name implies,
Servants of the King and Nation, and not over-
 bearing Masters, presuming on their Family

²²Pa. Chronicle, Dec. 7-14, 1767.

²³Liberty, A Poem (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1768), pp. 8, 15-16.

Interest, as it is called in Parliament.²⁴

Another writer echoed this same theme of ministerial corruption, but also suggested that

The best and greatest of Monarchs, as frail Men, may often be deceived by pernicious Schemes, which plausibly advance their Revenues, of other favourite Purpose, and more especially young Princes, e'er mature Knowledge befriend them. . . Virtuous young Princes, who tenderly love their People, ay soon follow plausible gratifying Designs, into very considerable Errors.

The writer, who styled himself "A Loyal Patriot", held that all kings were "naturally fond of Power, and raising the Revenue." Even though the Stamp Act had damaged the prestige of the Crown, it did give, according to the writer, "the Prince a new Power over us, which might seem more advantageous at that delusive Juncture." Yet the king had approved it acting upon the advice of his ministers; it was they whom the people should blame, not the crown:

The greatest Errors of virtuous Princes, should always be viewed in a favourable Light, as they never proceed from dishonourable Intentions, but are always the effect of plausible Appearances.²⁵

The author, along with many others, called for an American parliament which would better enable them to resist tyranny. It was imperative that they continue to fight for their freedom,

and not madly surrender it up to King George himself, though perhaps one of the best of Monarchs,

²⁴Pa. Chronicle, Dec. 14-21, 1767.

²⁵Some Observations of Consequence, In Three Parts, Occasioned by the Stamp-Tax, Lately imposed on the British Colonies (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1768), pp. 14-16.

for he cannot possible [sic] intail all his legal Virtues on every Successor, nor even the least he possesses upon any one of them. . . Hanoverian Princes, by Nature, have licentious Passions in common with other frail Men, which some of them may controul very gallantly, and others gratify as ingloriously whatever Adulation may say to the contrary.

It was necessary to persevere in the opposition to the measures being promulgated by Great Britain because they were tending to disrupt the British constitution:

S[h]ould an arbitrary Faction prevail in England, or its imperious Demagogue have free access to the Throne, may not learned Debauchees as fitly tutor frail Youths, full of dangerous Impulses, as obstinate Men of a perverted Understanding, greatly depraved by Ambition, may counsel young Monarchs in Favour of their Revenues, or an Increase of Power?

This was, of course, an obvious reference to the alleged Jacobite training which George III had received as Prince of Wales. Americans could not, according to the author, allow "ten Million fellow Subjects to help a Prince enslave us, and to keep us fast chained in Bondage." The author went even further in his denunciation of the king:

A young British Monarch, indeed, in the Case before us, must have been under the darkening Influence of strong Desires to increase the Revenue, to concur with a Money-granting Parliament, and to gratify his importunate surrounding Subjects, that were artfully prejudiced against us by the publick and private Councils of the Nation; and as the greatest young Princes, ere much Experience waits upon them.

It was necessary that the Americans direct their complaints "into a proper Channel, for it is not a lordly Impotence, but the King, Lords and Commons of the Realm, that may drive our alarmed Colonies farther into Thralldom, or restore and

protect our Freedom." The author confesses that he might "incur the Displeasure of haughty Mortals, but not of really great Men," and claimed that his purpose was really to broaden the scope of American criticism from being directed solely against a single minister. He concluded by pleading for a united effort on the part of the colonies:

Were but our numerous Colonies wisely united, for that momentous Purpose, their own American Parliament, extracted from Provincial Assemblies, might constitutionally weigh his Majesty's Requisitions, when occasionally convened, and dutifully honor all his reasonable Demands, without arbitrary Impositions, partial Exemptions, or unreasonable Burdens.²⁶

An anonymous pamphlet published in 1768 also emphasized the necessity for united action on the part of the colonists. The author urged Americans to continue sending petitions to England, and declared that the true happiness of both Mother Country and colonies depended upon a resumption of friendly relations between them:

Both Americans and Britons, ought, as they value their own safety, not to give to the enemies of both, the advantages which necessarily arise from their disunion. But whenever this disunion happens, Britain will be ruined, and America, after many revolutions, and perhaps great distress, will become a mighty empire. But that both will be happier, if their union could be continued on equal terms to the end of time.²⁷

It was this equality of relationship which was emphasized in many of the writings on the colonial seaboard.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 22-79, passim.

²⁷The Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain, founded on the Liberty of the Colonies, and the Mischiefs attending the Taxing them by Act of Parliament Demonstrated (Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1768), p. 21. Printed also at New York.

One important analysis of the relationship between the colonies and Great Britain was a thirty-two page pamphlet, The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power Considered, written by William Hicks, a magistrate of Pennsylvania and a staunch member of the proprietary faction. Hicks also described the nature of the monarchy and analyzed the obedience owed to it by the subject. It was necessary, according to Hicks, for Americans to guard their liberties against "the invasions of their more powerful brethren," as well as against the encroachments of the royal prerogative:

The doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience to the tyrannic will of a wicked Prince has long since been exploded, . . . If liberty be the object which we pursue, and slavery the misfortune which we most cautiously avoid, we have as much to apprehend from a corrupt parliament, as from an ambitious king.

The powers both of the king and Parliament are limited by the law of the land. The British monarchy was a limited monarchy: "The King of Great-Britain is vested with an extensive, but not an unlimited authority; and is himself bound by those laws with the execution of which he is intrusted." Likewise was the power of the Parliament limited:

The colonies may, with no great impropriety [sic] be considered as so many different countries of the same kingdom, the nature of whose situation prevents their joining in the general council and reduces them to a necessity of applying to their Prince for the establishment of such a partial policy as may be the best adapted to their particular circumstances, and, at the same time, the most conducive to the general good. . . . We cannot suppose that a wise and just Prince would ever consent to sacrifice the interest and happiness of any one part to the selfish views of another.

Hicks also described the authority of the king over America and the latter's relationship to him:

The King of Great-Britain, is King of America, and he may boast of as loyal subjects in his colonies as any in his domestic dominions. Why then are we denied that protection to which every subject is entitled? Or why are the liberties of our more fortunate brethren to be guarded by every precaution which their own prudence could suggest, which the rights of the neglected Americans, are not only exposed to the encroachments of the royal power, but absolutely lie at the mercy of their fellow subjects?²⁸

The notion that it was the evil ministers who were to be blamed, not the king, was even more clearly stressed in newspapers than in the pamphlet literature. A letter reprinted in the Pennsylvania Chronicle late in February, 1768, had stressed that the major supporter of a repressive policy toward America was George Grenville; the next week another writer wrote that "I hope that the custom [of killing kings] is now abolished, and that the constitutional one of hunting a Minister will be retained in its stead." The writer concluded with a characterization of the policy of George III: "all mankind must agree, that his present Majesty King George, has the same object of pursuit in common with a Titus, Alfred, and other patriot worthies,

²⁸[William Hicks], The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power Considered; In some Remarks upon Mr. Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons, previous to the Repeal of the Stamp-Act: with an Introduction, applicable to the Present Situation of the Colonies (Philadelphia: [William and Thomas Bradford], 1768), pp. iv, xv, 4, 7-8, 31. This originally appeared in the Pa. Journal, January and February, 1768, and was also reprinted in the Boston Evening Post and the South Carolina Gazette.

viz. the good of his fellow creatures."²⁹ From Boston it was reported that the House of Representatives was preparing a "humble, dutiful and loyal petition to the King, imploring his Majesty's gracious protection of their constitutional and charter rights."³⁰ A just king should naturally hope to solve the problems of his subjects.

Americans and friends of America, in assessing responsibility for the change of policy, also blamed those who had misrepresented the colonies in the mother country. The British officials in America had utilized their positions to poison the minds of Parliament, advisers, and King:

These false Accounts and Misrepresentations are made use of, to prejudice his Majesty, against his loyal and dutiful Subjects; and to create, in the Parliament, a Distrust of the people of America.³¹

Another writer from Boston declared that, according to his information from England,

the late Duties and multiplication of customhouse officers, &c. were the effects of the late C-----s T-----d's eloquence, and the mechinations and misrepresentations of others: That the eyes of the more sensible and disinterested

²⁹Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 22-29, Feb. 29-Mar. 7, 1768.

³⁰Ibid., Feb. 29-Mar. 7, 1768. The petition was published in the Pa. Gazette, on Mar. 31, in the Pa. Journal on April 7, and in the Pa. Chronicle, April 11.

³¹[Henry Laurens], Extracts from the Proceedings of the Court of Vice-Admiralty in Charles-Town, South Carolina; In the Cause, George Roupell, Esq; v. the Ship Ann and Goods; with a few Explanatory Remarks, To which is subjoined, some General Observations on America Custom-House Officers, and Courts of Vice-Admiralty (America [Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford], 1768), p. 19. See also Oliver W. Dickerson, The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1963 [1951]), pp. 226-231.

are opened, who now see that American affairs must be put upon the footing they were before G-----e G-----le's chimeras had distracted them.³²

A letter to the agent for Massachusetts, Dennis DeBerdt, an American-born supporter of John Wilkes, shows the attitude toward the king's responsibility in the government as well describing the problem of deception:

The law and reason teaches that the King can do no wrong; and that neither King nor Parliament are otherwise inclined than to justice, equity and truth: But the law does not presume that the King may not be deceived, not that the Parliament may not be misinformed: If therefore any thing is wrong, it must be imputed to such causes. . . . We are happy and safe under his present Majesty's mild and gracious administration; but the time may come, when the united body of pensioners and soldiers may ruin the liberties of America.³³

In London William Strahan in a letter to David Hall provided a characterization of the King and a comment on the problem of royal advisers:

The King's Speech, you see, is a very good one. I heard him deliver it, which he did as he always does with great Propriety. He is much, and deservedly beloved; for surely there is not an honest and better natured Man in his Dominions, and if some factious Spirits do not interfere, I have no doubt but every Thing will go on very smoothly.³⁴

Whether the "factious Spirits" were his advisers or the King's opposition in Parliament, Strahan did not say. He

³²Pa. Chronicle, Mar. 14-21, 1768.

³³Ibid., April 11-18, 1768. The identity of the writer of the letter was not disclosed. Persons around the king, according to another writer, had prevented the king from hearing their dutiful petitions. See the letter, writer also unknown, to Governor Bernard, Pa. Journal, June 23, 1768.

³⁴Pa. Chronicle, May 9-16, 1768. Writer identified as Strahan in Pa. Mag. X (October 1886), 331-333.

did seem to indicate, however, that the King was not master of his own ship.

The Pennsylvania press continued to reprint sentiments of loyalty to the king. The celebration in honor of the king's birthday in New York was held "with great solemnity." Yet demonstrations of joy were "shewn by all ranks, that could be expressed by a loyal people to a gracious Sovereign."³⁵ A similar expression of loyalty was reprinted from a section of John Dickinson's pamphlet, An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbadoes, which had been originally published in 1766:

In what I am now to say, I shall speak not only my own, but the sentiments of my countrymen. I am devoted to my gracious sovereign, and his truly royal house, by principle and affection. They appear to me to have been called by Providence to the throne. . . They have risen with lustre upon the world, in due course, to shed blessings over mankind; and all history cannot furnish an instance of a family, whose virtues had had a more auspicious influence on the happiness of men, particularly of their subjects. Their government does not afford only gleams of joy, but cheers with a flowing uniformity, except when some evil spirit interrupts our felicity.³⁶

A month earlier, however, a writer had again raised the old question of the form of government in Pennsylvania and asked cryptically: "Where will be the difference between being slaves under a Proprietary or Royal Government? I will not urge this matter farther; it is perhaps delicate."³⁷

³⁵Pa. Journal, June 9, 1768.

³⁶Reprinted in Pa. Chronicle, June 27-July 4, 1768.

³⁷Ibid., May 23-30, 1768.

In 1768 recognition of the growing importance of the colonial problem was given in the establishment of a separate office for colonial affairs. The new Secretary of State was Wills Hill Downshire, Lord Hillsborough, a former president of the Board of Trade and Plantations under George Grenville. The new office undoubtedly would loom large to the colonists who had often complained that former officials had misrepresented the colonies "to his Majesty's Ministers and Parliament, as having an undutiful disposition toward his Majesty, and a disaffection to the mother kingdom."³⁸ One writer declared that the new office "is considered as one of the most important offices under the Government, and will always be filled by a personage of the first consequence."³⁹ In addition, it was reported from London that the Earl of Hillsborough "greatly interests himself in behalf of the Colonies, and has declared he will use his utmost interest that all their grievances shall be redressed."⁴⁰

Yet Americans were due for disappointment on this matter also. By February, 1768, the protest against the Townshend duties in the colonies had reached major proportions. The Massachusetts House of Representatives, on February 11, had addressed a circular letter to the other

³⁸Massachusetts House of Representatives to the Earl of Shelburne, Jan. 15, 1768. *Ibid.*, Mar. 28-April 4, 1768.

³⁹*Ibid.*, Mar. 14-21, 1768.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, April 25-May 2, 1768.

colonies to summon sentiments of sympathy and to invite them to co-operate in resisting the British measures. The letter denounced their enemies who "have represented them to his Majestys Ministers & the parliament as factious disloyal & having a disposition to make themselves independent of the Mother Country." The members of the House also declared that they expressed their "firm Confidence in the King our Common head & Father, that the united & dutifull Supplications of his distressed American Subjects will meet with his Royal & favorable Acceptance." The King continued to escape the main force of American wrath. Despite high hope by Americans that the new Secretary would not be like the old officers and needlessly malign Americans, he reacted in exactly the same way when he learned of the Massachusetts Circular Letter. Hillsborough wrote that it was "of a most dangerous and factious tendency, calculated to inflame the minds of his good subjects in the colonies."⁴¹

The Pennsylvania press, like that of the other colonies, carried accounts of the struggle in Massachusetts between the House and the British officials. The former always expressed its complete loyalty to the king, as in the petition of March 21, 1768:

Thus blessed with the rights of Englishmen, through the indulgent smiles of heaven, and under the auspicious government of your Majesty and your royal predecessors, your people of this province

⁴¹Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, July 7, 1768. The Circular Letter is most conveniently found in Henry Steele Commager, Documents of American History (7th ed., New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1963), pp. 66-67.

have been happy, and your Majesty has acquired a numerous increase of loyal subjects, a large extent of dominion, a new and inexhaustible source of commerce, wealth and glory.⁴²

The Assembly also noted its displeasure with the letter of Hillsborough: "If the votes of the House are to be controlled by direction of a Minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty."⁴³

At the same time there appeared letters of support from the other colonies which show unflinching loyalty to the king. Many were reprinted in Pennsylvania. Those from the Assemblies of Virginia, New Jersey, and Connecticut were all reprinted on July 11. The last declared that

We cannot but entertain, with you, the strongest confidence in the King's royal clemency, justice and goodness, and that the united, dutiful supplications of his faithful distressed subjects in America, will meet with a kind and gracious acceptance.⁴⁴

The House of Delegates of Maryland, in a reply typical of those of the other colonies, commented on the Hillsborough letter:

We have the warmest and most affectionate Attachment to our Most Gracious Sovereign, and shall ever pay the readiest and most respectful Regard

⁴²Pa. Chronicle, April 4-11, 1768; Pa. Gazette, Mar. 31, 1768.

⁴³Pa. Journal, July 14, 1768.

⁴⁴Pa. Chronicle, July 4-11, 1768. See also the various addresses of the assemblies to the King. That of New Jersey, for example, declared that "your people of this colony, who share in the blessings flowing from your wisdom and virtue, most gratefully sensible of their obligation to so excellent a prince, humbly hope that they never have been deficient in duly acknowledging them. Ibid., July 18-25, 1768.

to the just and constitutional Power of the British Parliament: But we shall not be intimidated (by a few sounding Expressions) from doing what we think is right.⁴⁵

Since these events were reported at length in the Pennsylvania press, it was logical that they should provoke a reaction in Pennsylvania. A "Farmer" wrote a letter which was reprinted from the Boston Gazette of April 11;

May the same sacred zeal for the common welfare, the same principles of loyalty to our excellent Sovereign, of affection to his illustrious house, and of duty to our beloved parent kingdom, which have uniformly actuated and guided your colony, animate and direct every other; so that at length that union of sentiments and measures may be firmly formed, which as you, gentlemen, most justly observe, "is so indispensably necessary for the security of the whole."⁴⁶

The activities in Boston--arrival of the customs commissioners in Boston, the Liberty crisis, the attacks on the commissioners, and the summoning of troops from Halifax--stirred John Dickinson again to produce a rallying-cry for the American colonists. The "Liberty Song" proved to be one of the more popular of the pre-revolutionary war songs, and was reprinted throughout the colonies. Reviewing the crisis of the colonies, it emphasized the freedom and liberty of Americans. In the last stanza he mentioned the king but also emphasized the colonial argument:

This Bumper I crown for our Sovereign's Health,
And this for Britannia's Glory and Wealth;

⁴⁵Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, July 7, 1768.

⁴⁶Pa. Chronicle, May 9-16, 1768.

That Wealth and that Glory immortal may be,
If she is but just and if we are but free.⁴⁷

In late July it was reported that the Pennsylvania Assembly had "postponed acting on the Massachusetts circular letter until their next sitting in September."⁴⁸ The freemen of Philadelphia city and county, however, petitioned their representatives to address the King and the houses of Parliament:

In those Addresses we desire you to express with all possible Force of Language, our Loyalty to His Majesty, our firm Attachment to the British Constitution, and our Affection to the People of the Parent Country. That we value and revere the Connexion between her and us above every Thing but Religion and Liberty, that we know it is the Band of Peace, and Prosperity, that, influenced by these Sentiments, we ever have been, are, and always shall be ready and willing, upon every just Occasion, to demonstrate our Loyalty and Duty, by every Method in our Power.⁴⁹

An address was read to this assembly which, while emphasizing the loyalty to the king, reviewed the iniquities of the British government toward the colonies:

Heretofore we have been taught to believe, that our removal or distance from the royal presence, did not deprive us of the rights and privileges of freemen and British subjects But, alas! experience begins to convince us, that all this is illusion, and that the hopes formed in consequence thereof are groundless and vain.

⁴⁷Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, July 7, 1768, also Pa. Chronicle, July 4-11, 1768. Tyler, Literary Hist. of Am. Rev., I, 240, erroneously states that it was first printed in the Boston Gazette, July 18. It also appeared as a Philadelphia broadside in 1768.

⁴⁸Pa. Chronicle, July 18-25, 1768.

⁴⁹Ibid., Aug. 1-8, 1768.

It was Parliament which had overruled and rescinded laws of the colonies "after passing through all the necessary forms, and obtaining the royal assent." Their loyalty to the king remained inviolate:

But a new kind of loyalty is required of us: a loyalty to a British parliament: a loyalty that is to extend to a surrender of all our property, when a British house of commons, in which there is not a single member of our choosing, shall think fit to give and grant it without our consent.

Even though the colonial remonstrances were not allowed to reach the royal ear, it was necessary to continue to send dutiful and loyal petitions to the king; it was necessary, however, to do this in conjunction with the other colonies.⁵⁰

Yet another example of devotion to the monarch can be seen in an article which appeared in the Pennsylvania Chronicle:

We should think it our duty, as well as interest, as heretofore, freely to contribute money, when in our power, to preserve and defend the British empire. And instill into the tender minds of our children loyalty to our King, and love to our mother country; and these, to the latest posterity, would never entertain the least thought of revolting from her, unless forced by hardships, ill usage, or the odious prospect of slavery.⁵¹

The Massachusetts cause continued to appear in a most favorable light in the Pennsylvania press, and

⁵⁰Pa. Journal, July [Aug.] 4, 1768, supplement, also Pa. Chronicle, July 25-Aug. 1, 1768, and Pa. Gazette, Aug. 4, 1768.

⁵¹Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 5-12, 1768.

continued to inspire sympathetic responses. In mid-August, for example, the Pennsylvania Gazette reprinted a copy of the petition being discussed in the Massachusetts House of Representatives when that House was dissolved. While the petition strongly condemned Governor Francis Bernard, an individual "who has betrayed an arbitrary disposition," it just as strongly praised the monarch:

Impressed with the deepest Sense of Gratitude to Heaven, for calling to the British Succession your Majesty's illustrious Family, and so firmly establishing your Majesty on the Throne of your Royal Progenitors: And being abundantly convinced of your Majesty's Grace and Clemency, most humbly implore the Royal Favour, while we briefly represent the Grievances we labour under, and which under GOD, your Majesty alone can redress.⁵²

The freeholders and other inhabitants of Boston resolved on September 12 that they would do everything in their power "to defend and maintain the person, family, crown and dignity of our said Sovereign Lord GEORGE the third."⁵³

The position of the Massachusetts House of Representatives was supported by the special delegates chosen by committees of ninety-six Massachusetts towns and eight districts. The delegates concluded that the Massachusetts House had not invaded the privileges of the crown; in addition, they vowed to continue their support of the sovereignty of George III.⁵⁴ The inhabitants of Lebanon,

⁵²Pa. Gazette, Aug. 18, 1768.

⁵³Ibid., Sept. 29, 1768, Postscript; see also Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 26-Oct. 3, 1768.

⁵⁴Pa. Chronicle Extraordinary, Oct. 12, 1768, and Pa. Gazette, Oct. 6, 1768.

Connecticut, also voted that they would always maintain their allegiance to the king and "support and defend his person, crown and dignity, against all his enemies and opposers whatsoever."⁵⁵

What is significant, of course, in this entire crisis was that while the Massachusetts House and its supporters throughout the colonial seaboard could level severe criticisms at the Parliament, royal governors and the entire British administrative structure, the king virtually escaped censure. Undoubtedly a strong attack on the king would have been considered in bad taste; no doubt many also recalled the furor over the Wilkes' case, which once again entered the picture. Rather, however, the colonists went out of their way to single out George III for their special praise. The colonials saw him as an individual above the petty grievances of party, ministers, and Parliament, perhaps even approximating the attitude toward the king which was imputed to the Tories in England.

Those favoring the position of the Massachusetts House of Representatives did not, however, enjoy universal support throughout the colonies. The inhabitants of the town of Hatfield, Massachusetts, rejected the appeal of the Boston selectmen and refused to send representatives to the conference in Boston. They questioned whether the resolution that the king and Parliament had infringed the rights of

⁵⁵Pa. Chronicle, Oct. 10-17, 1768.

colonies by imposing a tax "was so perfectly innocent and entirely consistent with that duty and loyalty" which the House had professed the previous year. Perhaps the members of the House had some ulterior motives. They also held that the criticism of the sending troops to the province was uncalled for:

To suppose what you surmise they may be intended for, is to mistrust the King's paternal care and goodness; if by any sudden excursions or insurrections of some inconsiderable people, the King has been induced to think them a necessary check upon you, we hope you will, by your loyalty and quiet behaviour, soon convince his Majesty and the world they are no longer necessary for that purpose.⁵⁶

In Pennsylvania the strongest denunciations of those who supported the position of the Massachusetts House were in a series of verbal attacks on John Dickinson and his letters by a writer who signed himself "Machiavel." According to this writer America was doomed to follow the fate of Rome. A triumvirate of Dickinson, James Otis of Massachusetts, and Daniel Dulany of Maryland would divide the western hemisphere, with Dickinson emerging as the triumphant Octavian. All this would be made possible by American's throwing off all allegiance to Great Britain.⁵⁷ According to this writer Dickinson had

betrayed a vanity, self-sufficiency and affected importance, which King George the third (God bless

⁵⁶Ibid., Oct. 17-23, 1768.

⁵⁷Ibid., Aug. 8-15, 1768. See also Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Politics, Propaganda, and the Philadelphia Press, 1767-1770," Fa. Mag. LX (October 1936), 316-317.

him) never once assumed in any answer he made to the addresses of the most respectable bodies in the world.⁵⁸

With regard to the relationship between the colonies and the mother country "Machiavel" held that

Allegiance, though it is generally taken to mean the duty and respect due to Majesty, in its larger signification, implies an acknowledgement of, and a submission to, the ruling power, obedience to its injunctions and ordinances, and a proper regard and attention paid the officers to whom the executive powers are consigned.⁵⁹

Even the slightest opposition to the royal measures would be destructive of the foundations of good government.

The number of writers who advocated such total submission was small compared with the number of those favorable to resistance. While this is undoubtedly a reflection of the editorial policies of the newspapers, it also is a rough indicator of the sentiment of the literate populace and the section of the populace which would be exposed to the newspaper. The editor published material which would generally meet with a favorable response from his readers, occasionally including controversial material to spark interest. Perhaps the sentiment found in Father Abraham's Almanack for 1769, though possibly implying some reservations concerning royalty, best expresses the mood of the colonist with regard to the king:

That King stands surest who by's virtue rises
More than by birth or blood. That prince is rare,

⁵⁸Pa. Chronicle, Aug. 15-22, 1768.

⁵⁹Ibid., Aug. 22-29, 1768.

Who strives in youth, to save his age from care.⁶⁰

Yet the controversy over the Townshend Acts was not the only source of controversy between the colonies and the mother country which can be used to discern attitudes toward the monarch and established authority in Great Britain. In 1768 there appeared a series of articles concerning the proposal for the establishment of an Anglican bishopric in America. The issue was not a new one in colonial politics. When the difficulties over the Stamp Act arose earlier in the decade, non-Anglican clergymen utilized examples from the seventeenth century struggle against Archbishop Laud and Charles I as evidence of the correctness of the position which they took with regard to their struggle against the tyranny of Parliament and royal ministers.⁶¹ Just as those writers had accused Charles I of attempting to establish absolute monarchy through the agency of the hierarchical structure of the church, so also it was possible for the same thing to happen in the eighteenth century. The clergy, especially the non-Anglican, were bound to oppose a tyrannical monarch. The most outspoken sentiments were those which were published in New England, where the Puritan traditions were strongest, but emphatic denunciations also appeared in the other colonies. These were often tied to the quarrel with

⁶⁰Abraham Weatherwise (pseudonym), Father Abraham's Almanack for the Year of Our Lord, 1769 (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, [1768]).

⁶¹John C. Miller, Origins of the American Revolution (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943), pp. 186-187.

Great Britain, and the king was inevitably brought into the discussion.

The most vocal denunciations of the proposal were those written in reply to An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Church of England in America, by the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, an Anglican minister of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Chandler long had been a champion of the cause for establishing an episcopacy in America, and when the American clergyman, Samuel Johnson, suggested he write a pamphlet favoring the episcopacy, Chandler agreed. He dedicated his effort to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and claimed to be motivated solely by the spiritual welfare of the church. Yet, in a letter to the Bishop of London, Chandler also alluded to the possibility of winning supporters to the Anglican Church because of the political instability of colonial America. Those who supported a strong monarch might find such a position easier in a powerful Anglican church.⁶²

Those who opposed Chandler and the episcopacy also used the device of loyalty. William Livingston, later the first governor of the state of New Jersey, in the "American Whig," attacked Chandler for disloyalty to the king in appealing over royal authority to the people:

It is now generally known, that the ministry in England have rejected the proposal. As they must

⁶²Raymond W. Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), pp. 105-106.

be supposed to speak the sentiments of their royal master, this must be construed a denial from the throne. Surely the Doctor means not to affront his Majesty by appealing from the King to the people. To remove his suit from the sovereign to the subject, as to a higher tribunal. This would by no means comport with his professed loyalty; or be consistent with that zeal for the constitution and government [sic] at home, to which he and his brethren avow so warm an attachment.⁶³

The episcopacy was also denounced as a subversive element in the society because of its political background:

The same restless party raised rebellions in the reigns of George the first and second, and involved the nation in blood and slaughter. -- And, who are now so earnestly desirous of having Bishops introduced into the colonies, to lord it over them? Who indeed but the High Churchmen?⁶⁴

A similar charge was raised in a later number of the same series:

The North Americans of all denominations, except high churchmen, prefer the constitution of their mother country, to any mode of government that was ever devised by the art of man. They have always revered every one of their princes of the illustrious house of Hanover, not only as their lawful sovereigns, but as monarchs, from principle and

⁶³"The American Whig, No. II," Pa. Journal, Mar. 31, 1768, supplement. See Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence, p. 112. Livingston's articles first appeared in the New York Gazette, but many were reprinted elsewhere. Sixteen numbers of the sixty-four were reprinted in the Pa. Journal. See Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities and Politics, 1689-1775 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 298. These tracts, together with rebuttals, were gathered into book form as A Collection of Tracts from the Late Newspaper, &c. Containing Particularly the American Whig, A Whip for the American Whig, with Some other Pieces, on the Subject of the Residence of Protestant Bishops in the American Colonies, and in answer to the Writers who opposed it, &c. (New York: John Holt, 1768).

⁶⁴"The American Whig, No. III," Pa. Journal, April 14, 1768, Supplement.

affection attached to their constitution; and averse to the infernal doctrine of the uncontrollable power of Kings, the power of injuring and oppressing those, of whom God and the laws have made them the guardians and protectors.

High churchmen, Livingston reminded his readers, "Whenever they boast of their attachment to monarchy, they mean an unlimited monarchy." The only thing which had restrained them in the past and which continues to restrain them from usurping power, "is the moderation and humanity of our present sovereign, and his predecessors of the house of Hanover."⁶⁵

Another series which condemned Chandler's pleas, but which adopted a slightly different emphasis was the "Centinel," a series which appeared concurrently with the "American Whig." Written by the Reverend Francis Alison, a Presbyterian and Vice-Provost of the College of Philadelphia, the "Centinel" appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal beginning on March 24, 1768.⁶⁶ The attitude toward the relationship of popular rights and monarchical prerogative was somewhat more advanced, as can be seen in the following excerpt from the seventh number of May 5:

I have heard it advanced by men who ought to know better, that the people derive their rights and liberties from the charters granted by the crown. Nothing can be more groundless than this. A people derive their liberty from God, the author of their being. When for the sake of security and other

⁶⁵"The American Whig, No. XII," Ibid., June 30, 1768, Supplement.

⁶⁶He had some help from John Dickinson. See Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence, p. 123.

advantages they enter into society, and form governments, individuals part with some of their natural rights. . . . Charters are no more than solemn declarations of the rights inherent in the people. . . . Charters therefore are not to be considered as mere matters of favour, conferred by the grace of the prince, but declarations of the rights and privileges inherent in the people.

In the eighth number, which appeared the next week, the author described the nature of the British empire as an entity which "consists of several provinces united in allegiance to one prince." The power of legislation in each province was held by the "King or his representatives, with the Deputies of the people in that province."⁶⁷ Thus the king was essentially the primary force of unity among the divergent provinces of the empire, and though he still retained authority in the colonies, the legislative authority lay within the provinces themselves.

One writer, obviously an opponent of the course of action taken against the British officials in New England, suggested that an American bishopric might be good, since the Puritans could use it and the ceremonies of the church as a discharge for their spleen, "as wicked spirits must be employed in some mischief or another," instead of attacking the government of England.⁶⁸ Some of the news articles could also be utilized by the Puritan segment to buttress their

⁶⁷Fa. Journal, May 12, 1768.

⁶⁸An Address to the Merchants, Freeholders and All Other the Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania in Particular, and the Southern Colonies in General [Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1768], p. 2.

opposition to the "pro-Catholic" established church. One, headed Dublin, informed the readers that

His most sacred Majesty King George III, her most gracious Majesty Queen Charlotte, the Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family, are now prayed for in all the Roman Catholic chapels throughout this kingdom.⁶⁹

Such items could lend some credence to the dark charges of Jacobitism which were leveled against the royal family as the crisis between Great Britain and America loomed large.

One of the more celebrated figures in the American press of the late 1760's was John Wilkes, the former editor of the North Briton who had been arrested on a general warrant in 1763. Wilkes had gone into a four year exile in order to escape prosecution on a charge of blasphemy, but returned to London in 1768. Upon his return to England, he again became a figure of note and was even elected a member of Parliament to represent Middlesex. The administration, however, saw him as a threat to the stability of the state, and Wilkes was barred from taking his seat in the House of Commons. Surely this was additional evidence which could be used in the charges of ministerial or administrative tyranny.⁷⁰

From the time of his return to England, Wilkes

⁶⁹Pa. Chronicle, Mar. 7-14, 1768.

⁷⁰For a more detailed account of Wilkes and America, see the following articles: Stella F. Duff, "The Case Against the King: The Virginia Gazettes Indict George III," Wm. and Mary Q., 3rd series, VI (July 1949), 383-397, esp. 386-393, and Pauline Maier, "John Wilkes and American Disillusionment with Britain," Ibid., XX (July 1963), 373-395.

generally appeared in a favorable light in the popular press in Pennsylvania, though there was still evidence of opposition to him. In 1767 the Pennsylvania Gazette reprinted a five year old speech which Wilkes had made in defense of William Pitt, a speech which obviously would ingratiate him to Americans. It was also pointedly demonstrated, however, that he had denounced the policies of this same Pitt as Earl of Chatham in a letter addressed to the Duke of Grafton. One writer suggested that such observations should lessen public confidence in the inconsistent Wilkes.⁷¹ With regard to the king, however, Wilkes earlier had expressed quite favorable sentiments. Wilkes declared that, with regard to the king,

I have never, in any moment of my life, swerved from the duty and allegiance I owe to my Sovereign, and that I implore, and in every thing, submit to, his Majesty's clemency.⁷²

Concerning North Briton No. 45, which was reprinted in 1768,

Wilkes maintained that

I find it full of duty and respect to the person of the King, although it arraigns in the severest manner, the conduct of his Majesty's then ministers, and brings very heavy charges home to them.⁷³

Wilkes thus toward the end of the decade had become the symbol of resistance of British ministerial tyranny.

It was reported that his election had

⁷¹Pa. Gazette, Aug. 6, 1767; Pa. Chronicle, July 6-13, 1768. The letter to Grafton gained additional support for Wilkes in London, see Rudé, Wilkes and Liberty, pp. 37-38.

⁷²Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 9-16, 1767.

⁷³Ibid., June 6-13, 1768.

irritated the whole party of those men in power who have for several years past been labouring to effect a total change in the English constitution, and to destroy that freedom and security of property, for which the nation has been so eminently distinguished, and to which it entirely owed its prosperity and grandeur.⁷⁴

His election to Parliament has caused numerous celebrations to be held in which the number "forty-five" played a prominent role in the ceremony. There appeared a report of a celebration of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, when they heard of the election. Forty-five freeholders drank forty-five quarts of "good English beer, gave 45 fires on the bells; 45 huzzas were shouted from the tower, on which 45 candles were lighted 45 minutes after one o'clock."

Loyalty to the king still was emphasized, though there was a hint of reservation: "May the energies of the crown be always exerted in confidence with the rights of the people."⁷⁵

In 1769 there was an increase in the number of veiled attacks upon the king in Pennsylvania: in addition, there were several direct criticisms. The Pennsylvania Chronicle reprinted a speech by Sir Charles Sedley given in the reign of King William III. While this was ostensibly only a historical document reprinted for public interest, it could obviously be applied to the contemporary situation. There was a great deal about the high price of grain in England in the newspapers of the late 1760's. One can

⁷⁴Pa. Journal, June 23, 1768.

⁷⁵Pa. Chronicle, June 13-20, 1768; see also Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence, pp. 36-37.

easily see why this speech was reprinted:

His Majesty sees nothing but coaches and six, and great tables; and therefore cannot imagine the want and misery of the rest of his subjects. He is a brave and generous Prince; but he is a young King, encompassed and hemmed in by a company of crafty old Courtiers.⁷⁶

William III was thirty-eight years old when he came to the English throne; George III was thirty when this appeared.

There also appeared in the provincial papers the charges which had earlier appeared in the London papers about the alleged Jacobite education of the king when he was the Prince of Wales. Many of the accounts alleged that "books, inculcating the worst maxims of government, and defending the most avowed tyrannies, have been put into the hands of the P. of W." Lord Bute, formerly the king's primary adviser, was the chief target:

To have a Scotchman of the most disaffected family, and allied in the nearest manner to the Pretenders first minister, consulted in the education of the P. of W. and intrusted with the most important secrets of the government, must tend to alarm and disgust the friends of the present Royal Family, and to encourage the hopes and attempts of the Jacobites.⁷⁷

Though Bute no longer played any significant role in the government in the late 1760's, writers still accused him of directing the king and ministers. One satire on the changes in the ministry, "An Account of some late distinguished Dancers," declared that "all the music of this

⁷⁶Pa. Chronicle, Jan. 16-23, 1769. Reprinted from the North Briton, LXXI.

⁷⁷Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 20-27, 1769.

brilliant company was put in motion by a Scotch Piper, placed under a canopy, who played whatever tune he pleased and made them dance to it."⁷⁸ A later issue reminded its readers that "Lord Bute is still in Italy, where he received many civilities from the Holy Family."⁷⁹

Another aspect of the increasing disfavor of the king in the press can be seen in the added reputation of George III's predecessors. In "A Chronological Table of Epithets" which gave descriptive titles to all the English monarchs from William "The Conqueror," to George II, "The Well-Beloved," George III's name had behind it no descriptive statement. "May the people, in years to come," it read, "have reason to fill up this blank."⁸⁰ Early in the reign there would have been little objection to including a favorable description. It was also said that George II had had

so despicable an opinion of Court servility to obtain titles or places, that he often said he was amazed that any Gentleman possessed of 5000 l. per ann. independant fortune, would ever come to Court.⁸¹

Judging by the descriptions of the ministry which appeared in the newspapers, such a description could not fit the advisers of George III.

⁷⁸Ibid., April 10-17, 1769.

⁷⁹Ibid., June 12-19, 1769; Pa. Journal, June 15, 1769.

⁸⁰Pa. Chronicle, Oct. 2-9, 1769; Charles I was "The What d'ye call him," and Oliver Cromwell was "The What d'ye call it."

⁸¹Ibid., May 8-15, 1769.

In addition, his relationship with his royal governors provoked additional scorn. From Boston it was reported that

his Majesty, as an additional proof of his regard for Governor Bernard, besides granting him the dignity of a Baronet, ordered all the fees to be paid out of the privy purse.⁸²

Francis Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, was one of the most hated men in America. He had been according to the colonists, over-zealous in enforcing the various new regulations of the British government. As a royal governor he was, of course, in a quandary; he could not court the favor of the people and execute the royal instructions at the same time. Hillsborough sent him a special letter the previous year calling for the rescinding of the Circular Letter. This plea was overwhelmingly rejected in the House of Representatives. In 1769 this House approved unanimously a petition which charged him with misrepresenting the province to the home government and asked for his recall. The identification of George III with him could not help but have an adverse effect on the monarch's reputation.

There appeared numerous charges of the throne being captured by the ministry. One item echoed the sentiments of North Briton, No. 45:

An absolute Prince always speaks his own sentiments; a limited Prince, the sentiments of his ministers. It is ever been held that the King can do no wrong; and that it ought equally to be held a maxim, that he can assert no falsehoods. Whatever falsehood, therefore, may happen to find a place in speeches

⁸²Ibid.

from the throne, they ought, in all conscience, to be charged upon the minister.⁸³

According to another report the ministers did nothing but "grab up liberty and plant taxes."⁸⁴ The inhabitants of Southwark declared in a petition that

we should think ourselves still wanting in duty and affection to the best of Kings, if we did not beg leave to acquaint him, that he has got about his royal person, many evil and pernicious Councillors, who, unmindful of the good of their country, have been for some time practicing every method that is subversive of our excellent constitution.⁸⁵

A poem by Thomas Hopkinson aptly characterized the influences around the throne as well as the possible outcome of the dispute with the mother country:

With truth and loyal modesty make known
Your just complaints;--approach your monarch's throne
With filial veneration, nor distrust
His Princely resolution--to be just!

Should the "venal train" "bar the passage to the Royal ear"

and if--at last--necessity shall drive
Reluctant Loyalty to arm and strive
Against remediless oppression;--then
Defend your Liberty, or die like men!⁸⁶

Another poem, a parody of Boileau's "One Against the English," expressed similar sentiments, yet saw some hope

⁸³Ibid., Aug. 14-21, 1769.

⁸⁴Ibid., May 29-June 5, 1769.

⁸⁵Ibid., Dec. 18-25, 1769; see also Ibid., Aug. 7-14, 1769, where the chief minister is characterized as a person who "must cringe and fawn to Eng--d's natural rivals and constant foes; and bully, threaten, and deceive his H's liege subjects."

⁸⁶[Thomas Hopkinson], Liberty, a Poem, Lately Found in a Bundle of Papers, Said to be Written by a Hermit in New Jersey (Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1769), p. 10.

in the future:

A Bloody faction once, we own,
 Did undermine the British throne,
 And through the land spread desolation;
 But soon again Britannia rose
 Resum'd his sceptre, and her foes
 Again confess'd their trepidation.⁸⁷

One writer, addressing the king as "Friend George," declared that the monarch had ascended the throne "with more universal love and affection in the hearts of subjects that ever preceded thee . . . thy own personal virtues, necessarily commanded the same," as well as his birth in England. His subjects still loved him and would do anything in their power to promote his happiness. In addition, they were "grieved to see and hear the many indignities and insults that have been offered to thy Royal person from the lowest class of thy people." "Those of a more elevated rank" said that the cause was the ministers who were unfaithful in discharging their powers and who prevented the king from knowing the true state of the provinces by preventing petitions from coming before him.⁸⁸

A charge in a similar vein was made in an article taken from the London Chronicle, which had allegedly been printed in November, 1692, though the editor declared that "Our Correspondent acknowledges that his copy is not very correct." According to the writer "the whole nation are at this time mournfully reflecting on the miserable state we

⁸⁷Pa. Chronicle, Aug. 21-28, 1769.

⁸⁸Ibid., Nov. 13-20, 1769.

are fallen into from the happy and glorious prospect of things which we have in the beginning of your Majesty's reign." The king was surrounded by advisers, who "would persuade you that the Jacobites and Tories are the only party truly principled for monarchy." The author declared that it is his purpose to "rescue the King" from the hands of the unprincipled men who had captured him:

For God's sake, Sir, cast up the account of Your whole reign, and see what you have gained by exchanging Whigs for Tories, and your People for a Favourite. Have not your affairs gone backward both at home and abroad? Have not mismanagements been multiplied? Have they not cooled the affection of your subjects, and lessened the respect due to you from foreign states?

The writer concluded with a plea that the king make the interest of England his "chief design and aim; and since you were born and bred amongst us, and it is to be supposed glory in the name of an Englishman, become entirely an English King."⁸⁹

Colonial concern about the monarch and the state of the mother country undoubtedly was intensified by the news that the king on several occasions had been abused by the London mobs. One writer suggested that it was the supporters of Wilkes who attacked the king:

No nation ever had a more mild government, nor enjoyed a King so deserving as his present Majesty, and scarce one worse used. I am told to-day, that Wilkes's party had the impudence to attack him in his coach lately, as he was coming

⁸⁹Ibid., Nov. 6-13, 1769; this had also appeared earlier in the Pa. Gazette, Nov. 2, 1769, without the fiction of a seventeenth century publication.

from the play-house, and gave him abusive language, so that he was obliged to seek shelter from his guards.⁹⁰

Another writer, while deploring the attack on the king, declared that he thought "his Majesty had no manner of business at the play-house, but had been much better in his closet, praying and contriving good answers to the just petitions of America, London and Middlesex."⁹¹ Thus the king was not only captivated by a wicked ministry, he was also physically threatened by a London mob. Yet even the attack on the person of the king was blamed on the ministers, according to the petition of the Freeholders of Middlesex. The mobs had been "hired and raised by the ministry, in order to justify and recommend their own legal proceedings, and to prejudice your Majesty's mind, by false insinuations against the loyalty of your Majesty's subjects."⁹² Another writer described the threat of such ministers to the state:

When the Grand Charter feels the weight
Of all the cunning tricks of state,
So that, in agonies of grief,
It groans and sweats at every leaf;
When Ministers, their greedy pride
To feed and pamper, dare misguide
Their Truth, their Country and their King,
And lead them blindfold in a string;

.....

⁹⁰Pa. Journal, Oct. 12, 1769; see also Ibid., June 15, 1769, which contains a letter which states that the King was "repeatedly insulted by the mob, at the Play-House, &c."

⁹¹Ibid., Oct. 12, 1769; It had earlier been suggested that the Middlesex freeholders would be prosecuted for presenting a petition to the King. Ibid., Aug. 28-Sept. 4, 1769.

⁹²Pa. Chronicle, Aug. 7-14, 1769. Signed May 30.

And if, at last you must obey,
Let Truth and Freedom lead the way.⁹³

The American colonists continued to feel that by the means of addresses to the throne they would be able to obtain redress of their grievances. Such petitions were made necessary by ministerial corruption, as one writer described it in a "Pedigree of a Ministerial Address":

The Thane begot a Ministry;
A Ministry begot corruption;
Corruption begot arbitrary measures;
Arbitrary Measures begot instructions;
And Instruction begot Addresses.⁹⁴

The feeling apparently was widespread in the provinces that it was within the power of the king to redress all the difficulties which America was experiencing:

Rapture of Haptures!---At our KING'S Command,
Triumphant joy would deck the smiling Land
.....

For when the fated Ages shall have run,
And shewn new Kingdoms to the setting Sun;
Each rising AEra shall its Date restrain,
For NORTH-AMERICANS and GEORGE's Reign.⁹⁵

Another writer expressed similar sentiments:

Let heav'n-born Freedom cheer the world at large,
Freedom from Alfred, --- handed down to GEORGE!
Here, let her smile beneath thy sov'reign hand,
And uncontroul'd bless all my happy land!⁹⁶

⁹³Ibid., Mar. 6-15, 1769.

⁹⁴Ibid., June 5-12, 1769.

⁹⁵The New-Year Verses Of the Printers Lads who carry about the Pennsylvania Gazette to the Customers, January, 1769 (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers], 1769), broadside.

⁹⁶Alexander Martin, America, A Poem . . . To which is added Liberty. A poem by Rusticus. The second edition longe emendatior priore: Likewise from Br. Addison in

Thus there continued to appear reports of hearty toasts to the king. At one celebration, the company toasted the king, the Royal Family and Wilkes at one time.⁹⁷ In addition to the annual birthday celebrations, there appeared the almost annual messages of congratulations to the monarch for the birth of another child.

It was not until early in 1769 that the petition of the Pennsylvania Assembly to the king, dated September 22, 1768, appeared in the newspapers. Predictably there was the profession of devotion to George III:

the People of this Colony are most zealously attached to your Royal Person, and will ever be ready, on all future Occasions, to demonstrate their Duty to your Government and the firmest Resolution to assist, with the utmost of their Abilities, in supporting your Majesty's Authority, and defending your Dominions.⁹⁸

Should the Parliament continue to deprive the colonists of their privileges, it would be apparent that a distinction was made between the British and the American subject, a distinction which could not "fail of creating a Disunion in Sentiments and Affections."⁹⁹ A London correspondent hoped that the remonstrance would be successful, "for the

Praise of Liberty with Something Suitable to the Times
[Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1769], p. 13.

⁹⁷Pa. Chronicle, May 1-8, 1769.

⁹⁸Pa. Journal, Feb. 2, 1769, Postscript; also in Pa. Chronicle, Jan. 23-30, 1769, and Pa. Gazette, Feb. 2, 1769.

⁹⁹Pa. Journal, Feb. 2, 1769, Postscript; Pa. Chronicle, Jan. 23-30, 1769; Pa. Gazette, Feb. 2, 1769.

Philadelphians are held in great Esteem here."¹⁰⁰

In his speech to the Houses of Parliament, Pennsylvanians learned that George III thought that his subjects who had been misled in some parts "were returning to a just sense of their duty." Yet on November 8, he declared that the spirit of faction was "breaking out afresh" in America.¹⁰¹ The House of Lords concurred in the interpretation that the Americans were "misled by factions and designing Men, into Acts of Violence and of Resistance to the Execution of the Law." They agreed to support the crown with measures which would "best enable Your Majesty to repress that daring Spirit of Disobedience, and to enforce a due Submission to the Laws," and that it was one of their duties, "to maintain inviolate the Supreme Authority of the Legislature of Great-Britain over every Part of the Dominions of Your Majesty's Crown." The Commons echoed this latter sentiment in almost identical words.¹⁰²

The Pennsylvania press, like the press of the other colonies, often carried detailed reports of the events in the other provinces, as well as the proclamations and addresses of the governors, assemblies, and citizens groups. By reprinting letters and extracts from other newspapers, the activities of one colony were widely disseminated throughout the colonial seaboard. Pennsylvanians, with

¹⁰⁰Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 27-Mar. 6, 1769.

¹⁰¹Ibid., Jan. 2-9, 1769.

¹⁰²Ibid., Jan. 16-23, 1769.

three English newspapers and two German ones by 1769, thus easily could follow the news from other colonies; their thinking was, naturally, influenced by those events.

Bostonians, for example, had expressed a very sharp opposition to the king's speech to both houses of Parliament, especially to the statement "that a spirit of faction, which he was in hopes had subsided, had again arisen in his American colonies." Rather than there being a disloyal faction in the colonies, they insisted, all provincials were loyal to the king. Colonists were struggling "for a constitution which supports the crown." The conclusions of the king were "wholly grounded upon the misinformation, and false representations" of some individuals who were "plunging the greatest and happiest empire which the sun ever shone upon, into astonishment, anxiety and confusion."¹⁰³ And the sentiments of Boston were, as usual, disseminated throughout the colonies, including Pennsylvania.

Shortly after this appeared in the Pennsylvania press, a letter from London reported that when the petition of Rhode Island was read to the king, George commanded the Earl of Hillsborough to

write to the G_v_r of that colony, and let him know, that he never would pay any regard to petitions from any of his S_bj_ts, which drew into question, the supreme rights of parliament over all the dominions of the Crown of Great-Britain; and further, ordered him never, from that time, to

¹⁰³Ibid... April 3, 1769. Postscript.

present to him any petition of a like nature.¹⁰⁴

A later statement declared that "the American petitions have all been thrown aside."¹⁰⁵

The New York Assembly, in a representation to the Earl of Hillsborough, declared their loyalty and affection toward the king and protested any designs of independence; yet it also declared that

it is not essential to preserve the just dependence of the colonies, that the parliament of Great-Britain, in which they are not, nor can be equally or effectually represented, should be vested with the power of taxing his Majesty's subjects in America.¹⁰⁶

In a petition to the House of Lords the Assembly maintained that

we can appeal to the omniscient searcher of hearts, for the most inviolable fidelity to his Majesty, an utter abhorrence of a disunion with Great-Britain, and a cheerful submission to her supremacy, in every instance of authority essential to the common safety of the empire.¹⁰⁷

Most colonists argued, as did the Lower Counties on the Delaware, that they were tied closely to the mother country through the crown, without conceding the right of taxation:

When it is considered, that your Majesty has a negative upon our laws, and the sole execution

¹⁰⁴Ibid., April 17-24, 1769; the petition, filled with all due deference to the king, was printed in the Pa. Journal, May 18, 1769.

¹⁰⁵Pa. Journal, June 15, 1769.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., May 18, 1769.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., April 20, 1769; also same date of Pa. Gazette.

of them; that our Governor is only during your Royal Pleasure, and all honours and distinctions are derived from the Crown, it is humbly hoped, that the dependence of this Colony on the Mother Country will appear to be sufficiently secured.

It should be the right of every subject "to give and grant to their Sovereign those things, which their own labours and their own cares have acquired and saved."¹⁰⁸

The Massachusetts House echoed similar sentiments, though perhaps even advanced one dangerous step further with an argument verging on royal supremacy. In a protest against the stationing of ships in the Boston harbor and Governor Bernard's claim that he had no authority over these ships, the House declared that

we clearly hold, that the King's most excellent Majesty, to whom we have, and ever shall bear, and since the convening of this present assembly we have sworn, true and faithful allegiance, is the supreme executive power through all the parts of the British empire.

Since Bernard was the king's chief representative, he had complete power to remove the ships and troops from Boston. The king was the supreme authority.¹⁰⁹ In mid-July the House dutifully resolved

that this House do, and ever will bear the firmest allegiance to our rightful Sovereign King GEORGE the Third; and are ever ready with their lives and fortunes to defend his Majesty's Person, Family, Crown and Dignity.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸Petition of the Lower Counties on the Delaware to the King. Pa. Chronicle, April 3-10; Pa. Gazette, April 13, 1769.

¹⁰⁹Pa. Journal, June 29, 1769.

¹¹⁰Pa. Chronicle, July 17-24, 1769.

The town of Boston sent a similar petition to the king in which the inhabitants declared that

it is our consolation, amidst all our sufferings, that the British throne is filled with a sovereign, adorned with every princely virtue; whose royal ear is ever attentive to the humble petitions of the remotest of his subjects.

The inhabitants protested the charge that the town was disorderly; their case had been misrepresented, probably by the Governor who refused to inform them of the charges against them.¹¹¹

Some Englishmen thought that it was necessary to make concession to America in order to insure the colonists' loyalty. If Britain were to become absolute and despotic, America would want to change governments, for "the tyranny of a despotic commonwealth is infinitely worse than that of a despotic prince." If British sovereignty were based solely on the strength of the mother country, it would last only so long as America was weak. By insuring loyalty to the king, Britain could be assured of a continued ally in America.¹¹² Another writer likewise argued the importance of the position of the king:

Kings are, in all free Countries, the Executors of the Laws, the great Guardians of the Liberties of the People, and the Administrators of Justice. This amongst us, is made Part of the Coronation Oath. Our Kings swear, on their Inauguration, to do Justice to their People.

¹¹¹Pa. Journal and Pa. Gazette, Aug. 3, 1769.

¹¹²[Gervase Parker Bushe?]. The Case of Great Britain and America, Addressed to the King, and Both Houses of Parliament (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1769), pp. 12, 14, 15. Originally printed in London.

The king must consequently be wary of the persons to whom he delegates his power: "they ought not only to have no Guilt, but no Suspicion of Guilt of any kind in them." From time to time bad governors had been sent to America to prey on the colonies: "they were sent over for a punishment to the People, instead of a Protection, as They were really a Burlesque upon the Administration of Justice and Government."¹¹³

Thus by the end of the decade the expressed attitude toward the king in the American press was becoming a mixed one. The decisions to tax the colonies were blamed on ministers around the king, not upon the king himself. Likewise the measures taken against the New York Assembly and the city of Boston were the responsibility of the king's advisers. Others, however, apparently began to see a general pattern of the repression of liberties which encompassed the entire British administrative and legislative structure,¹¹⁴ including even the king. Did not the king have the power to choose his own advisers? Why did he choose individuals such as Grenville and Townshend? Was there still a sinister power behind the throne? It appears that most such speculation detrimental to the reputation of the king was reprinted from the English newspapers. Little was native to America at this time. For the most part colonial assemblies

¹¹³Pa. Gazette, Aug. 10, 1769; letter reprinted from The Craftsman, Oct. 14, 1732.

¹¹⁴Excluding, of course, such friends of America as Colonel Isaac Barré, the Earl of Chatham, Edmund Burke, and, perhaps, John Wilkes.

and writers continued to express loyalty to the king. It was to the king that the colonies appealed for aid, and the number of petitions to him would increase even more during the next few years.

CHAPTER SIX

AN UNEASY CALM, 1770-1773

The British attempt to raise revenue from the colonies through the Townshend Acts was a spectacular failure, due in large part to the widespread concerted colonial efforts in opposition. The English economy had suffered because of the agreement and as a result the new ministry headed by Lord North secured the repeal of all the duties with the exception of that on tea. The latter was maintained in order to uphold the oft-debated principles of the Declaratory Act. North hoped--and he was correct-- that repeal would break up the united front which had developed in the colonies. When the New York merchants abandoned nonimportation, the other commercial ports gradually followed suit. The sentiment for restoring normal relations, however, was not unanimous.

The three years following the repeal of the Townshend duties were a period of calm in America. Yet it was a calm punctuated by several serious incidents--the Boston Massacre and the burning of the Gaspee--before the grievances again came to the fore with the passage of the Tea Act in 1773. These incidents, together with the frequent disturbances emanating from Massachusetts, served to keep the question of

the relationship between Great Britain and the American colonies before the colonial public.

There was yet another more continuous issue which kept the question of this relationship before the reading public. The press played an important role. The agitation against the king in England during this period had reached new levels of intensity. With the deaths of Charles Townshend, George Grenville, and the Duke of Bedford, and the virtual retirement of Chatham, the opposition had virtually ceased to exist. In Lord North George III found a leader with both royal and parliamentary confidence. Any attacks upon the government, therefore, were bound to reflect on the person of the king who had formed the government. In addition, the opposition had continually to exploit every crisis in order to have any hope of returning to power. Thus Edmund Burke's Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents (1770) can be seen as a rationalization of party opposition to the royal encroachments of George III and a defense of traditional Parliamentary prerogative. An aura of constitutional respectability could be used to cloak an attempt to gain office.

Such party maneuvers were widely reprinted in the colonies, including Pennsylvania. In fact the English press was the source of the greatest amount of commentary on the person of the king. Such, of course, would be expected, in addition to the reason that England is where people saw the king. Philadelphians knew what the sentiment was in

Philadelphia; it was not necessary to print that. The news from abroad, however, was awaited, Reprinting sentiments from England thus shows both that the printer had some degree of sympathy for the news and that he thought his readers might be interested, or pleased to know what was going on in England. The continued emphasis on the shortcomings of the king must have had an influence on sentiment toward the king. In fact, the decline of George's popularity in England and the attacks on his ministers, personality, and family is a partial cause of his popularity declining in America, and in Pennsylvania, because much of this sentiment was reproduced in the provincial press.

Despite the words of recrimination between the mother country and the colonies which by 1770 were becoming more frequent, many writers on both sides of the Atlantic realized that Great Britain and her North American colonies were complementary to each other. The English traveler, Alexander Cluny, for example, published a volume based on his journey to America in 1744 and 1745 and dedicated it "to the Sovereign of the British Empire, the Father of His People, whom Heaven has blessed with Inclination, and Trusted with Power, to Promote their general weal and Happiness."¹ The

¹[Alexander Cluny], The American Traveller: Contain-
ing Observations on the Present State, Culture and Commerce
of the British Colonies in America and the further Improve-
ments of which they are capable ([Philadelphia: Crukshank
and Collins], 1770), p. [3]. The book was originally pub-
lished in London in 1769, perhaps under the auspices of
Lord Chatham. It is reported that "both the English and
Americans . . . were so eager to possess it, that it was

strongest argument in favor of rectifying the differences between the colonies and the mother country was, according to Cluny, their mutual advantage. The wants of the colonies were supplied by Britain: "their Weakness is supported! They sleep in Peace, and the[y] awake in Freedom, under the Protection of a powerful and indulgent Parent!"²

Another volume published in the colonies contained a similar sentiment with regard to the mutual relations between Britain and America and emphasized not only freedom for the latter but also a dire warning for the former:

Should the Britannia by a dreadful blast,
And want of faithful pilots lost a mast;
She may be wreck'd upon a foreign shore,
And ne'er in triumph plough the ocean more.
Great God forbid, that such her fate should be;
We love Britannia---but we will be free.³

Likewise, a newsboys' poem, a literary production generally inoffensive in nature, warned of the consequences of British activities:

Here, ALBION, see what once must be thy Doom,
To sink thy Glory in Oblivion's Gloom,
And fall ignobly, as did hapless ROME;
Thy haughty Sons shall see! Oppression's Sway,
When on thy Plains she spreads her baleful Ray-----
Yet some blest Worthies crowd before my View,
A Milton, Sidney, and a Hampden too;

bought and read by one party with the same avidity that it was bought and destroyed by the other." T. F. Dibdin, The Library Companion; or the Young Man's Guide and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library (London: Printed for Harding, Triphook, Lepard and J. Major, 1824), p. 465.

²Ibid., p. 83.

³John Macpherson, Macpherson's Letters, &c. (Philadelphia: [William Bvitt for the author], 1770), p. vi.

A Chatham, Guardian of his Country's Cause,
 A Wilkes, Supported of her injur'd Laws;
 Fearless amid contending Storms they shone,
 And pour'd Conviction round the British throne.⁴

The king's advisers continued to receive the brunt of the blame for the rupture of relations between the mother country and America. One nobleman reportedly stated at a coffee house in London that "The nation is blessed with a good King, who can do nothing wrong, and cursed with a bad Ministry, who will do nothing right."⁵ Another writer declared that "a greater curse cannot befall a nation, than to have a set of ministers whose heads are bad, and whose hearts are corrupt,"⁶ while another held that the king's advisees were "a gang of the greatest Villains that ever infested any nation since the birth of Christ." The latter concluded that every distress of the country was due to the ministers: "if the present blundering, ignorant and infamous set, continue much longer, an idiot [*sic*] may foretell, that the public credit will be destroyed."⁷ Such attacks on a ministry appointed by the king would undoubtedly reflect on the king's abilities and competence in choosing his own advisers.

Not all publicity was adverse to the king. On one

⁴The New-Year Verses of the Printers Lads, who Carry About the Pennsylvania Gazette to the Customers [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1770], broadside.

⁵Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 5-12, 1770.

⁶Pa. Journal, Oct. 25, 1770.

⁷Ibid., Nov. 22, 1770.

occasion it was reported that the people at the Drury Lane Theater were much more receptive to him than they had been in the previous year; the crowd's behavior "seemed to give great Satisfaction to his Majesty."⁸ Another writer, while attacking him for having Tories about him rather than Whigs, attempted to evoke support for the king while ridiculing his enemies.⁹ On the occasion of his remitting a fine of £100 levied by the House of Lords, it was reported that "an instance of Sovereign clemency in such a case is not to be paralleled."¹⁰ Such sentiment expressed in England thus indicate that there remained affection toward the monarch. Opinion, however, apparently remained divided.

There also appeared a number of attacks on the king, though many were veiled in a variety of ways. The Earl of Chatham, who was close neither to George II nor to George III, only indirectly criticized the king when he praised George II for having "justice, truth, and sincerity, in an eminent degree." He never mentioned like characteristics for George III.¹¹ One author set forth a political picture of Europe for June 1770, with a short statement about each monarch. He concluded with his own country: "The King of

⁸Pa. Gazette, Jan. 11, 1770.

⁹Pa. Chronicle, Mar. 5-12, 1770. "When we don't like what he says, we tell him he is a damned liar. We call him the father of his people, and the best of Kings, because we dislike every action of his life."

¹⁰Ibid., Oct. 8-15, 1770.

¹¹Ibid., May 21-28, 1770; Pa. Journal, May 24, 1770.

G_____ H_____ much puzzled; a fading Rose and a broken Trident lying at his feet."¹² The institution of kingship, according to one correspondent, was "perverted when kings, who ought to take a tender care of their subjects, deliver them as a prey to those whom they think proper to favour."¹³ Another described the "miserable state of an absolute Prince, and of an enslaved people" and contrasted it with the state of a king who governed in a nation of freemen.¹⁴ A description of the evil court of George III was concluded with the cryptic statement, "Such are the Men that grace the court of GEORGE III. said to be a good natured virtuous Prince!"¹⁵ Through such statements the opposition could undermine popular confidence in the king.

Another widely used device for indirect attack on the monarch was the story, often fictional, set in other countries, but quite applicable to the present circumstances in England. One writer described an impending rebellion in Brittany in the early seventeenth century under Henry IV; the king asked "a man of unblemished honour" what should be done in the event that the Britons should rise. He was told that the best thing would be for him "to hang up two or

¹²Pa. Chronicle, Aug. 13-20, 1770.

¹³Pa. Journal, Oct. 25, 1770.

¹⁴Pa. Chronicle, May 28-June 4, 1770. From a pamphlet published in Paris, Réflexions d'un Étranger désintéressé sur les Evénemens actuel de l'Angleterre by Monsieur de Beaumont.

¹⁵Ibid., May 21-28, 1770.

three of his ministers."¹⁶ Another article, the history of Zunchin, "the last Emperor of China," was more direct in its attack on the king. The emperor had "had all the dispositions to incline him to govern mildly," yet because of his injudicious choice of his ministers, one could not call him wise. Unfortunately, the complaints of the people were not allowed to reach the ears of the emperor; and there occurred a rebellion which obliged the emperor to commit suicide. Before he died, however, the "emperor" wrote (in his own blood) that the people "are not criminal, and deserve not to be punished. . . I have lost that great empire, which descended to me by inheritance from my ancestors." The author of the "history" concluded:

Thus died the Monarch of a kingdom as large as all Europe; he who commanded one hundred millions of subjects was reduced to destroy himself and his family, all brought upon him by the villainy of Ministers, at 32 years of age.¹⁷

George III was thirty-two years old in 1770.

Late in May Pennsylvanians saw what some of the more extreme anti-monarchical elements felt in London. A reward of a thousand pounds was offered for the discovery of the writer who wrote these lines on the walls of St. James's Palace:

A PROPHECY

A cold winter; a mild spring;
A bloody summer; a DEAD ____.¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid., Aug. 20-27, 1770.

¹⁷Ibid., Dec. 17-24, 1770.

¹⁸Ibid., May 21-28, 1770.

Some perhaps were even considering the possibility of an insurrection; Pennsylvanians were duly informed of such rumors. While such statements apparently were not expressed in Pennsylvania, they could also be added to the reservoir of possible sentiments toward George III.

There also appeared in the press a poem which a Pennsylvanian had written in honor of the birth of the Prince of Wales, August 12, 1762. The author declared himself a "warm well-wisher to the illustrious house of Brunswick," and yet he seemingly anticipated the demise of George III and the accession of the Prince of Wales:

May all the virtues of the Brunswick line
 Unite in him, and with fresh glory shine.
 Conquests, like William's wait him, may he quell,
 Like great Augustus, those who dare rebel
 That when our awful Monarch shall remove,
 And join th' etherial choir, in realms above,
 May he, both fear'd abroad, and lov'd at home,
 His people's father, and the dread of Rome,
 Ascend the throne, rule with imperial sway
 O'er happy Britons, proud for to obey.¹⁹

By July a new charge for the responsibility of the crisis of the empire appeared in the Pennsylvania press. The ministers and the king were all under the influence of the king's mother at Carlton House: "It is to the baneful and pernicious Influence of that House," one writer argued, "that we owe all those destructive Measures, which have produced the present alarming Discontents."²⁰ Another

¹⁹Ibid., Aug. 27-Sept. 3, 1770. The William mentioned was the late Duke of Cumberland, great uncle to the Prince of Wales.

²⁰Pa. Gazette, July 26, 1770.

writer was more explicit:

During the last nine days only, the King has had no less than six conferences with his mother at Carlton-House.--Will it be credited hereafter that this kingdom is governed by a vindictive old woman; and that her paramours, flatterers and sycophants, occupied and directed every department of the state?²¹

The author left no doubt as to what the answer would be. The continued influence of the Earl of Bute, the alleged paramour of the king's mother, could account for the difficulties of the nation. So far as a solution to the problem, in addition to the simple expedient of removing all influence of the Carlton House, one writer discussed some advice which had allegedly been given to George I: "Look on Hanover as a safe retreat, that you may not, like Charles's race, be the pensioners of foreign Courts, and be the beggarly King of all Europe."²² A London writer offered a general criticism of royalty at the end of the year:

Of all the various scenes which human folly has erected to feed its own vanity, I know none more apt to dazzle weak and little minds than the bustling grandeur and unweildy [*sic*] pomp of Kings.²³

Among the various opponents of the king and his ministers, none in England was so widely read as "Junius." His first letter appeared in the Public Advertiser on January 21, 1769; many others appeared during the next few years. The letters achieved widespread circulation in

²¹Pa. Chronicle, July 16-23, 1770.

²²Ibid., Oct. 22-29, 1770.

²³Ibid., Dec. 17-24, 1770.

America, and a number appeared in the Pennsylvania press. Though again it is difficult to ascertain the exact impact of the letters in Pennsylvania, the fact that a number of them were reprinted in the leading newspapers indicates that they not only reached a wide audience but also reached an interested audience. No printer would continually offend a large portion of his reading public. The first letter to appear in the Pennsylvania press was addressed to the Duke of Grafton and was published in mid-December of 1769.²⁴ It was a vicious attack on the alleged pernicious influence of the Duke. The letter which appeared in the London press on December 19, however, rather than placing the blame for the crises of England on the ministry, made the king the central figure in the administration. The letter was quite popular in England, and since no one knew the identity of Junius, the publisher and sellers were soon brought to trial for publishing and distributing a seditious libel.²⁵

²⁴Pa. Journal, Dec. 14, 1769. Sir Philip Francis, a minor functionary in the administration, according to a recent statistical analysis, has been identified as the author. See Alvar Ellegård, Who Was Junius? (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962) and A Statistical Method for Determining Authorship. The Junius Letters, 1769-1772 (Göteborg, 1962). Francis previously had been advanced as the author, but a number of difficulties were discovered. Not all have been resolved by Ellegård. See the classical discussion of this problem by Charles Wentworth Dilke, The Papers of a Critic (2 vols. London: John Murray, 1875), II, 1-227. It is perhaps best to conclude that the authorship remains unknown.

²⁵See Robert A. Rea, The English Press in Politics, 1760-1774 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), pp. 176-177, and Frederick Seaton Siebert, Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of

Just as in England the letter of Junius to the king received a widespread audience, so also it appeared in the Pennsylvania press in February, 1770.²⁶ The writer professed to be an impartial observer, and emphasized that the king had "never been acquainted with the Language of Truth" until he "heard it in the Complaints of your People." Though Junius still held the ministers responsible for the errors of the regime, there was some doubt:

The Doctrine included by our Laws, That the King can do no Wrong, is admitted without Reluctance. We separate the amiable good-natured Prince from the Folly and Treachery of his Servants, and the private Virtues of the Man from the Vices of his Government. Were it not for this just Distinction, I know not whether your M-----y's Condition, or that of the E-----sh Nation, would deserve most to be lamented.

Though George III had "affectedly renounced the Name of Englishman" by glorying in the name of Briton, Junius admitted that the monarch had been popular when he ascended the throne. Junius claimed that he had found the cause both of the decline in popularity of the king and of the administration of the 1760's: "We trace it, however, to an original Bias in your Education, and are ready to allow for your Inexperience." George III's training would also account for the fact that at his accession to the throne,

Government Control (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965 [1952]), p. 385; C. W. Everett, ed. The Letters of Junius (London: Faber and Gwyer [1927]), p. 135n.

²⁶Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, Feb. 22, 1770; Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 19-26, 1770. Each was taken from the London Evening Post of Dec. 19, 1769.

"the whole System of Government was altered." Junius asked whether the action taken against John Wilkes was a "Contention worthy of a King?" Rather it had been caused by "an ill-advised, unworthy, personal Resentment." Moving from the domestic scene to the foreign, Junius had some telling words which summarized the eventual attitude of the colonists, though evidence of this attitude was not clear in the Pennsylvania press at this time. It is necessary to quote rather an extensive section:

The Disturbance [distance] of the Colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active Concern in your Affairs, if they were as well affected into your Government, as they once pretended to be to your Person. They were ready enough to distinguish between you and your Ministers. They complained of an Act of the Legislature, but traced the Origin of it no higher than to the Servants of the Crown: They pleased themselves with the Hope, that their Servant, if not favourable to their Cause, at least was impartial. The decisive, personal Part you took against them, has effectually banished that first Distinction from their Minds. They consider you as united with your Servants against America, and know how to distinguish the Servant and a venal Parliament on one Side, from the real Sentiments of the English People on the other. Looking forward to Independence, they might possibly receive you for their King; but, if ever you retire to America, be assured they will give you such a Covenant to digest, as the Presbytery of Scotland would have been ashamed to offer to Charles the Second. They left their native Land in Search of Freedom, and found it in a Desert [sic]. Divided as they are into a Thousand Forms of Policy and Religion, there is one Point in which they all agree: They equally detest the Pageantry of a King, and the supercilious Hypocrisy of a Bishop.

Junius assured the king, however, that he had some supporters left--Jacobites, Nonjurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories, in

addition to all of Scotland--and concluded the letter with a warning:

The People of E-gl--d are loyal to the House of Ha--ver . . . from a Conviction that the Establishment of that Family was necessary to the Support of their Civil and Religious Liberties. . . The Name of Stuart, of itself, is only contemptible; armed with the Sovereign Authority, their Principles were formidable. The Prince, who imitates their Conduct, should be warned by their Example; and while he plumes himself upon the Security of his Title to the Crown, should remember, that as it was acquired by one Revolution, it may be lost by another.

A reply to Junius from a London paper also appeared in the same issues of the Pennsylvania press which carried the letter to the King. "Modestus" denounced Junius as a "sower of sedition," though his argument was rather poorly presented:

A King of England, whose intentions are upright, whose administration is firm, who supports his Parliament, and is supported by them, has nothing to fear from party clamour.

Attacks, such as those of Junius, on the person of the king would strike "at the very root of good government."²⁷ The close identification of the king with parliamentary policy would naturally be detrimental to the king's reputation in America. George III also often contributed to the identification of himself with parliamentary policy, as in his address to both Houses of Parliament on January 9, 1770.²⁸

²⁷Pa. Journal and Pa. Gazette, Feb. 22, 1770; Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 19-26, 1770. Edmund Burke declared, in a speech on Nov. 27, 1770, that when he saw Junius' attack on the King "I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and that there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many truths. . . It was the rancour and venom, with which I was struck." Pa. Gazette, Feb. 28, 1771.

²⁸The text of the King's address appeared in the

In a later letter Junius castigated both the ministry and the king for refusing to listen to petitions to the throne and again called upon the king to banish the ministers from his court:

An application from the Sovereign to such a Ministry and such a Parliament, on the propriety of attending to the intrests of the people, would resemble the folly and corruption of a judge, who might believe it wrong to pass a sentence, unless the criminals approved it.²⁹

Yet Junius still claimed that he was attempting to "separate as much as possible, the King's personal character and behaviour from the acts of the present government." He even postulated that the attacks on the king were in the best interests of the ministry:

The Minister, after placing his Sovereign in the most unfavourable light to his subjects, and after attempting to fix the ridicule and odium of his own precipitate measures upon the Royal Character, leaves him a solitary figure upon the scene.³⁰

With regard to the activities of the Parliament, however, Junius concluded that

I do not question but they have done what is usually called the King's business, much to his Majesty's satisfaction. We have only to lament that, in consequence of a system introduced or revived in the present reign, this kind of merit should be very consistent with the neglect of every duty

Pennsylvania press in March: "I have endeavoured, on my part, by every means to bring back my subjects there [America] to their duty, and to a due sense of lawful authority. It gives me much concern to inform you that the success of my endeavours has not answered my expectations." Pa. Chronicle, Mar. 12-19, 1770.

²⁹Pa. Journal, May 24, 1770.

³⁰Ibid., May 31, 1770; Pa. Gazette, same date.

they owe to the Nation.³¹

The impression which Americans received from the accounts concerning the trials of those arrested for publishing the letters of Junius probably also made Americans more sympathetic to his cause. According to the report of the trial of John Miller of the London Evening Post, the Solicitor General for the prosecution

set out with bestowing a plentiful shower of such epithets as 'impudent, malicious, scandalous, and seditious,' on the letter in question, attempting to prejudice the Jury against the Defendant; declaring that the whole was meant as a personal libel on the King; that his person ought to be sacred, and every attempt to vilify and traduce his character should be punished.

The account also declared that the prosecution "endeavoured to vindicate Lord Townshend as well as the conduct of the Administration with regard to America." The defense held that the passages cited "reflected honour on the private character of the King, whose personal virtues were uniformly acknowledged," and that it was common for "Princes to be surrounded by flatterers and bad Ministers, who prevented the truth from coming to the throne."³²

In addition to Junius there appeared another

³¹Pa. Gazette, Aug. 23, 1770, supplement.

³²Pa. Chronicle, Oct. 1-8, 1770. One writer, however, disputed the claim that news did not reach the king's ear: "We can assure our readers, that all the papers are every day laid before his majesty; and that he not only peruses the news part, but every political essay that appears," Pa. Journal, Mar. 22, 1770. A report of a year later indicated that "the greatest care is taken to prevent a great personage reading the letters of Junius," Pa. Chronicle, April 8-15, 1771.

Englishman whose encounters with the English administration became a widely followed case in America. When the elections of John Wilkes were put aside in 1769 and Henry Luttrell was declared the winner in his place, it again appeared that this was a gross violation of English custom and the rights and privileges of the electors. A number of remonstrances were sent to the crown protesting the refusal to seat Wilkes.³³ According to the Middlesex Journal of March 20 the king's reply to a remonstrance from the city of London was evidence that

The same spirit, which violated the freedom of elections, now invades the declaration and Bill of Rights, and threatens to punish the subject for exercising a privilege, hitherto undisputed, of petitioning the Crown. The grievances of the people are aggravated by insults; their complaints not merely disregarded, but checked by authority; and every one of those acts, against which they remonstrated, confirmed by the King's decisive approbation.³⁴

Thus the king had now obviously joined with his ministers in ignoring the grievances of his subjects.

As further evidence of the royal participation in the unpopular measures, there was reprinted the preliminaries of a remonstrance of the Livery of London. The Lord Mayor of London had told the Livery that their complaints

were not to be attributed to the King---that we had the best of princes---that the enjoyment of our present liberties was owing to the illustrious house of Brunswic[k]; and that it was only under their influence and sovereignty we could hope to

³³See Rudé, Wilkes and Liberty, pp. 105-148.

³⁴Pa. Gazette, Postscript Extraordinary, May 17, 1770.

preserve them. He asserted that it was to evil counsellors only, that many of the present national calamities were to be attributed.

The king's answer to the remonstrance, however, according to the Lord Mayor, was a "very harsh one; so much so, that in the whole history of England, it perhaps, could not be paralleled." Yet it still was the fault of the ministers of the king, according to the Lord Mayor, who "treated the opinions of the people with insolence and disrespect."³⁵

To a later remonstrance of the city of London which the Lord Mayor presented in person, the king also expressed his dissatisfaction. The Lord Mayor persisted in his efforts to take the onus from George III by criticizing those who sought "by false insinuations and suggestions to alienate your Majesty's affections." The account of the meeting with the king which was reprinted in Pennsylvania concluded with the statement that "the Lord Mayor waited near a minute for a reply, but none was given."³⁶ Even those who stoutly defended the monarch and his prerogatives might have been taken aback by this account of the king.

Official professions of loyalty to the king continued to come from the colonies; at the same time Americans defended the actions they were taking against what they considered to be illegal acts of the British parliament. The inhabitants of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for example,

³⁵Pa. Chronicle, May 28-June 4, 1770.

³⁶Ibid., Aug. 6-13, 1770.

strongly supported the non-importation agreements while professing "the most sincere loyalty and affection for our lawful and rightful Sovereign King George the Third, and his most illustrious Houss."³⁷ Another evidence that the non-importation agreements were considered part of a struggle for the rights of the king was the public acknowledgment by those who had violated them that they had sacrificed "their God, their Country, and their King to private emolument."³⁸ Perhaps since this was a forced declaration, it did not indicate the true feelings of the individuals involved. Nonetheless, it was a sentiment to which the supporters of the non-importation agreements would subscribe. On September 24 the Grand Jury of the city and county of Philadelphia resolved that they would promote a union among the other colonies to secure a full redress of their grievances, "consistent with the duty we owe to our King."³⁹

The powers and authority of the monarch were also interjected into the election campaign for the Assembly in Pennsylvania. Joseph Galloway, earlier a leader of the movement to establish Pennsylvania as a royal colony, was accused of utilizing dictatorial powers in the Assembly:

³⁷Pa. Journal, June 28, 1770; see also the resolves of the committees of the townships of Chesterfield, Mansfield, Hanover, Springfield, and Nottingham in Burlington County, New Jersey, Sept. 8, 1770. Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 24-Oct. 1, 1770.

³⁸To the Public [Philadelphia, 1770], Broadside, dated June 30, and July 4, 1770. See also Pa. Journal, July 12, 1770, and Thayer, Pa. Politics, p. 146.

³⁹Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 24-Oct. 1, 1770.

"He can set up, and he pull down,/ Can those do more, who wear a crown?" The writer concluded that "in short he is, upon supposition, a complete tool of an arbitrary ministry."⁴⁰ It was thus possible, through the use of familiar English institutions, to portray a colonial politician in quite unflattering terms. Another attack on Galloway with similar overtones of the English court came from William Goddard, Galloway's former partner in the Pennsylvania Chronicle. According to Goddard, Galloway told him that

Pennsylvanians (a few hot-headed people excepted) being of a different make, of more solidity, none of your damned republican breed--but loyal to the king, and friends to monarchy--that they had great expectations from the favour of the ministry.⁴¹

Pro-monarchical sentiment in Pennsylvania thus could easily be identified with ministerial tyranny, Galloway, or other hated elements of society.

Throughout 1770, as in other years, the colonists repeatedly expressed their detestation of anything which appeared to have within it forces of arbitrary procedure. This was stated quite well in the spring in an address of "a Considerable number of the respectable inhabitants" of

⁴⁰A German Freeholder to his Countrymen [Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1770], broadside.

⁴¹William Goddard, The Partnership: or the History of the Rise and Progress of the Pennsylvania Chronicle &c. Wherein the Conduct of Joseph Galloway, Esq: Speaker of the Honourable House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, Mr. Thomas Wharton, sen., and their Man, Benjamin Towne, my late Partners with my own, is properly delineated, and their Calumnies against me fully refuted (Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1770), p. 16.

Abington, Massachusetts. They maintained that their obedience to the king was "no other, in kind or degree, than such as he has a constitutional right to from our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain." In an address to the merchants and traders in Boston, dated March 19, 1770, and reprinted in the Pennsylvania press three weeks later, they declared that

There is scarcely any character more detestable, and that raises the just indignation of an Englishman, so quick, and so high, as that of a Tyrant; the bare contemplation fills the mind with horror, as it opens a passage for the blackest and most dreadful ideas to enter! When a man can neither speak, nor think, nor act, nor possess in safety; death is preferable to life. Every thing therefore, that looks like tyranny, should be frowned upon, and opposed by a free People; for, neglecting it is to strengthen it.⁴²

There Massachusetts spokesmen emphasized that it was their concern for their freedom and rights as English citizens which impelled the colonists to resist those British laws which they felt were contrary to the constitution. It was essential, they declared, that they resist tyrannous designs and continue to resist them, even though it might eventually be revealed that the king was playing a significant role in attempting to restrict their liberties. Pennsylvanians thus had before them a reasoned analysis of the complicity of the king in the troubles besetting the colonies.

It was not until 1765 that there appear in England the initial volume of the first comprehensive analysis of

⁴²Pa. Chronicle, April 9-16, 1770. The address to the selectmen of the town was dated Feb. 21, 1770.

the British constitution, as well as the first systematic discussion of the principles of the English common law. Originally given as a series of lectures at Oxford beginning in 1753, Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England was a conservative analysis and reflection of the scientific, religious, philosophical, and historical thought of his day.⁴³ The Commentaries--reprinted in Philadelphia in 1771--were also widely read and quoted in America where they could be used to support a variety of colonial contentions. The two leading legal minds in Pennsylvania before the Revolution were familiar with Blackstone. John Dickinson, it is known, earlier had purchased Blackstone's Law Tracts published in Oxford in 1762 and in 1769 he was billed for the third volume of the first edition of the Commentaries.⁴⁴ James Wilson, a law student of Dickinson and later a signer of the United States Constitution and one of the Associate Justices of the first Supreme Court, later was to condemn the legal conservatism of Blackstone and argue, like many Americans, in favor of the concept of

⁴³See Daniel J. Boorstin, The Mysterious Science of the Law (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), passim. Edmund Burke stated that more copies of Blackstone were sold in America than in England. John Maxcy Zane, The Story of Law (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1927), p. 358.

⁴⁴H. Trevor Colbourn, The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 109.

natural rights.⁴⁵ Yet when the volumes appeared in 1771 they could be quoted approvingly. The colonial attitude toward taxation could be buttressed with Blackstone:

No subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the defense of the realm or the support of government, but such as are imposed by his own consent or that of his representatives in Parliament.⁴⁶

The problem which was unresolved here, of course, was whether the colonies were represented in Parliament. With regard to the person of the king, however, Blackstone could be perhaps somewhat less congenial to Americans:

Besides the attribute of sovereignty, the law also ascribes to the king in his political capacity, absolute perfection. The king can do no wrong. . . . Whatever is exceptionable in the conduct of public affairs is not to be imputed to the king, nor is he answerable for it personally to his people: for this doctrine would totally destroy that constitutional independence of the crown, which is necessary for the ballance of power, in our free and active, and therefore compounded, constitution. . . . If the crown should be inducted to grant any franchise or privilege to a subject contrary to reason, or in any wise prejudicial to the commonwealth, or a private person, the law will not suppose the king to have meant either an unwise or an injurious action, but declares that the king was deceived in his grant.⁴⁷

Opponents of the revenue policies both in England and America long had attributed the changed policies to

⁴⁵Charles Page Smith, James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-1798 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), pp. 55, 316.

⁴⁶William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, in Four Books (2 vols. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1771), I, 140.

⁴⁷Ibid., I, 146.

ministers who had deceived the king. With regard to the sovereignty of the king, however, there also were reservations. Joseph Galloway's statement that "the power of protecting and defending them [America], and of forming, directing and executing that protection, is constitutionally vested in the crown alone" was used in an attack against the Speaker.⁴⁸ John Wilkes' description of the authority of the king in a letter to the Boston Sons of Liberty, March 30, 1769, was reprinted with approval:

~~I dare now to set my Name here to what the great~~
 I Algeron Sydney wrote in Rome. "My Thoughts as to
~~I dare now to set my name here to what the great~~
Algeron Sydney wrote in Rome. "My Thoughts as to
 my King and State depending upon their Actions,
 no Man shall be more a faithful Servant to him
 than I, if he makes the Good and Prosperity of
his People his Glory; none more his Enemy if he
doth the Contrary.⁴⁹

The attitude toward the person of the king was still divided in the press. Occasionally it appeared that his old popularity had returned. In its first issue of 1771 the Pennsylvania Gazette reported the most favorable reception given the king at the Drury Lane Theater: "There cannot be a stronger Expression of general Affection to an amiable Monarch, than the universal Shouts of a crowded Audience at his Appearance among them." The article concluded with a statement that "the King of a free People can receive no stronger Proof of their Attachment to him, than the

⁴⁸Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 23-30, 1771.

⁴⁹Ibid., Aug. 19-26, 1771.

Assurances of his being popularly, that is generally, beloved by them."⁵⁰ Shortly thereafter there appeared a statement printed from the London Chronicle which assured its readers that "the Americans were ever attached to the House of Hanover, and honour their present gracious Sovereign sincerely."⁵¹ The New Year verses of the Pennsylvania Gazette also reflected glory on the monarch: "But gracious GEORGE, to whose blest Scepter's given, / Bright Mercy's Ray, prime Attribute of Heav'n."⁵² An ode of William Whitehead, the Poet Laureate, was, naturally, filled with tribute to the king:

With thee return
The frolic band of pleasure's train,
With thee Britannia's festal morn,
When the glad hand her homage pays
To George, her Monarch and her Friend,
May cheerful health, may length of days,
And smiling peace his steps attend!⁵³

Additional proof of the innocence of the king concerning the problems of the country was suggested by a writer who declared that there were some "who are base enough to betray the interest of their King for pecuniary rewards" and that "there is not a crime, morally speaking, greater than that

⁵⁰Pa. Gazette, Jan. 3, 1771.

⁵¹Ibid., Jan. 24, 1771.

⁵²The New-Year Verses Of the printer Lads, who carry about the Pennsylvania Gazette to the Customers, January, 1771 [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1771], broadside.

⁵³Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 9-16, 1771.

of calumny."⁵⁴ Another writer claimed that

no honour can be too high, no emolument to support the dignity of that honour too large, for any branch of that illustrious family, which was especially chosen to defend and maintain those sacred rights and liberties, religious and civil, which were rescued from the fangs of despotism by our brave and pious ancestors, and whereof I trust a descendant of George the Third will be the guardian, protected by heaven, and supported by a free, happy and truly loyal people, to the latest posterity.⁵⁵

Children in the colonies learned their alphabet with the aid of a didactic rhyme: "Our King the Good/ No Man of Blood."⁵⁶ Thus some favorable comments on the king continued to appear in the newspapers.

It appears, however, that the direct and indirect attacks on the king and monarchy in general were more numerous than the defenses. The Earl of Chatham emphasizing that the House of Lords should not separate themselves from the people, declared that "the King of England's honour is not touched 'till he adopts the falsehood, delivers it to his Parliament, and makes it his own."⁵⁷ Sir Edward Hawke,

⁵⁴Pa. Packet, Nov. 18, 1771. In a "description of persons and places within London," and king was described as "a good man, surrounded with bad ones, who delights in domestic enjoyments, music, curiosities, and all that." Pa. Chronicle, Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 1771.

⁵⁵Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 25-Mar. 4, 1771.

⁵⁶The New England Primer Enlarged. For the more easy attaining the true Reading of English. To which is added, The Assembly's Catechism. (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1771). p. [12]. The entry is for "K". A portrait of the King appears opposite the title page. A list of promises of a dutiful child begins: "I will fear God, and honour the King." p. [15].

⁵⁷Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 4-11, 1771.

the ranking Admiral in the Royal Navy, expressed his amazement when the list of persons he had written for the king was passed over, and the king promoted six others to the rank of admiral, superseding seven senior officers. Colonel Isaac Barré, a supporter of the American position, noted that it was the same in the Admiralty "as in every other part of government; that there was a certain busy Devil that thrust its head into every department." An interior cabinet ran the government in the place of the officers in charge of the departments. In the next issue the "interior cabinet" was identified as the Carlton House junto, that is, a clique headed by the Princess Dowager of Wales.⁵⁸ Barré also declared that "there is not an honest man in England, who does not abhor the present set of ministers."⁵⁹

The attacks on the person of the king in England were much more severe in 1771 than in the previous years, at least so they appeared in the Pennsylvania press. One account said that no fewer than eighty thousand persons exerted themselves "in the most extraordinary manner, in heaping insults, and outrages of all sorts, upon the King's person, and even loading him with execrations." The writer

⁵⁸Ibid., Mar. 25-April 1, 1771, and April 1-8, 1771. A year later another writer, commenting on the king's devotion to the affairs of state, declared that "His Majesty is said to have a more perfect knowledge of the characters of all the officers in the armies of Great-Britain, than any other person connected with the army, not excepting even the Secretary of War." Ibid., Mar. 30-April 6, 1772. Whether meant in earnest or as a satire is difficult to determine.

⁵⁹Ibid., April 8-15, 1771

said he was not surprised, though he was disappointed that the office of the king could fall so low, because it was "beset with men, who care as little for his real honour and interest, as they do for that of the nation." All, however, would now know that the king had heard the voice of the people; the writer called on George III to dissociate himself from those for whom "he exposes his person to something much more serious than scorn and contempt."⁶⁰ Another writer, also inspired by the attacks on the king, asked "What excuse can your Majesty give for remaining so long hood-winked?" It should be obvious to the king that "the body of the people "opposed not only the conduct of the ministers but also that of the king. It was charged that the ministers were "fully determined to render the Crown absolute, and to sacrifice the rights of the people to the possession of their places."⁶¹ It was also reported from London that a "great crowd" attacked a man who had written the following on the door of a house: "The wrath of the King is like the roaring of a lion, and he that provoketh him sinneth against his own soul."⁶² A jury in Westminster dismissed a case against a hosier who cried "No Lord Mayor, no King."⁶³ Thus popular opposition to the king in England

⁶⁰Ibid., May 20-27, 1771; see Pa. Gazette, Postscript Extraordinary, May 17, 1771.

⁶¹Pa. Gazette, May 30, 1771.

⁶²Pa. Chronicle, June 10-17, 1771.

⁶³Pa. Gazette, Postscript Extraordinary, May 17, 1771. Pa. Journal, June 6, 1771.

appeared to be on the increase. If Englishmen could recognize that the king was responsible for the new laws, could not also Pennsylvanians and other colonials?

The few defenses of the actions of the king were, for the most part, muted in the press. An account of the crowds cheering him when he went to prorogue Parliament was countered by a statement that those who did the cheering were hired by the ministry.⁶⁴ He was accused of breaking promises,⁶⁵ and another writer applied Dryden's characterization of the ministry of Charles II to the present situation: "A government that not knowing true wisdom, is scorned abroad, and lives on tricks at home."⁶⁶ One writer suggested that the king would be a monster in government, "if he should be independent on the people of Great Britain."⁶⁷ It was also rumored that Captain Thomas Preston, the officer in charge of the soldiers who participated in the "Boston Massacre," had received a special grant from George III for his

⁶⁴Pa. Chronicle, July 29-Aug. 5, 1771, and Pa. Journal, Aug. 1, 1771. There was a defense of the Princess Dowager of Wales, denying that she had any adverse influence on the throne. See Pa. Gazette, July 11, 1771.

⁶⁵"Promises are as religiously broken by the Lord Lieutenant, as they are by the Duke of Grafton, or if you please, the King." Junius to George, Lord Viscount Townsend, Pa. Gazette, Oct. 24, 1771.

⁶⁶Pa. Chronicle, Oct. 28-Nov. 4, 1771. In a "catalogue of new books and plays, just going to be published, and of the Names of the respective authors," "The Hypocrite, a Farce," was list as "By His Majesty." The next entry was "The Art of Breeding rabbits [sic]--by her Majesty." Pa. Journal, Dec. 12, 1771.

⁶⁷Pa. Chronicle, Nov. 25-Dec. 2, 1771.

services; "the king," according to the report, was "ever willing to reward those who promote the interest of the crown."⁶⁸ The Lord Mayor of London, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London declared in an address that they had

seen the known law of the land, the sure guardian of right, trodden down; . . . Your Majesty's throne is founded on the free exercise of this great right of election; to preserve it inviolate, is true loyalty' to undermine and destroy it, is the most compendious treason against the whole constitution.⁶⁹

This concerned the election of Luttrell in the place of John Wilkes. It was imperative for the safety of the crown, that the king "attend to the voice of your people; . . . instead of vesting the Earl of B--e with your whole authority." The writer suggested that "Your present necessities, Sir, will admit of no delay; nor will the people suffer themselves any longer to be imposed upon."⁷⁰ Later in the year there were descriptions of the purchase of votes in an attempt to defeat John Wilkes and Frederick Bull in the London sheriff election:

such open scenes of bribery and corruption, were never attempted at any time, or in any reign, as at this juncture.--Posterity will hardly believe that such vile practices were used in the pious

⁶⁸Preston, according to the report, received 500 l. sterling and a pension of 200 l. per annum. Ibid., Oct. 28-Nov. 4, 1771.

⁶⁹Ibid., Feb. 11-18, 1771.

⁷⁰From the London Chronicle, Oct. 20, 1770, "The Constitutional Guardian, No. I," Ibid., Feb. 11-18, 1771. See also the third number of this series which had appeared earlier: "Let the K--- therefore hear the energetic sound! Come forth, O Monarch! Resolve, and abide by that power which can alone protect you in the day of danger." Ibid., Jan. 28, 1771.

reign of his present Majesty.⁷¹

The implication was, of course, that the king had played an active role in the bribery attempts.

In one address to the king reprinted from the Public Register, there once again appeared the charge that George III was controlled by his mother. According to this writer, the king was torn between two sides: his desire to glory in the name of Briton when he ascended the throne and "that native, maternal pride, which more than counterbalances any patriotic sentiments that your breast can feel." He called on the monarch to "call up . . . all your father in your soul, and banish your Mother forever," and concluded by declaring that "let it not be said, that George the Third infringed upon those sacred liberties, his ancestors gloriously procured, and zealously preserved."⁷² Perhaps the most vigorous denunciation of the influence of the Princess Dowager, however, came in the speech of James Townsend in defense of the Lord Mayor, Brass Crosby, who was under threat of imprisonment by the House of Commons:

Too many of us are more anxious to please female caprice than to satisfy their constituents. Instead of endeavouring to deserve well of the Public, they strive to deserve well of one Woman, who has, during the present reign, governed this Nation. . . . For these ten years past, we have been governed by one

⁷¹Ibid., Sept. 2-9, 1771.

⁷²Pa. Journal, July 25, 1771. A conundrum which appeared this year also alluded to the control by the Dowager Princess: "Q. Why is his Majesty like a lady's legs? A. Because he acts under a petticoat." Pa. Chronicle, Dec. 2-9, 1771; see also Pa. Journal, Dec. 26, 1771.

woman and that woman is the Princess Dowager of Wales . . . It is not that I have any aversion to petticoat government. My objection is only to bad government.

If such great criminals were not punished, according to Townsend, "the people, it is feared, will take the execution of the laws into their own hands."⁷³ Alderman Oliver, who was imprisoned in the Tower, also referred to the ten year period of misrule:

this country has been unhappy from the moment that the present prevailing Counsels have influenced the sovereign. The last ten years have afforded to the city of London in particular every instance of neglect, unkindness, insult and injury. Their petitions have been rejected, slighted, ridiculed; their property unjustly conveyed to others; their charters violated; their rights invaded; their laws condemned; their Magistrates imprisoned. The power that consumes us has the plainest and most odious marks of despotism--abject abroad and insolent at home.⁷⁴

Fictional stories again were employed to criticize the king and his advisers. According to one account England had been governed by a regency of the king's mother and "her infamous paramour" in the early part of the reign of Edward III. The king was, however, able to free himself from his mother's influence. The moral of the story, of course, was obvious:

A king, though not blind to the wicked designs of his mother, may, notwithstanding the remonstrance of his people, suffer his loving subjects to be scourged by the iron rod of an

⁷³Pa. Journal, May 30, 1771; excerpts in Pa. Gazette, Postscript Extraordinary, May 16, 1771.

⁷⁴Pa. Chronicle, May 13-20, 1771.

usurped regency for the whole course of his life.⁷⁵
 Glowing reports from Stockholm disclosed the goodness of that king who admitted all to his presence to present petitions. The people, according to the writer, never left without being penetrated with admiration, love, and veneration, and without returning thanks to Heaven, for having given them a King who . . . [thought] nothing of greater moment to employ him than their happiness.⁷⁶

A "passage from the Life of Behram, King of Persia" related the life of a monarch who thought his only business was his personal pleasure and who abandoned his rule to his prime minister. The latter, of course, abused his power and sought only his own profit, without regard to the welfare of the nation. The moral appeared in the next story of a shepherd who finally hung his dog on a tree for failing to protect the sheep from the wolf.⁷⁷

It was the ministers, at this time Lord North in particular, who still received a great deal of the abuse of the press. One speaker declared that though he was for "defending the Honour of the Crown, and the Rights of the People," he could not understand the government being in the "Hands of Men, not one of whom ever knew Half an Hour's

⁷⁵Pa. Packet, Nov. 17, 1771. Other stories alluding to the alleged relations of Bute and the king's mother are in Ibid., Nov. 25, 1771, supplement.

⁷⁶Pa. Chronicle, Oct. 14-21, 1771. An earlier rumor had suggested that Queen Charlotte was attempting to convince the king to do this in England, Ibid., Sept. 2-9, 1771.

⁷⁷Pa. Packet, Nov. 11, 1771.

Business in their Lives."⁷⁸ "Cassander," in the London Chronicle, declared that though the king sought to make the land and people happy, "for eight years this rich, commercial, manufacturing, and other-wise happy kingdom, has been shaken to its center, to glut the vengeance of a weak and foolish Minister."⁷⁹ He called upon the king to rid himself of his evil counsellors.

A supposedly favorable report to the king, however, indicated that George was not going to rid himself of his "evil counsellors":

There has been no shock, no misunderstanding at St. James's; the K--- will not give way: Lord North is firm and acceptable to him, his conduct is approved of, and has met with applause and grateful acknowledgment. No change was dreamt of---none will happen. The measures of government though moderate are determined and unalterable.⁸⁰

With such an expressed support for his hated ministers and the rebuffs to the petitions, it is not at all surprising that by the end of 1771 many colonists were questioning the entire relationship between Great Britain and the colonies. Throughout the entire crisis period colonial leaders, assemblies, and organizations followed accepted constitutional procedures of petitioning the king and/or Parliament for the redress of grievances. It appeared that,

⁷⁸Pa. Gazette, Feb. 7, 1771.

⁷⁹Ibid., July 18, 1771.

⁸⁰Pa. Chronicle, June 10-17, 1771. On Lord North, see "Junius on the late Negotiations with Spain," Pa. Gazette, April 18, 1771.

since many of the objectionable laws had been repealed, the practice earlier had been successful. By 1771, however, many colonists were becoming quite exasperated with the entire process of petitioning the king:

Have we not already humbly petitioned the King for the redress of our grievances and the restoration of our liberties? Have not the House of Representatives done it in the most dutiful terms imaginable? --Was it not many months before that Petition was suffered to reach the royal hand? And after it was laid before his Majesty, was he not advised by his ministers to measures still more grievous and severe? . . . If there were even now, any hopes that the King would hear us, while his present counsellors are near him, I should be by all means for petitioning again; but every man of common observation will judge for himself of the prospect.⁸¹

Though it might be the advisers who misled the king, who was it that appointed the advisers?

One charge which appeared occasionally in the papers was that of collusion of the ministers with the enemies of Great Britain, notably France and Spain. The fear of a Roman Catholic Jacobite conspiracy had, of course, long been on the English political scene, and it had been linked to the alleged Tory training of the king. The attacks were, however, becoming more pronounced. One writer suggested that because of the close connections among the ministers of Great Britain, France and Spain "there could now be no danger, in executing any design against the peace and security of the English nation, or even against the life of the King." The British ministry, it was argued, would never attempt to

⁸¹Pa. Chronicle, Dec. 9-16, 1771. Reprinted from the Boston Gazette, Dec. 2, 1771.

bring them to trial.⁸² Another writer, criticizing the actions of the ministry in the negotiations with Spain asked "How far are the people of England to be abused? How far is the Crown of it to be disgraced?" It was apparent that England could not have fallen from "such a summit of glory" as at the beginning of the reign of George III to the depths of the present of its own accord: "It never could have been done but by design."⁸³

Bute's alleged influence appeared less frequently, although occasionally he was linked to Lord North.⁸⁴ More often, however, there were comments on the moral qualities of the other ministers of the king, such as Lord Sandwich:

It is absurd to talk of the private virtues of the Sovereign, when he is daily talking into his service the most debauched, profligate, and infamous persons of the age; whose every hour is spent in some libidinous festivity, or Bacchanalian riot; whose Bible is Hoyle, and whose utmost ambition is to be thought sharpers at play.--They are supported in these extravagancies by the labour of honest industry.

⁸²Ibid., Dec. 30-Jan. 6, 1772.

⁸³Ibid., Mar. 2-9, 1772. There was also reprinted this year a history of the fall of Quebec. The purpose for the reprinting--whether for patriotic fervor or to portray Britain's old glory--is difficult to determine: "Who would not fight in mighty George's cause; / When mothers pray, and sigh a fond applause." George Cockings, The Conquest of Canada; or, the siege of Quebec: an Historical Tragedy of Five Acts . . . (Philadelphia: William McGill, 1772), p. 11. Originally published in 1766. The biographer of Cockings in the Dictionary of National Biography, suggests it to be a "contemptible performance without either form or significance."

⁸⁴As in the following comundrum: "Q. Why is the King like a magnet: A. Because he is invariably governed by the Bute-ful North-Star." Ibid., Feb. 24-Mar. 2, 1772.

because the King takes them into his service.⁸⁵

Another writer called on the king to "banish from your presence all the irreligious, ignoble, and servile."⁸⁶

Dr. Jonathan Elmer, a member of the American Philosophical Society and one of the most knowledgeable of American physicians, lamented that

Britain . . . should at length degenerate into the shameful Seat of Venality and Corruption; become the Nurse of Effeminacy, Voluptuousness and Riot; the vile Receptacle of Impurity, Sloth and Dejection; and so ignominiously forget her primitive martial Prowess, as to brook the insults of a People, formerly trembling at her name, and for every indignity feeling the vengeance of her arms!⁸⁷

Junius suggested in a letter to the printer of the London Packet which received widespread circulation in the press that

future historians will celebrate the Georgian age, when every vice, and every folly, arrived at maturity, under the auspices of a pious Prince, shone with more than meridian splendor.⁸⁸

⁸⁵Pa. Packet, Feb. 3, 1772.

⁸⁶Ibid., Jan. 6, 1772. One writer denied that the court was filled with revellers: "It is not an eastern Seraglio. It is the residence of virtue, science, and religion." The king himself was "remarkably temperate, seldom indulging himself in more than four glasses of wine at dinner, and a little wine and water at supper." Pa. Packet, May 18, 1772.

⁸⁷Jonathan Elmer, A Funeral Eulogium: Sacred to the Memory Of the late Reverend Wm Ramsay (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1772), p. 6.

⁸⁸Pa. Gazette, Aug. 5, 1772; Pa. Packet, Aug. 3, 1772. Several months earlier there had appeared an "Epitaph on the Death of Junius:"

Who else, of all the factious crew beside,
Cou'd wish to plant a thorn in George's side?
Who else cou'd wound, with parricidious pen,

One of the more bitter attacks on the king denounced the "undeserved lenity" extended by the crown to a man under sentence of death for Sodomy. "An Admirer of the Fair Sex" asked "Has your Majesty determined to make a mockery of our laws and reduce the Courts of Justice to be subservient to your pleasure?" The example of Charles I should be kept in mind and should be a lesson to the present king not to provoke the resentment of his subjects:

Your compassionating an unnatural scoundrel has alarmed the whole nation, and I could have wished you, Sir, to have heard the honest reproaches of the enraged multitudes. . . I confess I was astonished at the part you had taken. I considered it as an insult offered to the whole nation, and became immediately interested as an individual, who reveres the laws of his country before his Sovereign. . . . Murderers repeatedly pardoned! A Course of Justice deliberately interrupted! The prerogative of the Crown wantonly extended! and . . . The Slaves of Sodom have a patent from the Throne to ENJOY, WITH IMPUNITY, their unnatural lust! ! Such, Sir, is the picture of your reign.⁸⁹

According to another writer Montesquieu held that "the principle of government is destroyed when a Prince mistakes his authority, his situation and the love of the people."⁹⁰

The best of Sov'reigns, and the best of Men?
Pa. Chronicle, Postscript, April 13, 1772. Another writer decried George III's treatment of his father: "No son was ever so fond as our most gracious monarch (so it is said) yet to this hour his father's debts remain unpaid." Pa. Journal, Nov. 18, 1772.

⁸⁹Pa. Journal, Nov. 18, 1772. Several months later there was a report of the King's pardoning two men guilty of rape and murder. Of the twelve under sentence of death at the time it was emphasized that the two who were pardoned were "much the greatest villains of the whole Number." Pa. Chronicle, Mar. 15-22, 1773.

⁹⁰Ibid., May 11-18, 1772.

There was some sympathy for the king because of the many special family problems which beset the king early in 1772. One correspondent declared that "every person who is not totally divested of sensibility, must sympathize with a Great Personage," who was, of course, George III. His brother was in poor health abroad, a sister disgraced in Denmark, and a brother disgraced at home; also, his mother was near death.⁹¹ In addition there were "the unsettled minds of his subjects." The writer concluded by comparing George III's reign with that of his predecessor: "How is the scene changed from the day he ascended the Throne of his illustrious Grandfather! His state is not to be envied."⁹²

The ministry contributed to the difficulties of the country, it was asserted, by keeping the king from knowing the true attitudes of his subjects. One writer criticized the practice of managers of theaters stationing persons in different parts to applaud the king when he entered or left: "It is a base imposition on his Majesty, as it tends to make

⁹¹Ibid., April 6-13, 1772. It was reported that the dying words of the Princess Dowager to her son were that he should "be, if possible, the King of a happy one [people]; study the real welfare of your subjects, not the wishes of the factions; and may you gain a brighter Crown in Heaven, than I leave you here on earth." Ibid., April 13-20, 1772. Another writer was less kind. According to a later report George III's mother was not sooner dead than the King held a public drawing, "wherein wandering through the circle, he shewed the same unconcerned countenance, and with the same unmeaning grin. . ." Pa. Journal, Nov. 18, 1772.

⁹²Pa. Gazette, April 23, 1772. One writer reported that the toast of the day was "Serenity of Mind to our King amidst all his troubles." Pa. Chronicle, May 4-11, 1772.

him believe, the public approve the measures of his ministry." The writer condemned such deception of the ministry "at the very time they [the people] are so injured and oppressed by them as to be ready to rise up in arms."⁹³ A similar sentiment was expressed in an address "To the King," written to Edes & Gill, publishers of the Boston Gazette. The writer acknowledged that he thought the king "one of the greatest and best Princes on earth," yet he was "capable of becoming greater and wiser." Americans knew that the king had been misinformed as to the situation in America "by some of your officers here, who deceive in order to gain." Americans, according to the writer, were friends of those who were friends of liberty, "not names, or families." Americans learned from a very young age to love liberty and hate everything which appeared tyrannical. Yet the king had not totally lost the affection of his subjects in the provinces:

Notwithstanding the present uneasiness in the nation, and the disaffection of some of your subjects, your Majesty has yet a glorious opportunity to regain their love, promote the happiness of your kingdom, lay a foundation for its future glory, the prosperity of your family, your own immortal honour.

It was the first duty of a wise prince to secure the affection of his subjects: "By not attending to it, many Princes have lost their Crowns, and famous kingdoms have been laid in ruins." If the malevolent activities of the governors in America were not soon covered by clemency, it

⁹³Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 24-Mar. 2, 1772.

may produce effects that will shake your throne, and kingdom, and bury both in final ruin!--Many and great are the motives that induce the Americans to look forward with eager expectation to an independent state.⁹⁴

There also appeared a condemnation of the following passages from a sermon preached on January 30 by a Dr. Nowell:

In vain shall we look for the beginning of these evils from any real or pretended grievances, from any undue stretches of prerogative, from any abuse of royal power. . . . And while we behold the bright resemblance of those princely virtues, which adorned the Royal Martyr, now shining forth in the person of our gracious Sovereign, let us earnestly address the Throne of Mercy, that the guilt of an ungrateful, abandoned people may not cause this sun to be withdrawn from us, nor quench the light of Israel.⁹⁵

Another issue which was used to stir up opposition to the king and his ministers was the Royal Marriages Act of 1772. When two brothers of the king married women beneath their dignity, the king demanded action to preserve the honor of his family. By this act the specified members of the royal family who wished to marry first had to have the king's permission. This was denounced as another instance of the arbitrary extension of the royal prerogative:

The Royal Marriage Bill has now passed our Most Faithful Commons, in the unlimited extent it was drawn by Lord Mansfield; so that every descendant

⁹⁴Pa. Packet, Jan. 6, 1772. Similar sentiments appeared in the Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser of July 16: "All wise and good Princes will listen to the complaints of their people, and discard a minister, even contrary to their own inclinations, when he becomes generally odious among his fellow subjects . . . for however fickle the populace may be represented, yet even their favour is more to be relied on than that of courtiers and ambitious men." Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 12-19, 1772.

⁹⁵Pa. Chronicle, April 13-20, 1772.

of our now more-than-ever-to-be lamented Sovereign George the Second is in vassalage and slavery; and the Kings of this limited monarchy are erected into family tyrants, to trample upon the laws of nature and religion. One resource of comfort still remains, --the reflection that the arbitrary acts of a despotic Henry were all repealed by his beneficent son King Edward the Sixth.

The writer of the article also described the alleged wholesale bribery which had to be employed to obtain passage of the bill.⁹⁶

Although the condemnation of the king was becoming more vigorous, there remained a favorable sentiment for Queen Charlotte, who, it was asserted, continually sided with the people against the ministers.⁹⁷ According to some "Historical Anecdotes of the private lives of His MAJESTY and his amiable QUEEN," Charlotte, at her coronation, displayed "an engaging behaviour, which endeared her to all ranks of people." She had had a number of children, since, "German Ladies are generally prolific," But she cared for them herself rather than leaving them under the care of an "unfeeling nurse."⁹⁸

William Whitehead's ode in honor of the king's thirty-fourth birthday was the standard laudatory birthday ode; it also appeared in the Pennsylvania press:

⁹⁶Pa. Journal, May 14, 1772. See also Pa. Chronicle May 11-18, 1772, and Pa. Packet, May 18, 1772.

⁹⁷According to one conundrum: "Q. Why is our amiable Queen like Esther of old? A. Because she entreats the King to preserve the people from the destruction of their enemies." Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 24-Mar. 2, 1772.

⁹⁸Pa. Packet, May 18, 1772.

The day, which gave our Monarch birth,
 Recalls each noblest theme of ages past;
 Tells us, whate'er we owed to Nausa's worth
 The Brunswick race confirm'd, and bade it last;

Tells us, with rapturous joy unblam'd,
 And conscious gratitude, to feel
 Our laws, our liberties reclaim'd
 From tyrant pride, and bigot zeal;
 While each glad voice, that wakes the echoing air,
 In one united wish thus joins the general prayer,
 "Till ocean quits his favourite isle,
 "Till, Thames, thy wat'ry train
 "No more shall bless its pregnant soil,
 "May order, peace, and freedom smile
 "Beneath a Brunswick's reign!"⁹⁹

Two days later, however, there appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal one of the most vituperative denunciations of George III yet to appear. The author, who signed himself "Millions," denounced the interpretation that the king had been deluded by a wicked and evil ministry. Rather it was king who was chiefly responsible for all such activities. Subjects who feel their king has "but a small share of understanding" tend to be a little more sympathetic to him:

Under the delusion of your weakness we are taken by surprise, and attributing the late arbitrary measures to your tools of Ministers, we have suffered ourselves to become a prey to the cunning of a Prince of the Brunswick line, whose only right to govern over us is our good will and pleasure. After having resisted the more manly attacks of the race of Stuarts, it is dastardly indeed to fall a prey to your low cunning. They had the now long-exploded doctrine of hereditary right, and the infernal custom of regal despotism, to plead in their behalf.

It was King William III who had "palmed upon us a race of foreigners as our hereditary Sovereigns," by which dynasty

⁹⁹Ibid., Aug. 10, 1772.

"we are undone, at least as far as a superlative low craftiness hath been able to filch away the Liberties of a brave people." George III's advisers, according to this writer, were fools, or worse than fools; and the sovereign directed his most concerted efforts against the liberty of the press. The writer concluded with a warning to the King: "But have a care! Provoke us not too far! Renynede is still to be found, and we may there assert our rights in MILLIONS."¹⁰⁰

This anonymous author cast aspersions on the entire Hanoverian dynasty. Most, however, were content merely to criticize the last king, while reserving kind words for the first two. The characterizations of the first three Georges by Lord Chesterfield was a typical approach: "the first, George the wise; the second, George the honest; and the third, continued his Lordship fetching a deep sigh,--George--the unfortunate."¹⁰¹

There were also some ironic attacks on the king. The account reprinted from the Essex Gazette, for example,

¹⁰⁰Pa. Journal, Aug. 12, 1772. There was reprinted this year in Boston a tract which emphasized George III's right to the throne; the kings of England, according to this account, were descended from the forty-nine daughters of Danæus who killed their husbands and were put out into a ship by the husband of the fiftieth. The forty-nine, shipwrecked on the coast of England, married a race of giants, from which descended the royal house. See Hezekiah Gates, King George's Right to the Crown of Great Britain Displayed. Being a collection from history, from the first known times to the Present Year, 1769 (Boston: W. McAlpine, 1772). Could this have been reprinted to demonstrate the absurdity of hereditary claims?

¹⁰¹Pa. Chronicle, May 25-June 1, 1772.

began on a low key: "In the Reign of that pacific Monarch, GEORGE the Third, the Representatives of Great-Britain in open Defiance of Law and Justice, gave and granted to the King the Property of the Americans."¹⁰² More satiric was the account of the "good" government in England:

England, we are told from good authority, never had so good a King as his present Majesty. This admitted as a fact, we may also say, that never any King of England had so good a Parliament: They are so good as to grant him what ever his good heart can desire. With a good King and a good Parliament we find ourselves in a goodly situation, we are covered by good laws, made happy by good examples, and hear, see, and meet with nothing but what is good: Provisions of all sort are very good, and at a very good price; at so good a price that none but good people (which can be only the rich) can get at them.¹⁰³

There was also an attempt made to correlate the local political issues with the larger imperial crisis. One writer early in 1772 had argued against considering an excise law in the Pennsylvania Assembly; it would give "encouragement to Parliament, when they perceive their burthensome Acts are seconded by the Acts of the Colonies."¹⁰⁴ Another wrote that the excise revenues in England were

so much in the Dispose of the Crown, that they may be appropriated by a wicked M-n-st-y to corrupt the People in the Choite of some of their Members of Legislation . . . In England these [excise] Officers are appointed by and absclutely dependant

¹⁰²Ibid., Mar. 23-30, 1772.

¹⁰³Pa. Packet, Sept. 14, 1772; Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 5-12, 1772.

¹⁰⁴To the Freeman of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1772), broadside, dated Feb. 21, 1772.

on the Crown.¹⁰⁵

The "Patriotic Society," formed in Philadelphia in August to support "lawful government" in the province and counter the old political leaders, sought an extension of the suffrage by the lowering of property qualifications. The society resolved that they were loyal subjects of the king and that they would

endeavour to promote the Good and Welfare of the said King, his Person and Government, and our Fellow-Subjects, and preserve inviolate, our just Rights and Privileges, to us and our Posterity, against every Attempt to violate or infringe the same, either here, or on the other Side of the Atlantic.¹⁰⁶

Political campaigns at times included references to the dispute; each side attempted to tag the other as a supporter of royal prerogative rather than of liberty:

It is much to be feared that such a junta, who appear effectually to copy the ministerial systems at home, and have begun to load us with oppressions, will not cease till they have reduced us to the same deplorable condition our Mother Country groans under . . . There are no doubt prizes of knighthood, honours, and pensions awaiting the best advocates for the prerogatives of the crown on this side the water, and venal tools standing ready to catch them.¹⁰⁷

Supporting the prerogatives of the crown obviously would not be in the best interest of Americans. Also implicit in this statement was the concept that America had many

¹⁰⁵To the Good People of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1773), p. 1. Also printed in German.

¹⁰⁶Pa. Gazette, Aug. 19, 1772; Pa. Chronicle, Aug. 29-Sept. 5, 1772; see also Thayer, Pa. Politics, p. 150.

¹⁰⁷Pa. Chronicle, Sept. 19-26, 1772.

special advantages over the mother country, particularly in the administration of the colonies. Almost all comparisons between the mother country and the colonies supported this position:

Look around, Americans, and View
This Globe, search all its Nations through,
Where can your piercing Eye be thrown,
On one so favour'd as our own?

E'en Albion, with her happy Fields,
To Discord and Sedition yields
.....

But may bless'd Freedom rule the Roast,
And gen'rous Wine invite the Toast.
Whilst every Pennsylvanian gives
"The Government in which he lives."¹⁰⁸

A similar sentiment was expressed in "The Character of the NORTH-AMERICANS":

The free born Americans, generous and wise,
Hate Chains, but do not Government despise.
Rights of the Crown, Tributes and Taxes, they,
When legally exacted, freely pay.
Kings are less safe in their unbounded Will,
Join'd with the wretched Power of doing ill:
Forsaken most when they're most absolute:
Laws guard the Man, and only bind the Brute.
.....

The manly Genius of Americans, disdains
All tinsel Slavery, or golden Chains.
America to servile Yoke could never bow:
What Conquerors ne'er presum'd—who dares do now.¹⁰⁹

There continued to appear in 1773 accounts of the person of the king and the various attacks on the royal prerogative reprinted from the English newspapers. In

¹⁰⁸The New-Years Verses, Of the Printers Lads, who Carry About the Pennsylvania Gazette to the Customers [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1772], broadside.

¹⁰⁹Pa. Journal, Nov. 18, 1772.

addition several crises in which the person or the prerogative of the king became involved, also were given important coverage during this period. The complications of the Tea Act loomed large, particularly in the pamphlet press, while the dispute between the Governor of Massachusetts and his Assembly appeared more prominently in the newspapers. These were coupled with the various English attacks on the king to produce an even greater strain in the relations.

Some accounts expressed satisfaction with the king, though their occurrence was much less frequent. On one occasion there was a report that George III and Charlotte were "received with greatest testimonies of affection by the audience, who repeatedly made the music[ians] play, God save the King, the Roast Beef of Old England, & c."¹¹⁰ On another there was a full page laudatory report of the visit of the king to Portsmouth and the shipyards.¹¹¹ The Poet Laureate, William Whitehead, produced another poem on occasion of the king's birthday. It was the traditional laudatory production:

¹¹⁰Pa. Chronicle, Mar. 1-8, 1773. See also the address of the Council of New York to William Tryon, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of New York, Jan. 8, 1773: "Happy under a Sovereign, who is the delight of his people, and a representative who copies after his royal example, your Excellency may firmly rely upon our assistance in supporting the dignity of his Majesty's government, and seconding your benevolent endeavours for promoting the felicity of this colony." Ibid., Jan. 25-Feb. 1, 1773.

¹¹¹Ibid., Aug. 23-30, 1773.

Born for millions are the Kings
 Who sit on Britain's guarded throne;
 From delegated power their glory springs,
 Their birthday is our own!

.....

Happy the land to whom 'tis given
 T' enjoy that choicest boon of Heaven;
 Where, bound in one illustrious chain,
 The Monarch, and the people, reign

Hence is Britannia's weal maintain'd;
 Hence are the rights his fathers gain'd
 To ev'ry freeborn subject known:
 Hence to the throne, in songs of praise,
 A grateful realm its tribute pays,
 And hails the King whose birth-day is its own.¹¹²

Whatever value this poem may have had--if any--in creating any renewed devotion to the monarch was destroyed by a short notice in the next issue:

Mr. Whitehead's Ode for his Majesty's Birth-day is generally looked upon as the severest satire ever written upon a crowned head, which induced some people to think that the Post Laureate had made too free with his sack.¹¹³

The king apparently neglected or completely rejected loyal petitions. On March 11 the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Livery of the City of London presented a dutiful remonstrance to the King:

We desire with all humility, in the grief and anguish of our hearts, to submit to your Majesty, that the many grievances and injuries we have suffered from your Ministers, still remain unredressed.¹¹⁴

The king replied:

Your petition is so void of foundation, and is,

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Ibid... Aug. 30-Sept. 6, 1773.

¹¹⁴Ibid... May 3-10, 1773.

besides, conceived in such disrespectful terms, that I am convinced you do not yourselves seriously imagine it can be complied with.¹¹⁵

Such replies to apparently dutiful remonstrances could again have a debilitating effect on those who advocated constitutional protests.

There were also reprinted several publications which lent credence to the radicals' interpretation of the relationship between the colonies and the mother country. One of the more widely reprinted studies emphasized the compact "between those chosen to govern and them who condescended to be govern'd." The author declared that

Whosoever he be that, under a Pretence of being constituted Sovereign, does invade and subvert the fundamental Laws of the Society, he does thereby, ipso facto, annul all the legal Right he had to govern, and absolves all, who were before his Subjects, from the legal Engagements they were under of yielding him Obedience.¹¹⁶

The writer declared that "those who flatter a King that he is above the Law do most notoriously contradict one of the first Axioms of our Regal Government, which is, that Lex facit Regem." The law was the only measure of government.

¹¹⁵Ibid., May 24-31, 1773.

¹¹⁶[John Somers], The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms and Nations, Concerning the Rights, Power, and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Priviledges, and Properties of the People: Shewing . . . the Right of the People and Parliament of Britain, to RESIST and DEPRIVE their Kings for evil Government. . . The Prophets and ancient Jews were Strangers to absolute PASSIVE-OBEDIENCE Resisting of Arbitrary Government is allow'd by many Examples in Scripture; A large Account of the REVOLUTION. . . 11th ed. (Philadelphia: William Dunlap, 1773), p. 14. Reprinted the next year in Boston, New York, Newport.

When the balance was tipped, the people had the right to redress the balance: "When the Mischief be grown general, and the Designs of the Rulers become notorious, then, and then only, will the People be for righting themselves."¹¹⁷

On all occasions the sovereign was expected to make his subjects happy: "There was never a Sovereign in England, who was either glorious or happy, without appearing tenderly careful of the rights of the people."¹¹⁸ Likewise there often appeared veiled warnings against absolute monarchy, as in this advice of "one of the wisest Tyrants of antiquity to his son." The writer suggested that it could "be read with advantage even to the weakest Monarch alive." He concluded that

the tyrant dreads both the foreign conspirator, and the domestic traitor; for, amongst a thousand terrors and misfortunes, his own guards are first, and most of all to be feared. . . let no man exceed you in merit, and leave empire, with all its perpetual dangers and disquietude, to your enemies and their posterity.¹¹⁹

Some were much more direct in their criticism of George III and his ministers:

[he] began with a fair prospect; but, being overruled and misguided by a favourite servant, has lost a great part of the business, and although some of his best friends have remonstrated, and even petitioned him to alter his course, he turned a deaf ear to their advice, being obstinate. . . ¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Ibid... p. 145.

¹¹⁸"An Essay on Popular Discontent," Pa. Packet, May 24, 1773.

¹¹⁹Pa. Chronicle, Aug. 2-9, 1773.

¹²⁰Pa. Journal, Jan. 20, 1773.

Junius, who once again appeared in the Pennsylvania press, was more critical:

Many English Princes, before our present gracious Sovereign, had conceived the design of restoring, in fact, a doctrine which the folly of our philosophers had exploded; and reigning, by divine right, the arbitrary, unlimited tyrants, that Heaven undoubtedly intended them.

Accordingly,

His Majesty has adopted, in fact, a course of measures, which such a genius as himself alone could have esteemed plausible in theory; and left us to doubt, with humility, whether we ought more to admire his wisdom in the design, or his success in the execution. No possible concurrence of circumstance could have been conceived better calculated to assist the accomplishments of his gracious intentions.

It was even possible that the designs of the evil king would have succeeded "had his bosom friends and associates been less infamously contemptible; had their political manoeuvres been less glaringly ridiculous."¹²¹

The relationship between the colonies and the mother country was often discussed in the colonial press during these years. Both British and American writers blamed the ministers of the king for the strained relations. One writer declared that Americans were just as loyal as those people in Great Britain, and would continue so to be if the "MINUTE STATESMEN" were disposed of, and they were governed by the same principles. "The King," according to this writer, "stands in exactly the same relation to his subjects

¹²¹ Ibid., May 19, 1773.

as to those in America."¹²² Jonathan Shipley, the Bishop of St. Asaph, emphasized the mutual benefits of the relation between the colonies and Great Britain:

By what bond of union shall we hold together the members of this great empire, dispersed and scattered as they lie over the face of the earth? No power can be swift or extensive enough to answer the purpose. . . . It is universally true, that the more we extract from our subjects, the less we shall gain from them.¹²³

Some Americans continued to emphasize their freedom and independence from the quarrels of domestic English politics:

. . . Our Muse, to no Sect nor no Party attach'd,
May with honest Ned in Opinion be match'd;
No Levers of Faction embitters her Lays,
She'll not ranc'rously slander, nor servilely praise;
From Statesmen and Politics totally free,
She cares not for Burke, nor for Junius not she;
But to all who fair Liberty's Influence confess,
She chearfully tenders her ANNUAL ADDRESS.¹²⁴

Toasts continued to be drunk to the king,¹²⁵ and

¹²²Pa. Chronicle, Mar. 29-April 5, 1773.

¹²³Jonathan Shipley, A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: at Their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, February 19, 1773 (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1773), pp. 16-17. Reprinted in Boston, New York, Newport, Norwich.

¹²⁴The New Years Verses, Of the Printers Lads, who Carry about the Pennsylvania Gazette to the Customers [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1773], broadside.

¹²⁵e. g., Pa. Packet, Sept. 20, 1773. A month later there was even some good-natured ribbing of the king by a "feceocious correspondent"; "There was a time . . . when it might have been deemed a libel to call in question the abilities of the King; but since the late Coin Act has passed, all ranks and degrees of men daily experience and complain of the lightness of his Majesty's head. The Coin Act, as if calculated to please the Republicans, hath afforded that body of men a pleasure in idea, which they have wished for in reality, that of demolishing the King's

there even appeared a plea for changing the government of Pennsylvania:

Ought we not in Justice to ourselves and our Posterity, make use of this favourable Opportunity to lay the Ax to the Root of this unprofitable Tree, and apply to the Crown for a Dissolution of that Charter?¹²⁶

Yet, for the most part, sentiments were obviously different.

The Tea Act of 1773 was a new piece of British legislation which gave renewed opportunity for the radicals to formulate a concerted effort against the British administration. The act was intended essentially as a measure to improve the chaotic finances of the East India Company by allowing direct shipment of the tea to America. Americans thus would be able to purchase tea from this English monopoly more cheaply than their English counterparts; they, in turn, were responsible only for the payment of the three-penny Townshend duty. It would have been particularly detrimental to the American merchants who would see their business taken over by the agents of the East India Company.

Opposition to the Tea Act in Philadelphia was early and vigorous. It was denounced as a ministerial scheme, and

head. A Correspondent begs to add this one instance of English inconsistency, "we are daily praising monarchy; yet daily destroying our King in effigy. As we now estimate the value of our Sovereign's head by its weight, foreigners might be tempted to think that we had a very heavy-headed King. A correspondent desires us to insert as a caution to the wits, that 'all puns upon his Majesty's head will be deemed capital.'" Pa. Chronicle, Oct. 11-18, 1773.

¹²⁶[William Goddard], To my fellow citizens, Friends to Liberty, and Enemies to Despotism [Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1773], broadside.

the ships loaded with tea were sent "for the purpose of enslaving and poisoning all the AMERICANS." Should Americans purchase any of the tea, "they must pay Parliament's Duty and acknowledge their Right to TAX US as often and as high, as they think proper."¹²⁷

In a meeting held on October 16 in the State House there was passed a series of resolves against the act. These resolves concluded that "a virtuous and steady opposition to this ministerial plan of governing America is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty."¹²⁸ "A Mechanic" denounced "the corrupt and prostituted Ministry" and declared that

No private Contract between the East-India Company and the Lords of the Treasury, no Power under the Crown, nor even the King himself, can dispense with, set aside, disannul, or make void such a Clause, or any other in any Act of Parliament, but the same Power and Authority by which it was enacted. The grant Point of View is, by every Artifice to enslave the American Colonies, and to plunder them of their

¹²⁷The Committee for Tarring and Feathering. To the Delaware Pilots. . . [Philadelphia, 1773], broadside. See also Inhabitants of Pennsylvania [Philadelphia, 1773], broadside, signed Oct. 13, 1773, calling for measures to prevent the landing of tea; To the Freemen of Pennsylvania [Philadelphia, 1773], broadside, signed "Regulus": "Let us take especial Care not to suffer this Jack o'Lanthorn Project of the Ministry to lead us blindly aside from the direct and safe Path of Virtue and Liberty, into the loathsome and dangerous Bog of Seduction, passive Obedience, Tyranny, and all Wretchedness."

¹²⁸Pa. Gazette, Oct. 20, 1773. See also a broadside Monday, December 27, 1773. The Unanimity, spirit and zeal, which have heretofore animated all the Colonies, from Boston to South-Carolina have been so eminently displayed in the opposition to the pernicious project of the East India Company, in sending Tea to America [Philadelphia, 1773].

Property, and, what is more, their Birth-right.
LIBERTY.¹²⁹

At the same time that the crisis of the tea was reaching a climax in Pennsylvania there appeared an article reprinted from the Gentleman's Magazine, which lent strength to the colonial arguments. The author spoke of "a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished at the edges" and emphasized that it was necessary for Great Britain to send wise and good men for governors. If the immediate superiors of the colonies would be good, the colonists "will think their King wise and good, and that he wishes the welfare of his subjects. If you send them learned and upright men for Judges, they will think him a lover of justice."¹³⁰ Such a statement was significant not only because of the new Tea Act, but also because this year was one in which there was a bitter conflict between the governor and the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, a conflict which also reflected on the position of the king in the colonies.

Although the quarrels between the governors and the colonial assemblies had been frequent in many of the colonies, nowhere were relations more bitter than in the province of Massachusetts. Samuel Adams, the popular orator and propagandist, played an important role in keeping alive this

¹²⁹To the Tradesmen, Mechanics, &c. of the Province of Pennsylvania [Philadelphia, 1773], broadside, dated Dec. 4.

¹³⁰Pa. Gazette, Dec. 15, 1773.

agitation after the crisis of the Townshend Acts died down; yet his task was made easier by Governor Thomas Hutchinson, who proposed a program which reopened the popular agitation. Hutchinson's insistence that the crown pay his own and the judges' salaries was an old issue on the colonial scene. Salaries traditionally had been paid by the colonial assemblies, thus giving the latter the useful control of the purse string. If the crown were to pay them, a major method of countering unpopular governors would be lost. The colonies reacted swiftly, and the Massachusetts struggle, widely interpreted as another attempt to increase royal or ministerial prerogative at the expense of the colonies, received full publicity in the colonial press, including that of Pennsylvania.

In November, 1772, the Boston town meeting passed a series of resolves against the authority of Parliament in Massachusetts.¹³¹ Governor Thomas Hutchinson, in a speech before both houses, declared that some of the town resolves

deny the supreme authority of Parliament, and are so repugnant to the principles of the constitution, and that others speak of this supreme authority, of which the King is a constituent part and to every Act of which his assent is necessary, in such terms

¹³¹See John Cary, Joseph Warren: Physician, Politician, Patriot (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), pp. 112-115; the resolves are perhaps most conveniently summarized in Lawrence Henry Gipson, The Triumphant Empire: Britain Sails into the Storm, 1770-1776, vol. XII of The British Empire Before the American Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 49-50. Gipson also has an excellent discussion of the entire struggle between the House of Representatives and the governor, though possibly a little too favorable toward Hutchinson. See Ibid., pp. 39-65.

as have a direct tendency to alienate the affections of the people from their Sovereign, who has ever been most tender of their rights, and whose Person, Crown, and Dignity, we are under every possible obligation to defend and support.¹³²

Yet at the same time there appeared professions of allegiance to the king in the Boston newspapers. One writer claimed that it was "treason against the King and treachery to Britain, to promote any arbitrary measures in America." Therefore resistance to the arbitrary activities of Parliament and the governor of Massachusetts would benefit the empire. The writer concluded by appealing to every colonial legislature to "send a remonstrance to the King, Lords and Commons of Britain, and faithfully represent their danger."¹³³

The House of Representatives denied again the authority of Parliament and held that from the earliest times, "the right of disposing the territory granted therein was vested in the crown." Massachusetts was "not within the realm, but only within the see and seignory of the King." If the king had wanted the Parliament to have any authority over it, he would have had to have made a "special reservation for that purpose, which was not done."¹³⁴ Hutchinson refused to concede this point in his reply to the House on February 16 and held that any new lands which were discovered became a part of the state:

¹³²Pa. Chronicle, Jan. 25, 1773.

¹³³Pa. Packet, Feb. 1, 1773. Reprinted from the Boston Gazette.

¹³⁴Pa. Chronicle, Feb. 8-15, 1773.

the People remain subject to the Crown of England,
the head of that legislative authority which, by
the English constitution, is equally extensive with
the authority of the crown throughout every part of
the dominions.

The Governor concluded by declaring that the king would approve "every constitutional measure that may contribute to the peace, the happiness, and prosperity of his colony."¹³⁵ The Council replied that they knew the king would approve such measures and "remove the incroachments that have been made upon them." With "regard to loyalty, duty and affection to his Majesty, they stand among the foremost of his faithful subjects."¹³⁶ Hutchinson emphasized that in the view of the House of Representatives, there would be a change in the form of government "from a mixed to an absolute monarchical government." He decried the attempts of the House to separate the king's person from his power: "is it not expressly said that the natural person of the King is ever accompanied with the politic capacity, and the politic capacity to the natural capacity?" Likewise he denied there could be two sovereign powers--"that two such powers cannot coexist, but necessarily will make two distinct states."¹³⁷

The province of Massachusetts was laboring under the difficulties of the suspensions of their courts of justice. Yet, though the citizens sought the restoration of their

¹³⁵Pa. Journal, Mar. 10, 1773. Pa. Chronicle,
Mar. 15-22, 1773. Pa. Packet, Mar. 15, 1773.

¹³⁶Pa. Packet, Mar. 15, 1773.

¹³⁷Pa. Chronicle, April 5-12, 1773.

privileges, they continued to absolve the king from any wrongdoing which had befallen the colony. With regard to the payment of salaries to judges, the council declared that they could by no means attribute this measure to a disposition in him to diminish the felicity of his faithful subjects of this province." It concluded that "we shall nevertheless firmly depend on the benignity of his royal mind for relief, under this and every other grievance."¹³⁸ In mid-year the House resolved that "the dependence of the Judges of the land on the crown for their support, tends at all times, especially while they hold their commission during pleasure, to the subversion of justice and equity, and to introduce oppression and arbitrary power."¹³⁹

Another crisis faced the Massachusetts House and Governor when on June 2, 1773 there was revealed to the former a series of letters written by Massachusetts officials to London, mostly by Governor Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, the Secretary of the province. These letters were quickly publicized throughout the colonies, including Pennsylvania, and could be employed to stereotype the official royal attitude toward America. Written between 1767 and 1769, the correspondents described their attitude toward the relationship between the colony and the mother country. Some of them were quite critical of the colonial cause in the crisis.

¹³⁸Ibid., Mar. 15-22, 1773.

¹³⁹Ibid., July 5-12, 1773.

Additional letters, much more anti-colonial, were produced. In mid-year there was reprinted "part of a letter returned with those signed Thomas Hutchinson & Andrew Oliver." It concluded that

The colonies have originally been wrong founded.-- They ought all to have been regal governments, and every executive officer appointed by the King. Until that is effected, and they are properly regulated, they will never be beneficial to themselves, nor good subjects to Great-Britain.¹⁴⁰

The House of Representatives of Massachusetts resolved that these letters "had a natural and efficacious tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of our most gracious sovereign King George the Third, from this his loyal and affectionate province." The letters also, according to the house, were evidence of the attempt on the part of officials "to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the Royal ear of our common sovereign."¹⁴¹

With such activities on the part of elected officials a number of writers began to think more seriously of concerted action against the British designs.

The empire was united through the person of the King, to whom all owed common allegiance. The people of the colonies and the people of Great Britain were "united in the King, who is the head of the empire, and interest (the only cement of political bodies) must preserve union between the

¹⁴⁰Pa. Packet, July 12, 1773.

¹⁴¹Pa. Journal, June 30, 1773. Pa. Gazette, June 30, 1773. Pa. Chronicle, June 21-28, 1773.

members of the empire, and between them and their head."¹⁴²
 Their actions in Massachusetts was also evidence of loyalty
 to the King

for certainly nothing but a princip[1]e of loyal
 and sincere attachment to the King's persona and
 government, could have restrained them from instantly
 hanging up those shameful traitors, who for selfish
 purposes have basely traduced, and secretly and
 infamously endeavoured to perjudice [sic] their
 sovereign against them.¹⁴³

The Massachusetts crisis and the crisis over the tea
 brought several proposals for a closer cooperation among
 the colonists. One broadside signed Rusticus and dated
 November 27, declared that "the Happiness and Prosperity
 both of the Colonies and of Great-Britain depend upon an
 intimate Union & Connexion." The author concluded that this
 union depends on a mutual affection, and that in order to
 preserve this it is necessary "to maintain our liberty,"
 though there is also a plea to "leave Room for a return of
 the old good Humour, Confidence and Affection, which has
 subsisted between Great-Britain and this Country, since the
 first Settlement of the Colonies."¹⁴⁴

A writer in the Pennsylvania Packet, who signed
 himself "Hampden," wrote an open letter to the Parliament
 of Virginia, urging the Burgesses to declare themselves a
 parliament:

¹⁴²Pa. Chronicle, Mar. 29-April 5, 1773.

¹⁴³Ibid., Nov. 8-15, 1773.

¹⁴⁴[John Dickinson], A Letter from the Country, to a
 Gentleman in Philadelphia [Philadelphia, 1773], broadside.

You possess all the powers of a British Parliament over your own colony. You have no superior but the King, or his Representative who resides amongst you. . . . The British Parliament is nothing but your elder sister. Affection is due to her--but obedience is a tribute due only to the King.¹⁴⁵

Note also should be made of the celebration in Boston of the anniversary of the accession of the King: "The Guns at Castle William, at the Batteries in this Town, and on board the Men of War in the Harbour, were fired at the usual Time on this Occasion." This was obviously not only an official celebration, but the report obviously would also call attention to the British forces within the city.¹⁴⁶

Anti-royalist sentiment in England, an unreasonable Parliament, corrupt or capricious officials, and a seemingly indifferent King--these portended increased difficulties for the American colonies.

¹⁴⁵Pa. Packet, Oct. 25, 1773, dated Oct. 20, 1773, Philadelphia.

¹⁴⁶Pa. Gazette, Nov. 10, 1773.

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLINE OF PENNSYLVANIANS' LOYALTY, 1774

Anti-monarchical sentiment was distinctly on the increase in 1774. While this varied, no doubt, from colony to colony within British North America, a careful reading of the Pennsylvania press makes it clear that the king's reputation was declining in that province. Writers were willing to be a bit more brash, a bit more querulous and somewhat more blunt about their monarch. Sometimes they betrayed a growing skepticism about monarchy in general. Yet the king, for all his mistakes, did have a claim on the sympathy of some of his subjects.

The trade of a king was not easy. If he disappointed his subjects on occasion, it was well to remember the heavy demands of his high office:

A glorious watch, he sweats beneath the weight
Of majesty, and gives up ease for state.¹

Furthermore, this particular king, George III, still served as a moral model for "all the pretty Girls and Boys":

When George our King first fill'd this Throne,
He thus increas'd his Fame,
In Imita-ti-on of him,
I mean to do the same.

¹William Andrews, Poor Will's Almanack for the Year of our Lord, 1775 (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank [1774]).

For you should think that I am like
 Unto our Sovereign King,
 And so indeed I really am
 As like as any Thing.²

George III, one clergyman declared, did have a number of "great and good qualities." Among these were "integrity and truth, an heart truly honest and protestant, a stranger to hypocrisy, and detesting dissimulation and flattery."³ Such sentiments might not have appeared unless they had some appeal to a reading public.

Such optimistic reports toward the person of the king, however, contrasts with Pennsylvanians' true feeling about their relationship with the mother country. 1774 was not to be a year of restrained emotion. The Coercive Acts levied against Massachusetts in the spring of 1774--partly in response to the destruction of tea in the Boston harbor in December of the previous year--again stirred up hostility toward Britain all along the colonial seaboard. They even led to a convening of a colonial congress at Philadelphia in

²The lines were possibly by Francis Hopkinson. Pa. Gazette, Sept. 14, 1774.

³William Scott, O Tempora! O Mores! or The Best Years' Gift for a Prime Minister, Being the Substance of Two Sermons Preached at a few Small Churches only, and published at the repeated Request of the Congregations by the Rev. William Scott, M. A. Late scholar of Eton. Dedicated to Lord North. The pulpit was refused at eight of the most capital Churches in London (Philadelphia: Benjamin Towns, 1774), p. 15. Scott also criticized the court: "Do those shew themselves true friends to their King and country by complimenting their Majesties on their birth days, at court, in dress of French, or other foreign manufactory? And can this possibly be for the honor and interest of their own country, by insulting their Sovereign in this Manner?" Ibid., p. 5.

September to plan a course of action against the mother country. Although the steps of Pennsylvanians were more hesitant than those of the Bostonians, it is evident that the antimonarchical faction was gaining respectability. Vigorous, even republican, sentiments appeared more frequently in the Pennsylvania press.

The strongest deterrent to really serious criticism of the king was still the old theme of poor advisers and evil ministers. This had been the real thought in the ringing words of the first Stamp Act Resolve:

His Majesty's subjects in these colonies owe the same allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body the Parliament.⁴

How convenient it was to praise the British Constitution while condemning those who subverted it! One way the king could get away from the corrupt atmosphere created by self-serving ministers would be to move to the North American continent. Contemplating such an event, "A Citizen of Philadelphia" suggested that a few generations hence, an English monarch, resident in America, "on ascending the throne, shall declare with exulting joy, 'Born, and educated amongst you, I glory in the name of American.'"⁵ Surely in

⁴Pa. Packet, July 11, 1774. Quoted in an essay entitled "The Beacon, No. 1."

⁵Ibid., July 4, 1774. This essay, together with the others under the same title was printed in pamphlet form as [Richard Wells]. A Few Political Reflections submitted To the Consideration of the British Colonies, By a Citizen of

the generous span of history, one good move--Germany to England--could lead to another: England to America. Several writers, including Franklin, earlier had described the day when the population of British North America would surpass that of the Mother Country.

The problem of the ministerial subversion of the rights of the sovereign was described by a number of writers. One was quite specific on the focus of allegiance:

Our KING we love, but North we hate,
Nor will to him submission own;
If death's our doom, we'll brave our fate,
But pay allegiance to the Throne.⁶

William Scott suggested that it was still Bute who ruled the country:

Is there not one in particular, and two or three others as from him, who oil all those springs which you [Lord North] only seem to move, and accelerate or retard the wheels of state as may best suit his or their projects? If not, how shall we account for all those evils, distresses, grievances, and oppressions which have befallen this poor unfortunate kingdom, not long after the year 1760?

He then called upon Lord North to emancipate "your Royal master and yourself from the fetters of him in which you

Philadelphia (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1774). Another writer, "Phocion," declared that if the king were to visit America he would meet with universal acclaim: "Your guards might be cast off, for every man would vie in protecting you." Ibid., Aug. 29, 1774.

⁶Pa. Journal, Sept. 21, 1774. "Methinks I see Lord North stand upon the shoulders of a venal parliament, and stretch his huge arms across the vast Atlantic, holding in his hands, Tea, chains and military law." A Sermon on Tea (Lancaster: Francis Bailey [1774]), p. 6. On the title page was a warning from St. Paul: "Touch not, Taste not, Handle not." Colossians 2:21.

have been too long detained."7 "Junius Americanus" declared that he could not agree with the majority of the king's subjects "in attributing to him a single wish to enslave his empire." The ministers had forced power upon him: "Let your imprecations for vengeance fall only upon the heads of Bute, Mansfield and North. . . . Let nothing satiate your rage, 'till the scaffold overflows with their blood."⁸ In an article addressed to Lord North, another writer expressed similar sentiments. It was the ministers whom the king had chosen who had created all the problems:

The conduct of the Deputies of his Majesty's Prime Minister, since his accession to the Throne, except during the short administration of Lord Rockingham, has been such, as to leave no room to doubt of a fixed intention in that Minister, of making his master lose the hearts of his subjects, under the cover of increasing his prerogative.⁹

Richard Wells, the secretary of the American Philosophical Society, suggested that it was the king's very virtues which had led him astray:

A prince, whose goodness of soul, and unsuspecting heart, unfortunately for his people, have unwarily betrayed him into the ensnaring measures of designing men; men whose lust for power, and rapacious pursuit after riches, would tempt them to swallow up both King and Kingdom, we they not sensible of exhibiting to public view so ostensible a power as royalty.¹⁰

⁷Scott, O Temporal! O Mores!, p. vi.

⁸Pa. Journal, Sept. 28, 1774.

⁹Pa. Gazette, Oct. 5, 1774. Taken from the London Evening Post. This article has a rare headline for the colonial press--"No Jacobite CABINET. No Popish PARLIAMENT."

¹⁰Pa. Packet, July 4, 1774.

Ministers were thus blamed for many of the difficulties of the times, but George III did not always escape blame. To be sure, some indirectly suggested that George III had also caused the crisis in the empire:

the LEADEN-HEADED Ministers of this religion-loving reign, seem to be confident that, by a systematic plan of CORRUPTION, they shall be able to reduce this mighty empire to an abject state of slavery.

The writer warned that "the NINCOMPOOPS in office" should realize that the British empire would never allow itself to be subverted. But there was real horror in the warning that "if either a BRUNSWICK, a BUTE, or a WANSFIELD should make a diabolic attempt to enslave them . . . there are three VACANT spikes on Temple-Bar."¹¹ "Shippen" denounced the dangerous tendencies of George III's reign and concluded that though the present king was not to be feared, "we know not what your successors may do."¹²

Yet there were many direct and specific attacks on the person of George III which named him as the source of all the troubles of the provinces. Josiah Quincy, a Massachusetts lawyer who in 1770 had produced a number of essays strongly favoring the non-importation agreements, published his chief political work, Observations on the Act

¹¹Pa. Journal, Sept 28, 1774. "To the People of the British Empire," reprinted from the Public Ledger, July 20, 1774. Another writer blamed the entire series of difficulties on a "Tory ministry" which was similar to that of the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne. Pa. Gazette, Dec. 7, 1774.

¹²Pa. Packet, Aug. 8, 1774.

of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port-Bill, in May, 1774. Although he earlier had served with John Adams as one of the defense lawyers for those accused of the responsibility for the "Boston Massacre," he had for several years expressed a bold revolutionary attitude. Quincy declared that it was necessary for some type of united effort to oppose the military oppression: "If Rapin denominated so small an armament, the slavery of the subject under Charles the 2d:--what would he call the state under George the third?" The king thus was a tyrant reducing his subjects to abject slavery: "Alas! when will Kings learn wisdom, and mighty men have understanding?" Similarly Quincy declared that whoever called "the reigning monarch, 'the wisest and best of Kings,' ought always to suspected of burlesque and sarcasm, or something worse."¹³

Several writers dated the coming of the troubles to Great Britain from the accession of George III:

At the time of his Majesty's accession to the throne of these kingdoms, we were in a direct opposite situation to what we are now. Victorious both by sea and land, dreaded and respected abroad, blessed with a Monarch possessed of the hearts of his people perfectly unanimous. England, Scotland, Ireland, all the colonies, striving who should show their love, loyalty, and courage most, in defense of our Sovereign and his dominions: no parties or animosities then, but perfect union.¹⁴

¹³Josiah Quincy, Observations on the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port-Bill, with Thoughts on Civil Society and Standing Armies (Philadelphia: for John Sparhawk, 1774), pp. 37-46, passim.

¹⁴Pa. Packet, July 11, 1774. "I think I may with greatest propriety date the declension of our civil liberties

Such happy conditions, unfortunately, no longer prevailed in England. Jacob Duché also longed for the good old days of George II: "If in private life to maintain the character of rigid and unshaken honesty in all his dealings . . . if deeds like this can attract the esteem and gratitude of a people, surely our deceased Monarch must still survive in the breast of every honest Briton."¹⁵

Some of the general criticisms of monarchy which appeared in the press were quite extreme and even republican in sentiment. According to a letter from "Lucius" which originally appeared in the St. James's Chronicle "we meet with so many Kings who disgrace the imperial mantle with which bounty, I dare not call it folly, of their subjects hath clad them." It was irrational, according to this writer, to invest so much power in the hands of a single individual; this practice had come about through superstitions

from the present succession; no sooner did his Majesty ascend the throne but a total change ensued." Ibid., Nov. 21, 1774. The delegates of the Continental Congress resolved that "The present unhappy situation of our affairs, is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British Ministry about the year 1763," The Association, &c. We, his Majesty's most loyal Subjects, the Delegates of the several Colonies . . . [Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774], p. 1.

¹⁵[Jacob Duché], Observations on a Variety of Subjects, Literary, Moral and Religious; In a Series of Original Letters, Written by a Gentleman of Foreign Extraction, who resided some Time in Philadelphia. Revised by a Friend, to whose Hands the Manuscript was committed for Publication (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1774), p. 170. The work was signed Tamco Caspipina, an acronym for The Assistant Minister Of Christ Church And St. Peter's In Philadelphia In North America. Reprinted at Bath and London in 1777 and 1779.

There are thousands in the world who believe that a bit of bread is God; there are millions who think that to resist a King is to take up arms against the Deity! . . . It is a lasting stigma upon the people of this country [that] . . . they have been ruled for ages by a set of Kings weaker than either of the feathered flock that ever waddled in a country village.

There was no reason for millions to sacrifice to support a king in magnificence:

We only want to be divested of political superstition, to regard Kings like Priests, no longer than whilst the one do their duty as Magistrates, the other as teachers of virtue. . . . if the sword, instead of keeping, should infringe the peace; instead of defending liberty, should be drawn in support of slavery, in that case it should be sheathed in the bosom of the man whether monarch or minister, who dared to attempt the slavery of his fellow creatures.¹⁶

The king, according to another writer, must always be subject to the laws of the land:

. . . the power of our Kings is bounded by the laws which limit our obedience to them. They cannot extend their power beyond the laws, without dissolving the allegiance of their subjects. The laws are the boundaries of our obedience. We are obliged to obey our Kings so long as they maintain the laws, and no longer.

Should the people give a crown to a prince, and would he then attempt to take away their liberties, "the folly of the people would be equal to the ingratitude of the Prince, if they did not take away their crown again."¹⁷ It was reported that some of the people could take comfort in the fact that occasionally death took away a tyrant, sometimes another

¹⁶Pa. Packet, April 25, 1774.

¹⁷Ibid., Aug. 29, 1774. Another writer declared that kings in his age were witness the destruction of public liberty with satisfaction. Ibid., Sept. 12, 1774.

prince laid claim to the crown, while on other occasions, "the people, wearied out by the long misrule and oppressive measures of their Prince, have called in another and given him the crown." The alternatives would not seem very attractive to George III unless he made good on the promise of a virtuous rule. The writer held that he was not specifically applying his discoveries to the present day, but concluded by making some subtle, but possibly menacing, allusions to the present difficulties:

so we may suppose that the Princes who possessed the crown of this kingdom in a regular descent for three successions, had generally increased their power to such a degree as to be obnoxious to the people, and dangerous to their constitution, rights, and liberties: and such apparent danger may have occasioned such necessary interruptions in the hereditary descent of the crown.¹⁸

George III was, of course, the third Hanoverian.

The king could be held responsible for the changes in policy for several reasons. Because of the alleged influence of the crown in the electoral process it would be evident that the king could secure a Parliament which was amenable to his designs. Thus the crown could become, and, indeed, had become, absolute. The laws that were passed could be seen as the king's laws, not legislation passed solely by wicked ministers, or wicked Parliaments.¹⁹ But why should a king continue to trample "on the laws and liberties of their subjects"? According to "Gracchus," such

¹⁸Ibid., Sept. 19, 1774.

¹⁹Ibid.

activities could be expected from kings:

Such has been the treatment we have constantly experienced from Kings, a race of beings seemingly set apart TO DISTURB THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND; men who, in their pride of heart, think themselves above all moral law, who despise the common ties of humanity, who act as if those millions of people who are under their government, were created merely to gratify their ambition.²⁰

Another writer reached a similar conclusion:

The history of Kings is nothing but the history of the folly and depravity of human nature. . . . God deals with all mankind as he did the Jews. He gives them Kings only in his anger. . . . A good King is a miracle.²¹

A little over a year later Thomas Paine would only question whether there had ever been such a creature as a good king.

The ever-radical "Phocion" placed the responsibility on the person of George III in two letters addressed to the sovereign. The king had been brought up on "the courtly influence of that ill-framed sentiment, that the King can do no wrong." Though Englishmen felt they had to attack the policies as ministerial policies, the truth was otherwise:

Your Ministry I shall release, and charge on your Majesty alone, the execution of measures, which promise to disgrace your government, and disturb your throne. Know, royal Sire, that your station at the head of a mighty empire, is an appointment under Heaven for the happiness of the people, and that whenever you consent to the exercise of a power that will distress your subjects, that hour you pervert the end and intention of your government, and weaken the supports of royalty.

²⁰Ibid., Sept. 26, 1774, postscript.

²¹Ibid., Nov. 14, 1774. "An Imaginary Dialogue between the Courtly Tory and the Fiery Republican," however, seemed to favor the former. See Ibid., Nov. 28, 1774.

The king was the accountable head of the government; if the ministers recommended unwise policies, the king should change ministers. The writer also concluded that no one could deny that the grievances had reached the ear of the king.²² In a second letter Phocion asked the king whether

your northern preceptor, cautiously extracted the instructive page, when he taught you the history of your country--did he teach you to believe the wretched doctrine of the "right divine" to reign with despotism over your subjects, and leave you a confirmed infidel to the principles of a just and equal distribution of happiness[?]²³

"Tribunus" declared that "what for many years past has given the Sovereign the utmost satisfaction, has given the people the greatest uneasiness." Rebellion and tyranny at home were the causes of the unrest in the colonies.²⁴

Probably the most bitter attack on the person of George III was in a letter to the king in the Pennsylvania Journal by "Scipio." From beginning to end the letter is one long and violent diatribe against George III:

²²Ibid., Aug. 29, 1774.

²³Ibid., Sept. 5, 1774. There also appeared an account of George II's reputed sentiments on the education of the future George III; Bute "has brought George up in such arbitrary despotic principles, that I dread the consequences.--O my poor dear people of England, such principles must by and by throw you into the utmost confusion, I foresee calamities will be great, as the disposition of the English is such they will not submit to such arbitrary power." Pa. Journal, Oct. 26, 1774. See also the "Memorial of several Noblemen and Gentlemen, of the first Rank and Fortune, presented to the late King in 1752," Pa. Evening Post, Feb. 2, 1775.

²⁴Pa. Gazette, Sept. 16, 1774, supplement; Pa. Packet, Sept. 19, 1774; Pa. Journal, Sept. 16 [14], 1774.

When the dignity and respect, which Royalty ought to command, are forfeited by the Prince, either in a supine inattention to a just discharge of the powers vested in him, or by a willful maleadministration [sic] of that authority, the Prince then stand a culprit before the awful tribunal of the Public . . . Happy would it be for your Majesty, were I your only accuser! --But, alas! I am but one of many millions of your loyal subjects in Europe and America, who impeach you.

Thus the king, according to this writer, had become the hated object of "many millions." He even claimed that if he were to employ any more respectful language to the king he would be degrading the language. The king's mental deficiencies, Scipio suggested, could also explain the troubles of the land:

The great part of the world, particularly your own Subjects, corroborate this opinion, and have always attributed every miscarriage in the state to the weakness of your understanding.

But then he moved to a much bolder idea; a better explanation was the wickedness of the king's heart. Scipio, however, still saw some hope in salvaging the situation:

Good God! Sir, awake from your lethargy, and recede from the measures you have taken! -- Do not believe that your brave and free-born American Subjects possess the same poltroon principles of those base-minded wretches, those abject tools, who buy your smiles at the price of truth and their consciences.--They acknowledge you as their rightful Sovereign, and as such ever did, and now do profess, for your sacred person, a decent and loyal obedience as Subjects, but they dare tell you, they will never become your Slaves.²⁵

Of the various attacks on the king and his ministers some of the most interesting and amusing were the various

²⁵Pa. Journal, Oct. 5, 1774.

parodies on the books of the Old Testament. In the Chronicle of the Kings of England, George III appeared as a vain-glorious and unstable individual, unable to make up his mind on any matter of importance:

[George III] was thought to be a very wise and good prince, and to have the welfare of his subjects, and the honour of God near his heart. For he forbid the nobles and great men playing at cards on the sabbath, and many other such like things did he, agreeable to that saying in holy writ, This ye do to be seen of men.²⁶

His proclamation on virtue thus, rather than showing virtuous qualities of the king, was evidence of hypocrisy.

Similar to the Chronicle of the Kings was The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times, which appeared in Philadelphia in October, 1774. This parody concerned itself primarily with General Thomas Gage, the newly-appointed temporary governor of Massachusetts, who was empowered to enforce the provisions of the Coercive Acts. As in many of the contemporary writings, the difficulties were blamed on the king's evil counsellors, yet the king also participated in the efforts to enslave the Americans,

²⁶The Chronicle of the Kings of England, from the Reign of William the Conqueror, First King of England, Down to his Present Majesty George III. Containing a true History of their Lives, and the Character which they severally sustained, whether in Church or State, in the Field, or in Private Life (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, and Benjamin Towne, 1774), pp. 110-111. While the blame was placed on evil ministers, it was the king who allowed them to do everything. The volume concluded with the genealogy of the English rulers, tracing the royal family to "William the Conqueror, who was the son of a whore," pp. 118-119. For other examples of the parody style, see Philip Davidson, Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. 212-213.

as was apparent in a description of the king's reaction to the news of colonial resistance to the Tea Act: "the Lord the King waxed exceeding wrath [sic], insomuch as the form of his visage changed, and his knees smote one against the other."²⁷ In the third chapter there appeared a statement on the power of the king:

Then spake Thomas [Gage], and said, Where the word of the king is, there is power and who shall say unto him, What doest thou? for out of the king's lips proceed justice and wisdom.²⁸

In another version of the Chronicles the advisers were blamed for the difficulties:

And, behold! Frederick the treasurer [Lord North] is near-sighted, and not able to see the things which are afar off; wherefore it had happened, that divers of the king's servants, who were men of Belial, and evilly inclined towards our Lord the king, and towards his household, took advantage of this infirmity.²⁹

It was thus becoming increasingly apparent to the readers of the Pennsylvania press that the king somehow was implicated in the plot against American liberties, whether by the design of ministers who had captured him or by his own selfish activities. If this were the case it was necessary for the colonists to find some solution to the dilemma of a wicked absolute king or ministers who subverted their liberties. Again they were able to read of solutions

²⁷The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times. Chapter I (Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, [1774]), p. 1. Published in October.

²⁸Ibid., Chapter III, p. 26. Published in December.

²⁹Pa. Gazette, Aug. 24, 1774.

suggested by the London radicals.

Some suggested a solution to the problem of the king of England by proposing the substitution of the brother of the king for George III. Since the present king had no mature heirs, and since the prospects of his departing from the throne by an unfortunate early death did not appear too promising, would it not be possible to utilize the opposition device of reverslonyary interests? "Tribunus" declared that the people looked to the Duke of Gloucester "as the friend and guardian of our rights and liberties." The writer concluded with a statement which was somewhat more direct:

It is a great consolation, Royal Sir [Duke of Gloucester], to the people of England, to look forward, and presage an unbroken succession of patriot kings in your illustrious line. And though providence has been pleased to bless your royal brother, our Sovereign, with a progeny of hopeful Princes, yet, as in his wisdom, God, who sometimes setteth up one, and pulleth down another, may see fit to remove them from their present state; it will, no doubt, be some consolation to them, but much more to us, to think that one of your august house shall sway the sceptre over a free, and consequently a happy people.³⁰

To many, however, this suggestion undoubtedly existed only in the realm of speculation. In addition, the same problems which had developed under George III could also occur under another Hanoverian.

A number of other writers saw that the solution to this problem lay in limiting the monarchy. If the king were

³⁰Ibid., Sept. 16, 1774, supplement; Pa. Packet, Sept. 19, 1774; Pa. Journal, Sept. 16, [14], 1774.

not all-powerful, in whom did sovereignty reside? Again and again it was emphasized that kings were dependent upon the will of the people:

O! would the Royal Race but learn to know,
 From what blest Source their future Praise must flow.

 To strike dread Terror thro' the guilty Breast,
 To raise the Humble, and relieve th' Oppres'd.³¹

The people were the source of all power, wisdom, and justice, and these rights did not develop "from scrowls of parchment signed by Kings."³² Should the king wish to continue on his throne, it was important to bear this in mind; every king could better control his subjects through love than through "rigorous pains."³³ Jacob Duché, the Philadelphia clergyman and propagandist, in a volume dedicated to a former governor, James Hamilton, declared that "the grand design of all human governments, in what ever form they are modelled and established, is the happiness of the people."³⁴

The king and his advisers, however, had not sought the happiness of his people. Rather, one newspaper declared, they had violated all the traditions of the British Constitution. In fact, they were the revolutionaries; cordial

³¹Richard Saunders, (pseudonym), Poor Richard Improv'd; being an Almanack and Ephemeris . . . for the Year of our Lord, 1775 (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers [1774], pp. [14-16]. The lines are taken from the May and June poems.

³²Pa. Packet, Nov. 14, 1774

³³Pa. Gazette, May 18, 1774.

³⁴[Duché], Observations on a variety of Subjects, p. 170.

relations would only return when conditions were restored to the way they were before 1763.³⁵ By separating taxation from representation, as Chatham emphasized in a speech before the House of Lords, the rights of the Americans had been violated. "To change the government of a people, without their consent," according to Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph and close friend of Benjamin Franklin, "is the highest and most arbitrary act of sovereignty that one nation can exercise over another."³⁶ Additional fuel for the colonial firebrands was soon provided.

The Quebec Act was passed in June, 1774 as an effort to solve certain of the problems inherent in the predominantly French province of Canada. The measure provided for a return to the French civil law, except in criminal cases when the English law of trial by jury would apply. The Roman Catholic religion was recognized, subject to the king's supremacy; the king was also authorized to collect tithes from the Catholic population. This act further alienated the colonists and, coming at the same time as other grievances such as the Coercive Acts, was seen as part

³⁵Pa. Packet, April 25, 1774. Postscript signed B. Franklin.

³⁶[Jonathan Shipley], A Speech, intended to have been spoken on the Bill for Altering the Charters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. (5th ed. Lancaster: Francis Bailey, 1774), p. 18. This is one of the more popular pamphlets of colonial America. It was also reprinted in Philadelphia by William and Thomas Bradford and Benjamin Towne. It is possible that Franklin had a hand in its publication. See Crane, ed., Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press, p. li. Chatham's speech appeared in the Pa. Packet, May 23, 1774, postscript.

of the general plan to overthrow the liberties of the American colonies. Americans, as well as London radicals, saw a French-inspired Jacobite threat to establish royal tyranny over the provinces.

Many writers were now apparently convinced by the Quebec Act that the Jacobite efforts to take over the government of Great Britain had succeeded. Even in England this idea aroused angry resentment. London mobs protested the act, and these protests were fully recorded in the colonial press. One writer, for example, declared that "some of the populace behaved very rudely when his Majesty was passing from St. James's to the House of Peers, by hissing, and crying out, 'No Popery,--no French government.--&c.'"³⁷

Another account of the same incident was similar, although it contained a further warning to the king: "No Protestant Popish King!---The Duke of Gloucester for ever!" Later it was reported that the cry of "The Protestant Duke of Gloucester!" grew "incessant."³⁸ A poem written in honor of the Quebec Act appeared in the same paper and contained a similar warning:

What then can England, in her G_____ 's praise,
 Say, when they view him pervert in his ways?
 Wishing as Nero, all his subjects on _____
 That he might crush the whole, that numerous throng,
 Throughout the globe, in mutual cement joyn'd,
 E'er England's freedom, was by G_____ purloin'd;
 Late he will find (by wisdom understood)
 None can be great, but he that's really [sic] good:

³⁷Pa. Packet, Aug. 29, 1774.

³⁸Pa. Journal, Sept. 7, 1774.

Learn, G _____, in time, e'er yet it be too late,
Shun that dread rock, which was poor Stuart's fate.³⁹

Another correspondent "To the King" denounced the establishment of "popery" in Canada; he also expressed his fear for religious freedom in England:

For what reason have we not to expect a repetition of those awful scenes to be acted over again which stained the reign of bloody Queen Mary, to be dragged before a Popish crew of Jesuitical priests, condemned unheard, and Smithfield again stained with the blood of martyr'd saints?

The writer concluded that many in England were prepared to resist such laws and activities.⁴⁰ Perhaps the most extreme reductio ad absurdum appeared under the heading of "A few QUERIES submitted to the consideration of the Protestants throughout the British Empire." The writer asked whether George III

may not through the influence of Lord Bute, who has always been treated as a favorite at Rome, procure a Cardinal's hat? And should this be the case, Whether he may not succeed to the chair of St. Peter, after the decease of his present Holiness? If this also should happen, Whether the seat of the supreme head of the Catholic Church may not be translated from Rome to London? And with such a Ministry and Parliament, aided by the military, may he not bring back the British empire into the bosom of the Mother Church, and exact Peter's Pence, &c. from the descendants of those who died in the field and at the stake to recover this kingdom and nation from popery and arbitrary power?⁴¹

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Pa. Packet, Sept. 12, 1774.

⁴¹Pa. Journal, Nov. 2, 1774. In a letter to General Gage "Junius Americamus" declared that "I shall take it for granted that you are a Papist in politicks, and that the will of your Sovereign is the only line of your duty." Ibid., Aug. 17, 1774.

Because the government of Quebec would consist merely of the governor and his appointed council, the Quebec Act was also denounced as an attempt to extend the royal prerogative--further evidence of the anti-American policies of the British administration. According to a letter from "a very respectable character in London":

With us the staunchest friends to the Hanoverian succession have not scrupled publicly to pronounce it the most daring stretch of the prerogative of the crown, and the most sinful violation of the rights of a free people that the annals of Britain, or any other nation in the world register!⁴²

Another writer asked whether, since the laws of Quebec would be French laws, "may not any person in the province, except the Governor for the time being, be confined for life at the will of the Prince?" He answered his rhetorical question in the affirmative.⁴³

The Quebec Act also served as justification for more extreme solutions to the problem of the king; most were reprinted from the English press. Perhaps the most radical of these writers was the individual who signed himself a "Scotchman." He declared that he would "follow the Quebec bill to the throne as I would the framer of it to a SCAFFOLD," and stated that he had told the king that it

⁴²Ibid., Sept. 7, 1774; Fa. Packet, Sept. 12, 1774.

⁴³Fa. Packet, Sept. 12, 1774. One writer suggested the colonies had received a temporary reprieve from forcible conquest by the death of the French king, "for great as the power of the [British] crown now is, it will not be able to support a war with the House of Bourbon, and to send a force sufficient to enslave the colonies, at the same time."
Ibid., Sept. 19, 1774.

would be a violation of his coronation oath should he agree to it: "a breach of an oath, whether in a King or a peasant, I call PERJURY." Consequently, the people had the right not to obey such an individual. They had taken a conditional oath to the sovereign; they would obey theirs, only so long as the king obeyed his:

The moment a King of England shall PERJURE himself, that instant are his subjects ABSOLVED FROM THEIR ALLEGIANCE; the compact is broken; the government founded on that compact is dissolved. It is no excuse at the bar of Reason, to alledge 'that the Prince was ILL-ADVISED;' for, after repeated warnings, who but an obstinate simblance of Majesty would persist in the wrong? It is no consequence to the people, whether a King perjures himself at the instigation of BUTE, MANSFIELD, JEFFERIES, or the DEVIL: he who is so wicked as to violate His oath at the instigation of KNAVES, is too weak to be trusted with the rights of HONEST MEN.

The writer then asked whether the people "would not sooner see ANOTHER SCAFFOLD erected at WHITEHALL, than ANOTHER CORONATION at Westminster Abbey?" while the shout of the people would be "OFF WITH THE HEAD THAT PAYS NO ATTENTION TO THE SACREDNESS OF AN OATH!"⁴⁴ He declared that "it would be new, indeed, did such tyrants escape a punishment equal to their demerits." and warned that

English history is replete with instances both of the PERFIDY of our Princes and the MANLY RESISTANCE of the people; for as often as Kings have attempted to subvert the free Constitution of this country, destruction hath been swiftly hurled on their miscreant heads.⁴⁵

Another writer's "Observations on the Quebec Bill" echoed

⁴⁴Ibid., Sept. 26, 1774, postscript.

⁴⁵Pa. Journal, Sept. 28, 1774.

similar sentiments, though it was even more rash:

Reason and rebellion are words which have swallowed up the liberties of many countries. The three branches of the British legislature have broken the most sacred compacts with the colonies. They have dissolved all obligations from us. It is impossible to commit treason against King, Lords, or Commons in America.⁴⁶

In a later essay the "Scotchman" emphasized that the Glorious Revolution had guaranteed that "no Roman Catholic prince should reign over us." He suggested that the king had bribed the Commons and secured a submissive House of Lords for his purposes: "he consequently may procure a vile, venal, and stupid senate to give their sanction to his ambitious purposes." He concluded by declaring that

I must not say, that our King hath committed wilful and corrupt perjury; I will not say that he hath thereby been guilty of high treason against the Majesty of the people; neither do I assert, that the people are not absolved from their allegiance. But we have an old fashioned adage in my country, extremely applicable to the occasion, "that nobody can be hanged for thinking."⁴⁷

In addition to not hanging for thinking, the government apparently did little hanging for writing. Such radical and inflammatory material circulated freely in the colonies, and there was no rigorous pro-king authority in Pennsylvania which attempted to stop it.

The Lockean concept of the mutually-binding contract with the right of revolution which appeared in the

⁴⁶Pa. Packet, Oct. 31, 1774.

⁴⁷Pa. Journal, Nov. 23, 1774; Pa. Gazette, Nov. 2, 1774, postscript.

Pennsylvania press was not taken solely from English newspapers. One writer, in an essay addressed to the governor of Massachusetts, emphasized the voluntary nature of the compact between the ruler and ruled which was an essential part of the constitution:

That if the King violates his sacred faith to, and Compact with any one state of his Empire, he discharges the same from their allegiance to him, dismembers them from the Empire, and reduces them to a state of nature, so that, in this case he ceases to be their King, and his Governor set over such a Colony as his Representative, ceases to have any lawful authority to govern that people; and the people are at liberty to incorporate themselves into an independent state, and to apply to what Potentate or States they please for protection, and no State in that Empire has any lawful authority to interrupt them in it.⁴⁸

Not all Americans, however, supported the denunciations of the king. Some writers urged moderation with regard to the crisis with Great Britain and essentially defended the British position. The loyalists continued as a strong faction within Pennsylvania, though their views were printed less and less in the Pennsylvania press.

John Drinker, a Philadelphia tradesman, suggested that the colonists had been the source of many of their own difficulties. If the colonial governments had taken effective action against smuggling into America, Great Britain would not have had to intervene. Should there be some offensive acts, the colonies should oppose them constitutionally--again, so Britain would have no excuse to

⁴⁸Pa. Journal, Aug. 17, 1774.

intervene.⁴⁹ Likewise Drinker condemned the various bodies, such as the Committee for Tarring and Feathering, which had sprung up in order to enforce the boycotts of British goods:

on the one hand, Administration and Parliament are competing to undermine their constitutional rights; those more desperate, more dangerous tyrants, the enemies of their own house, are insolently wresting from them and trampling down their most essential privileges. . . . May the satire contained in the following couplet, never be justly applicable to Pennsylvania:

'Well, if the king's a lion, at the least,
The people are a many headed beast.'--Pope⁵⁰

Another Pennsylvania writer, Jabez Fisher, denounced the tendency of "almost every American pen" to place the parliamentary activities "in the most odious light" and "in alienating the affection of a numerous and loyal people from the royal person of the best of sovereigns."⁵¹ Rather than attempting to bully Great Britain into granting their requests, the colonists should convert their "idle threats into dutiful remonstrances." Besides, the disunited colonies could never be a match for a Britain which was at peace with the world. Fisher continued his analysis of "Americanus"--Joseph Galloway--by agreeing that it would be to the interests

⁴⁹[John Drinker], Observations on the Late Popular Measures, Offered to the Serious Consideration of the Sober Inhabitants of Pennsylvania. By A. Tradesman of Philadelphia. (Philadelphia, 1774), p. 11. The first part appeared in the Pa. Journal, Aug. 17, 1774.

⁵⁰[Drinker], Observations, pp. 20-21, 24.

⁵¹[Jabez Fisher], Americanus Examined, and his Principles compared with Those of the Approved Advocates for America. By a Pennsylvanian (Philadelphia, 1774), p. 5.

of the provinces to "form some rational plan of such a legislature, and lay it before the sovereign and the parliament, or prevail on our several assemblies, to execute the plan by their several acts of assembly." He also suggested that the colonies should "petition for the right of sending members to parliament."⁵² Above all, it was necessary that the colonists conduct themselves in a proper manner and use all legal means.

Some of the religious bodies also adopted resolutions urging moderation in the struggle with Great Britain. It was reported that while the Friends were devoted to the king, they supported the claims of the Americans to levy their own taxes. In the epistle from the Yearly Meeting, they declared they would

discourage every attempt which may be made by any to excite disaffection or disrespect to him, and particularly to manifest our dislike of all such writings as are, or may be published of that tendency.⁵³

Presbyterians likewise declared that "all ranks have offended," though they seemed to place a greater responsibility on the king than on his people.⁵⁴

⁵²Ibid., pp. 16, 20.

⁵³An Epistle from our Yearly-Meeting, Held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, by Adjournments, from the 24th day of the 9th month, to the 1st of the 10th Month, inclusive, 1774; to our Friends and Brethren in these and the neighbouring Provinces [Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1774], p. 3.

⁵⁴Act of the Associate Presbytery in Pennsylvania, for a Public Fast. At Philadelphia, the seventh Day of November, 1774 (Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1774), p. 3. Reprinted at Glasgow in 1775.

Another form of moderate attitude toward the king can be found in the numerous resolves which were sent to him. With such officials statements, however, it is difficult to determine whether these were sincere demonstrations of loyalty or merely pro forma sentiments of the type which colonial assemblies and other organizations had been using for a number of years. The Connecticut House of Representatives, for example, while holding it to be their duty to maintain their liberties, emphasized their loyalty to the king in their first resolve in May, 1774:

[We] recognize and acknowledge his Majesty King George the third to be the lawful and rightful King of Great-Britain and all other his dominions and countries, and that it is the indispenible duty of this colony, as being part of his Majesty's dominions, always to bear faithful and true allegiance to his Majesty, and him to defend to the utmost of their power against all attempts upon his person, crown and dignity.⁵⁵

Implicit in resolves such as these is the idea that the American continent was a bastion against tyranny and oppression from outside; it was the duty of the colonists to resist such illegal actions on the part of the British government. By making such a stand the colonists were guaranteeing the future greatness of the continent:

⁵⁵Pa. Packet, June 20, 1774, Pa. Gazette, June 24, 1774, Pa. Journal, June 22, 1774; see also the resolves of Essex, New Jersey in Pa. Packet, above; the resolves of Lancaster and Chester in Pa. Gazette, July 20; of Berks county in Pa. Packet, July 11; of Sussex, Delaware, and the Committee of Correspondence of New York, Pa. Packet, July 25; and of Hunterdon county, New Jersey, Pa. Gazette, July 13.

Now thro' the magick Veil of future Times
 The Muse prophetic views, a State august;
 Forth from your Ashes rear her awful Head
 And high enthron'd above her Sister Realms,
 Give Law to Kings, and rule this Western World;
 That date her Birth of Empire from the Stand,
 The noble Stand, YOU made in Freedom's Cause,
 By sending back to those rapacious Vultures
 Their gauling Badge, to rot once more at home.⁵⁶

A similar sentiment was voiced by Hugh Henry Brackenridge,
 one of the most respected of patriotic poets:

--Thrice happy day when this whole earth shall feel
 The sacred ray of revelation shed,
 Far to the west, through each remotest land
 With equal glory rivalling the day
 Pour'd on the east. When these Americ shores
 Shall far and wide be light, and heav'nly day
 Shall in full glory rise on many a reign,
 Kingdom and empire bending to the south,
 And nation touching the Pacific shore.⁵⁷

America was the Promised Land; it was necessary to preserve
 it from despotism.

Since a united effort on the part of the provinces,
 it seemed, had brought about repeal of the Stamp Act, many
 American leaders believed that a united effort of the
 provinces might solve the current difficulties and bring
 recognition of American rights. One pamphlet, probably
 published in Pennsylvania, declared that

An union of the colonies like an electric rod will

⁵⁶The New-Year's Verses Of those who carry the Penn-
sylvania Journal To the Customers [Philadelphia: William
 and Thomas Bradford, 1774], broadside. Notes identify the
 "rapacious Vultures" as the East India Company and the
 "gauling Badge" as tea.

⁵⁷[Hugh Henry Brackenridge], A Poem on Divine Revel-
ation: being an Exercise delivered at the Public Commencement
at Nasseu-Hall, September 28, 1774. (Philadelphia: R.
 Aitken, 1774). p. 20.

render harmless the storms of British vengeance and tyranny. Remember, my dear countrymen, we are contending for the crown and prerogative of our King, as well as for liberty--property--and life.-- The British parliament have violated the constitution in usurping his supreme jurisdiction over us.⁵⁸

The Coercive Acts of the British government eventually promoted the cause for general colonial union. When news of the Boston Port Bill, the provision for the quartering of soldiers and the authorization for moving trials from the colony reached America, Bostonians sought a resumption of the trade embargo which had been so successful in securing repeal of the Townshend Acts. Although this plea was not successful, it resulted in a circular letter to the other colonies in mid-June. This proposal for a general colonial congress was accepted.

The circular letter of the town of Boston was reprinted in the Pennsylvania press on June 22. By that time, however, there had already been meetings in the province which had resolved in favor of holding a Continental Congress "to effect one general plan of conduct."⁵⁹ In Philadelphia on June 18 a town meeting offered a pledge of support to the inhabitants of Boston and organized a committee of correspondence for the purpose of implementing the decision to

⁵⁸New York. Every Friend to the Americans, and to those natural and inestimable Rights of Mankind which they are now struggling to defend, will be pleased to find the Sense and Spirit of our Countrymen, Natives of the British Colonies, expressed in the following Petition . . . [Philadelphia?, 1774]. p. 2; Pa. Gazette, May 18, 1774.

⁵⁹Pa. Journal, July 23, 1774, postscript extra.

participate in a Continental Congress.⁶⁰ It was decided to hold a provincial convention for the purpose of choosing Pennsylvania's delegates to the Continental Congress. A number of public meetings in Pennsylvania in the next few months produced loyal statements in favor of the king. The declared stand of those delegates chosen at the convention was one which acknowledged the prerogatives of the sovereign with regard to peace and war, treaties, leagues and alliances, the appointment of officers, and as the source of final appeal from the courts of justice. Yet even these prerogatives were limited by a contract between the sovereign and the people:

prerogatives are vested in the Crown for the support of society, and do not intrench any farther on our natural liberties, than is expedient for the maintenance of our civil.

This convention informed the Assembly that it was their opinion that "agreements of non-importation and non-exportation" would be beneficial. Yet in reaching a general agreement with the other colonies they declared that

We wish every mark of respect to be paid to his Majesty's administration. We have been taught from our youth to entertain tender and brotherly affections for our fellow subjects at home.

Above all the convention declared that it earnestly sought to avoid alienating particularly the British population; by implication, it seemed that it was more concerned about the

⁶⁰Pa. Gazette, July 20, 1774, postscript. See also Pa. Packet, July 25, 1774, and Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 157-160. A similar meeting was held at Carlisle.

British population than the king.⁶¹

Shortly after the close of the convention James Wilson, Philadelphia lawyer and future Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, published a significant analysis of the relationship between Great Britain and the colonies. Wilson declared that Parliament had absolutely no legislative authority over the colonies in America, though the colonists continued to owe allegiance to the king: "Allegiance to the King and obedience to the Parliament are founded on very different principles. The former is founded on protection: The latter, on representation."⁶² Americans had always displayed a warm regard for the king:

Their history is not stained with rebellions, and treasonable machinations: An inviolable attachment to their sovereign, and the warmest zeal for his glory shine in every page. . . . To the King is entrusted the direction and management of the great machine of government. He therefore is fittest to adjust the different wheels.

The constitution also had vested the power to regulate trade of the empire in the prerogative of the crown:

⁶¹Pa. Packet, July 25, 1774. Pa. Journal, July 23, 1774, postscript extraordinary. Reprinted in [John Dickinson], 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 Representatives in Assembly (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774), p. 10. See also the instructions to the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress, Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, Aug. 24, 1774.

⁶²[James Wilson], Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament. (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774), pp. 21-22.

a perpetual distinction will be kept up between that power, and a power of laying impositions on Trade. The prerogative will extend to the former: It can, under no pretence, extend to the latter: As it is given, so it is limited by the Law.⁶³

Wilson thus argued a constitutional relationship similar to the later commonwealth arrangement. To insure a broader dissemination of its ideas and perhaps to secure adoption by the colonies this pamphlet was distributed to delegates who at that time were arriving in Philadelphia.

The First Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. The delegates lost little time in assuring the world of their certain loyalty to the king, for only four days later they voted unanimously that

whereas his Majesty George the Third is the rightful successor to the throne of Great-Britain, and justly entitled to the allegiance of the British realm, and agreeable to compact, of the English Colonies in America--therefore, we the heirs and successors of the first planters of this colony do chearfully acknowledge the said George the third to be our rightful Sovereign, and that said covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and submission.⁶⁴

Shortly after this time the news of the Quebec Act, with all its inflammatory effects, gave added strength to the cause of the radicals. During this first session the Congress

⁶³Ibid., pp. 33, 35. Joseph Priestley, in a pamphlet reprinted in Philadelphia, argued much the same thing. [Joseph Priestley], An Address to Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations, On the approaching Election of Members of Parliament, With Respect to the State of Public Liberty in General, and of American Affairs in Particular (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, 1774), p. 17.

⁶⁴Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, Held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774 (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774), p. 31.

endorsed the proposals from Massachusetts known as the Suffolk County Resolves. According to these and similar resolves, the various coercive acts which were applied to the province of Massachusetts were unconstitutional. Nonetheless, the very first resolve indicated that the inhabitants still held a loyalty to the Sovereign:

[we] do cheerfully acknowledge the said George the third to be our rightful Sovereign, and this said covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and submission.⁶⁵

Yet the fourth resolve proclaimed that "no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the acts above-mentioned, but that they may be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America."⁶⁶ Thus their conclusion was to do all they could to prevent the enforcement of the acts. Another Massachusetts statement, the Middlesex Resolves, was also approved overwhelmingly. This, too, emphasized the colonists' devotion to the crown:

That as true and loyal subjects of our gracious Sovereign George the Third, King of Great-Britain, &c. we by no means intend to withdraw our allegiance from him; but, while permitted the free exercise of our natural and charter rights, are resolved to expend life and treasure in his service.⁶⁷

These resolves also included the determination to fight to

⁶⁵See Robert E. Brown, Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955), p. 345.

⁶⁶Pa. Packet, Sept. 19, 1774; Pa. Journal, Sept. 21, 1774.

⁶⁷Pa. Packet, Sept. 19, 1774; Pa. Journal, Sept. 21, 1774.

preserve the right of the colonists. The Essex Resolves, a third Massachusetts contribution, contained the same plea of devotion to the king, while declaring that

by horrors of slavery--by the dignity and happiness attending virtuous freedom, we are constrained to declare, that we hold our liberties too dear to be sported with, and are therefore most serious determined to defend them.⁶⁸

The various Resolves were circulated widely throughout the colonial seaboard and, endorsed by the Continental Congress, achieved added respectability as expressions of general sentiment in America.

It is apparent that the breach between the colonies and the mother country had been strained almost to the breaking point in 1774. Even though there was still expressed devotion to the king, it was necessary, more than ever, to deny Parliamentary authority. It was also essential that the colonists be apprised of their own rights and not blindly accept every law or tradition sent to them from England. John Dickinson also analyzed the relationship between the king and his American subjects. While Parliament did not possess the right to legislate for the colonies, the latter could not merely be considered possessions of the monarch:

We are aware of the objection, that "if the king of England is therefore king of the colonies, they are subject to the general legislative authority of that King." The premises by no means warrant this conclusion. It is built on a mere supposition, that,

⁶⁸Pa. Packet, Sept. 26, 1774.

the colonies are thereby acknowledged to be within the realm . . . To be subordinately connected with England, the colonies have contracted. To be subject to the general legislative authority they have never contracted. . . Such a power as may be necessary to preserve this connection she has. The authority of the sovereign, and the authority of controuling our intercourse with foreign nations form that power. Such a power leaves the colonies free. But a general legislative power is not a power to preserve that connection, but to distress and enslave them.⁶⁹

The authority both of the crown and of Parliament thus was limited.

The relationship between the colonies and the mother country came under searching analysis in 1774. Although the king apparently still had the affection of the majority of Americans, there was a sharp increase in both the number and intensity of attacks on George III in the Pennsylvania press. Many of these were reprinted from London radical papers, but they were reprinted. The printers were formulators of public opinion, but they were also businessmen. Using the printer's desire to please the majority of his readers as a rough gauge of sentiment, it is possible to conclude that pro-monarchical sentiment declined in Pennsylvania in 1774.

⁶⁹[Dickinson], Essay on Constitutional Power, p. 95.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE END OF LOYALTY IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1775

The many evidences of the king aligning himself with Parliamentary and ministerial cliques had, by the beginning of 1775, produced widespread condemnation of George III in the colonial press. This trend was to continue in 1775 and by December it was so strong that reconciliation between the king and his American subjects was virtually impossible. The only apparent chance for re-establishing devotion to George III during this crucial year was for the king to have taken the lead in appeasing the colonial factions by granting their contentions. This George III did not do. Indeed, the relations between the colonies and the mother country had almost reached the breaking point--hostilities began in April, 1775--and the king again committed himself to an anti-American position in August by proclaiming the Americans in a state of rebellion.

It was becoming increasingly apparent to Americans that their continent had a bright future, regardless of whether they maintained or broke their connection with Great Britain. The distance from the mother country was a positive virtue. Closely related was the virtue of the absence of resident kings and the various royal intrigues and

contentions, though the writer of these New Year's verses still expressed loyalty to George III:

Who [America] far remote from Palaces and King,
Where Vice is cherish'd, and Corruption springs,
Where Pensions, Titles, shamefully disgrace,
The mean Descendents of a warlike Race.

.....
No Monarchs here, with fierce contending Arms,
To shake their neigh'ring State with dire Alarms.
But a brave People, loyal virtuous, free,
To Brunswick firm, and true to LIBERTY.

.....
And may that Prince who rules the Waves,
Treat us like Subjects and not like Slaves.¹

Even Englishmen and foreigners realized the value of America. The Earl of Chatham reportedly said that should the British crown be "Robbed of so principal a jewel as America, it will lose its lustre."² In France the Abbé Raynal concluded that the growing crisis would result in a complete change of the form of government in America:

When once the slave of despotism hath burst his chains asunder, hath committed his fate to the decision of the sword, he is obliged to massacre his tyrant, to exterminate his race and his posterity, to change the form of government of which he had been the victim through successive ages. If he durst not do all this, sooner or later he would be punished for possessing but a half-courage. The yoke would fall back upon his head with additional force and pressure.

¹The New-Year's Verses of those Who Carry the Pennsylvania Journal To the Customers (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775), broadside.

²William Pitt, The Speech Of the Right Honourable The Earl of Chatham, in the House of Lords, January 20th, 1775. On a Motion for an Address to His Majesty, to give immediate orders for removing his Troops from Boston forthwith, in order to quiet the minds and take away the apprehensions of His good Subjects in America (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1775), pp. 9-10.

The prospects for America, though difficult, were bright: "This vast continent set loose from every convention in Europe would enjoy the liberty, the command of all her movements."³ Independence, should it come, would be quite beneficial.

The union between the mother country and the colonies, however, was not yet dissolved early in 1775 and in the relationship which remained, the position of the king was critical. Though the colonists denied the authority of Parliament to legislate for them, many still considered themselves subjects of George III. Richard Wells emphasized this constitutional relationship in The Middle Line and declared that though the colonists were a part of the British empire, they were "the subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and not of the people of Great-Britain." In addition, Wells reminded his readers that all charters were derived "from the crown, and not from the parliament."⁴ A similar argument was advanced in "Some Thoughts on the Constitution of the British Empire; and on the Controversy between Great-Britain and the American Colonies" printed in the Pennsylvania Packet. The writer concluded that the

³Guillaume Thomas François Baynal, The Sentiments of a Foreigner, on the Disputes of Great-Britain with America. Translated from the French (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junior, 1775), pp. 23, 25.

⁴Richard Wells, The Middle Line: or, an attempt to furnish some Hints For ending the Differences Subsisting Between Great-Britain and the Colonies (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1775), pp. 25-26, 34.

"several distinct states" were "all united under one crown, subjects of the same Prince, whose person, crown, and dignity, they are all obliged to maintain and defend to their utmost ability." He suggested that

the union of Great Britain and the colonies into one state, is, from their situation impracticable, and every beneficial purpose, may by a prudent administration, be well answered by their union in the crown, while they continue distinct jurisdictions for civil government.⁵

Such a generalization was also applied to the relationship between the Pennsylvania government and Parliament. While Parliament was supreme in Great Britain, the Assembly was supreme in Pennsylvania. Therefore it was not inconsistent to reject the authority of Parliament, while acknowledging the power of the king who remained in a significant position: "is not . . . an oath of allegiance by a Pennsylvanian to the King, made to him as supreme executor of the laws of Pennsylvania?"⁶

In addition to those who continued to affirm constitutional allegiance to the king, there were also strong defenders of the royal authority. One writer condemned those who professed love for Great Britain, while at the same time they spoke against the king. He asked

Is it their country's glory they've at heart?
Or, does not interest bear some little part?
Can those that Britain love, hate Britain's King,

⁵Pa. Packet, June 12, 1775.

⁶Pa. Journal, Mar. 8, 1775.

Despise the fountain whence their blessings spring?⁷ Perhaps some, then, had manufactured the charge of the king attempting to extend his prerogative solely to enhance their own financial or political positions. Other defenders were somewhat more predicatable in their approach.

The Quakers in Pennsylvania remained steadfast in their earlier insistence on loyalty to the king, though by early 1775 there were attempts to show that Quakers could resist the king. An extract from a pamphlet written a century earlier by Francis Howgill asked when England's "rulers, judges, prophets, and priests [would] see their errors?"⁸ In the "Testimony of the People called Quakers," the Friends, however, declared against "every usurpation of power and authority, in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies and illegal assemblies." Likewise they hoped they would not be called on for requisitions "inconsistent with our religious principles, and the fidelity we owe to the king and his government, as by law established."⁹

One non-Quaker expressed his dissatisfaction with the moderation of the "Testimony" and pointed out that the

⁷Pa. Ledger, Feb. 11, 1775, supplement. Many of the pro-monarchical sentiments to appear in the Pennsylvania press in the ensuing months were published in the Pa. Ledger.

⁸Pa. Journal, Mar. 8, 1775.

⁹Ibid., Feb. 8, 1775. See also "To George the Third king of Great Britain and the Dominions thereunto Belonging: The Address and Petition of the People called Quakers, March, 1775." Pa. Mag., IX (January 1886), 479-480.

king had failed to "pay any regard to their applications and addresses, tho' conceived in the most decent and manly terms." He suggested that the ministers were attempting to secure the abolition of all the colonial legislatures.¹⁰ Some old advice of William Penn was also reprinted to show that Quakers could oppose the king.¹¹ Extracts from letters even indicated that the Quakers had suffered affronts at the hands of the king,¹² and showed that the London Quakers actively opposed the existing government:

The Quakers in England have petitioned the King themselves as a people, and now attended the city petition; all join in one voice against the Ministry, and are all faithful to the people in America. The Quakers are the most hearty in the cause, and see the dreadful consequences of a

¹⁰An Earnest Address to such of The People called Quakers As are Sincerely Desirous of Supporting and Maintaining the Christian Testimony of their Ancestors. Occasioned by a Piece, intituled, "The Testimony of the People called Quakers, given forth by a Meeting of the Representatives of said People, in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, held at Philadelphia the Twenty-fourth day of the first month, 1775 (Philadelphia: John Douglas M'Dougal, 1775), pp. 12, 14. This was perhaps by Anthony Benezet.

¹¹Argumentum ad Hominem: being an Extract From a Piece intituled, England's present Interest considered, with Honour to the Prince, and Safety to the People. In Answer to this one Question: What is most Fit, Easy and Safe at this Juncture of Affairs to be done, for quieting of Differences, allaying the heat of contrary Interests, and making them subservient to the Interest of the Government, and consistent with the Prosperity of the Kingdom? By William Penn, Founder of the Province of Pennsylvania, To which are added Some Extracts from the Writings of divers Authors, more particularly recommended to the Notice of the People called Quakers (Philadelphia: 1775).

¹²See Pa. Evening Post, April 22, 1775: "A certain celebrated lady amongst the body of Quakers waited on the King, to address him on the times, and after promising her an audience, he abruptly withdrew."

civil war. Our forefathers did not think that ever a King of England would break his oath and murder his subjects in cold blood, and take their money or rob his people, without giving them any opportunity to defend themselves by the sword.¹³

Yet the London Meeting for Sufferings urged that

it will add much to your safety in every respect to dwell alone, to suffer your minds to be as little agitated as possible by the present commotions, to keep out of the spirit of parties, and to cherish in your hearts the principle of peace and good-will to all.¹⁴

Americans had often declared their "affectionate regard to the king" and their desire to perpetuate their relations with the mother country. Yet it was emphasized that "undeserved severities cannot be productive of any pleasing returns."¹⁵ John Zubly, writing in Georgia where loyalist sentiment was strong, declared that

by our law the king can do no wrong; but of his present Majesty, who is universally known to be adorned with many social virtues, may we not justly conclude that he would not do any wrong, even though he could. May we not hope that to the greatness of a monarch, he will superadd the feelings of the man, the tenderness of a father.¹⁶

¹³Pa. Packet, June 12, 1775.

¹⁴The Epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings in London. To Friends and Brethren in New-England [Philadelphia: 1775], p. 2.

¹⁵John Joachim Zubly, The Law of Liberty, A Sermon on American Affairs, Presented At the Opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia. Addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth. With an Appendix, Giving a concise Account of the Struggles of Swisserland to recover their Liberty (Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1775), p. xvii. Miller also published this in German.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 23-24.

The power of kings, however, according to the conclusions of various colonial meetings, had always been limited. One writer declared that "Kings and constitutions of government are the creatures, not the creators," of the rights of the people.¹⁷ A petition from the Continental Congress to the king condemned the "destructive system of colony administration" and declared that

your title to the Crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from divine providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

It concluded by asking the king to use his royal authority for the relief of the people.¹⁸ Petitions to the king from the various provinces could not help but emphasize the legality of the entire method of opposing the activities of a king whose powers were limited.¹⁹

¹⁷Pa. Journal, Feb. 13, 1775.

¹⁸Ibid., Jan. 18, 1775; Pa. Gazette, Jan. 18, 1775; Pa. Packet, Jan. 23, 1775; Pa. Evening Post, Jan. 24, 1775.

¹⁹The address of the New Jersey Assembly emphasized loyalty to the king, Pa. Evening Post, Feb. 14, 1775. The petition and memorial of the Assembly of Jamaica appeared both in the newspaper and as a pamphlet: Pa. Gazette, Mar. 1, 1775, To the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council, The Humble Petition and Memorial of the Assembly of Jamaica Voted in Assembly, on the 28th of December, 1774 (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775); see also the address of the council of New York, Pa. Evening Post, Jan. 24, 1775, and Proceedings of the Convention for the Province of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, January 23, 1775, and continued by Adjournments, to the 28th (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775), p. 5, reprinted in Pa. Evening Post, Jan. 31, 1775.

Such legal arguments against the authority of the English government indicates that the situation was not yet beyond hope. Reconciliation was yet possible. Evidence of this position can also be seen in several orations given in Boston and reprinted in Philadelphia.

In an effort to emphasize the responsibility of the British for the strained Anglo-American relations and to keep alive the flame of resistance Boston patriot leaders annually held ceremonies to honor the memory of those Bostonians whom British regulars had killed in the Boston "Massacre" on March 5, 1770. The person of the king often was a significant topic of consideration. Reports of these commemorations were distributed in other colonies, including Pennsylvania. In 1775 there appeared in Philadelphia an account not only of the oration by Dr. Joseph Warren of that year, but also a reprint of the pamphlet of John Hancock's oration of the previous year. The troops of George III, according to Hancock, had crossed the Atlantic to trample on the rights and liberties of his subjects. It was these same rights and liberties which he was "bound in honour to defend from violations, even at the risque of his own life." Hancock, however, still held it to be the fault of the advisers of the king:

Let not the history of the illustrious House of Brunswick inform posterity that a King descended from that glorious Monarch George the Second, once sent his British subjects to conquer and enslave his subjects in America; but be perpetual infamy entailed upon that villain who dared to advise his

Master to such execrable measures.²⁰

Dr. Warren asserted much the same thing, as he dissociated himself and other Americans from the English radical activities:

The royal ear, far distant from this western world, has been assaulted by the tongue of slander; and villains, traitorous alike to King and country, have prevailed upon a gracious Prince to cloth his countenance to wrath, and to erect the hostile banner against a people ever affectionate and loyal to him, and his illustrious predecessors of the house of Hanover.

Warren concluded that if peaceful measures of redressing the grievances were not successful, Americans would press forward to defeat tyranny until finally "you have fixed your adored Goddess LIBERTY, fast by a BRUNSWICK's side, on the American throne."²¹ This was a public oration in a town controlled by the British soldiers.

Pennsylvanians were also able to read of similar demonstrations of continued loyalty in New York where a union flag was raised on the Liberty Pole and another union flag was carried with the words "George III. Rex, and the Liberties of America; no Popery" on the one side while on the other there was inscribed "The Union of the Colonies, and the Measures of the Congress."²² Monarchism and patriotism were

²⁰John Hancock, An Oration: Delivered March 5, 1774, at the Request of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston: To commemorate the Bloody Tragedy of the Fifth of March, 1770 (Philadelphia: J. Douglass & Dougall, 1775), pp. 5, 6.

²¹Pa. Evening Post, Mar. 25, 1775; Pa. Journal, Mar. 29, 1775, supplement.

²²Pa. Evening Post, Mar. 11, 1775.

still effective allies in New York. One writer suggested that there was still hope that the king would be able to effect some reform of the government:

Grief shook the mighty Monarch's mind,
 And his sighs labour'd in the wind.
 At length the tumult, strife, and quarrel,
 Alarming the sagacious laurel,
 His mind unto the King he broke,
 And thus address'd him: Heart of oak!
 Sedition is on foot; made ready;
 And fix your empire firm and steady.
 Faction in vain shall shake the wood,
 While you pursue the general good.
 Fear not a foe, trust not a friend,
 Upon yourself alone depend!²³

Such total support of the king, however, appeared to be on the wane. Some still wished, however, to maintain their confidence in the king a little longer by again blaming his ministers.

In another chapter of the First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times, the writer indirectly addressed himself to the king and predicted dire results from the activity of the government. George III had rejected the wise counsellors of the land and had attached himself to evil advisers:

But behold, O king, thou hast rejected the counsel of the old men, the Fittites, and followed that of the young men, even that of Johnny the Butite, and that of the wicked Haman the Northite. . . . Now Johnny the Butite and Haman the Northite caused Rehoboam [George III] to do evil in the sight of the Lord . . . And Rehoboam walked no more in the ways of Solomon his grandfather, but walked in the ways of Louis king of France, and of Carolus king

²³Pa. Ledger, April 1, 1775.

of Hispania.²⁴

Dire consequences were in store for those who rejected the advice of the wise counsellors:

Then shall come to pass, that which was spoken of old by Mordecai, the Benjamite [Franklin] and prophet, saying, Wo, unto the land whose king is a child, whose counsellors are madmen, and whose nobles are tyrants, that devise wicked counsel for they shall be broken like potters clay.²⁵

Again there was the hated influence of evil advisers who were subverting the English Constitution. Numerous arguments appeared against the ministers who were subverting the prerogatives of the crown: "With your Majesty's ministers we can keep no longer. If at any time we pitied their innocent infirmities, that pity has long ago been converted into abhorrence from the wickedness of their counsels, and the injustice of their deeds."²⁶

²⁴The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times, Chapter VII (Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, [1775]), pp. 59, 60. Published in February.

²⁵Ibid., p. 66. This chapter also contains some rather oblique remarks directed against the queen: "Dost not the beloved of thy bosom breed like a rabbit? And are not thy offspring as numerous as the coney among the stoney rocks?" p. 61. In March there was published a reputed extract from a letter from a French gentleman which stated that "The royal family of England is too numerous for the taxes of the nation to maintain them all; besides the great debt under which they labour, they expend much for the support of Hanover; this accounts why King George thinks himself obliged to deal with America as Frederick does with his neighbors." Pa. Evening News, Mar. 30, 1775.

²⁶"To the King," Pa. Journal, Feb. 10, 1775, postscript; Pa. Packet, Feb. 13, 1775, postscript, signed "Tribunus." See also Pa. Evening Post, Feb. 23, 1775: "A Jacobite junto must first destroy the commerce, abridge the liberty, lessen the dignity, and overturn the jurisprudence of England, before the King's stubborn virtue will be prevailed on to separate himself from the enemies of the crown."

Should such evil advisers continue to influence the king and should the latter continue in his attempt to establish tyranny, it might become necessary to sever the ties with the mother country. An anonymous writer emphasized the justice of revolution against tyranny, and denounced the tendency toward faction in government: "every division in any degree, is in a Political, what we call a disease in a Natural Body, which as it weakens its strength, so it tends to its destruction."²⁷ The sanctity of the contract was a significant part of the relation between the king and the subject:

And as a Prince must necessarily be said to break his contract, and by consequence dissolve his Union with his People, when he wilfully and designedly acts contrary to the end and reason of his Trust; so his People are by consequence discharged from their obligations to him, and may lawfully defend themselves against him.

And again:

When therefore any Prince invades the Rights of the Society or lays aside those Laws, which are made for their security; and the Society has no imaginable way left to maintain those Laws, and to secure and defend those Rights, but by open and violent Resistance, that Resistance is by any consequence necessary and lawful.²⁸

George III apparently had violated and continued to violate his contract with his American subjects; London

²⁷An Essay upon Government, Adopted by the Americans. Wherein, the lawfulness of revolutions, are Demonstrated in a Chain of consequences from the Fundamental Principles of Society (Philadelphia: Printed and sold by the Booksellers, 1775), p. 38.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 68, 70.

radicals leveled similar charges against the king. When these charges were reprinted in the colonial press they could not only serve as evidence of the overall design of the king, they also could add arguments to the colonial arsenal of radical sentiment. Junius had served this function earlier in the decade; the author of The Crisis played a similar role in 1775.

Originally ninety-two numbers of The Crisis appeared in London, though not all of these vigorous attacks on the government and king were reprinted in the colonies. The author, perhaps William Moore, author of the North Briton Extraordinary, declared it his duty "to revive the dying embers of freedom, and rouse my countrymen in England from that lethargic state of supineness and inattention, in which they seem to sleep." From the first number the writer launched into a severe denunciation of the person of the king:

We can conceive no reason why the laws and religion of England should be sported with, and trampled under foot, by a Prince of the House of Brunswick any more than by one of the House of Stuart. . . Our modern advocates for villany [sic] and slavery . . . tell the world what was tyranny in the time of Charles the First is not tyranny in the days of George the Third, and to this they add a long catalogue of virtues which he never possessed; they say he is pious, that his chief aim is to render his subjects a happy, great, and free people (and indeed he has more than once said so himself) these and many other falsehoods, equally wicked and absurd, they endeavour to instill into the minds of the too easily deluded English.

The House of Commons and the House of Lords were denounced

as "mere tools of the King,"²⁹ who was pictured as a tyrant of old:

Then George may boast, that he, by art and hire,
Great Nero like, has set the world on fire;
Might boast that thousands by his power fell,
And that he could even Nero far excell.³⁰

The third number was addressed to the king; in London it was officially condemned to be burned as a "malicious libel" by the public hangman. It was, however, reprinted in the colonies. The king, according to the author, had destroyed all the rights of the country:

every . . . despotic and bloody transaction of your reign, will rise fresh in their minds, if they should be drove by your encouragement of popery, your persecutions, your oppressions, your violations of all justice, your treachery, your weakness, into a fatal and unnatural civil war in America.

The people had overlooked the injuries and insults of the early part of his reign and blamed the ministers. But by now it had become evident that Bute and the king had formed a plan for subverting the British constitution: "it no longer remains to determine who is now the greatest criminal in England."³¹ A design of destroying the constitution had

²⁹The Crisis, Number I. To the People of England and America [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775], pp. 3-5, 7.

³⁰The Crisis, No. II. A Bloody Court, A Bloody Ministry, and a Bloody Parliament [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775], p. 15.

³¹Ibid., pp. 19-20. He also encouraged the king to drive the traitors away. The writer described the Peace of Paris in the following manner:

A peace which must from foul corruption spring,
Thro' that base Scotsman, but still baser King;

been formed: "in a word, the destruction of this kingdom will soon be effected by a Prince of the House of Brunswick."³² According to the next number, "St. James's is made the SLAUGHTER HOUSE OF AMERICA; . . . the Sovereign is become a national executioner, and for a sceptre carries a bloody knife."³³ The author declared that adultery, debauchery and divorce were more common than at the time of Charles II, the fault of George III, who sought to promote virtue.³⁴ The king and his ministers were responsible in toto for the crisis which was facing the British empire:

Shall then the present Sovereign and his ministers
be exempted from a strict and nice inquiry into

Dead to all sense of England's future good,
To sacrifice her treasure, and her blood.

The Crisis, No. XII, "The Prophecy of Ruin, a poem,"
[Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775], p. 94. Charges of
Bute's continued influence at court continued to appear.
See Pa. Evening Post, Feb. 9, Mar. 7, 1775.

³²The Crisis, No. IV, To the Officers, Soldiers, and
Seamen, who may be Employed to Butcher their Relations,
Friends, and Fellow-Subjects in America [Philadelphia:
Benjamin Towne, 1775], p. 25. Reprinted in the Pa. Evening
Post, April 18, 1775. This number was censured in the House
of Lords. Report of the Lords' censure appeared in the next
issue, April 20, 1775.

³³The Crisis, No. V, To the People. [Philadelphia:
Benjamin Towne, 1775], p. 34. The writer was somewhat in-
consistent in a later number when he charged Lord North with
being the power behind the throne: "you have endeavoured to
erect the Sovereign into a despotic tyrant; you have made
him trample under foot, all laws human and divine; you have
made him destroy the rights and liberties of the people in
every part of the British empire": The Crisis, No. VI, To
the Right-Honorable Lord North [Benjamin Towne, 1775], p. 45.

³⁴"To the King," The Crisis, No. IX [Philadelphia:
Benjamin Towne, 1775], p. 66.

their conduct, because they have effected in one method the very despotism which was opposed in James, who was deservedly drove into exile, for attempting it in another.³⁵

Some further indication of the direction in which the crisis apparently was headed can be seen in the growing concern over whether the colonists could effectively oppose the British government, should force be applied. There was some question whether George III would meet the colonial challenge with force. In an address to both houses of Parliament, however, the king indicated that he had taken "such measures, and given such orders, as I judged most proper and effectual for . . . the restoring and preserving peace, order, and good government in the province of Massachusetts Bay."³⁶ This quite obviously meant military resistance.

³⁵The Crisis, No. XI. "This Country is now reduced to a Situation really degrading and deplorable, through the strange obstinancy and weak [sic] prejudices of the King [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775], p. 87. In No. IX the writer declared to the king that "instead of being a King, [you] are nothing but a cypher of state, while your favourite and ministers wear all the appendages to sovereignty," p. 69. It was reported that during the various loyal toasts given by officials in Boston in honor of Queen Charlotte's birthday, when the toast was given to the King "King-street ran with reiterated groans, hissings, and cursings, from every quarter." Pa. Evening Post, Feb. 2, 1775. Another writer indicated a similar abhorrence on monarchical institutions: "In a monarchy, the Prince and people may be both cheated; the Prince chuses the ministers, and the people are to look after them. If the Prince makes a bad choice, which is but too often the case, and those who act for the people suffer them to go on uninterruptedly in their iniquity, nothing but ruin can be the event of such a conduct." Pa. Packet, Feb. 13, 1775.

³⁶By the Lord Hyde Packet, Captain Jefferies, arrived at New-York in six weeks from Falmouth, we have His Majesty's most gracious Speech, To both Houses of Parliament. On

Which troops, however, would be sent to America? The possibility of the mother country sending mercenaries to America to enforce her laws was often mentioned:

Shall mighty George to make his law obey'd,
Transport ten thousand Russians to our aid?
That ally'd empire countless shoals may pour,
Numerous as sands that form the ocean shore.³⁷

Philip Freneau, the author of this poem, vigorously denounced the American Tories, and though he still protested his loyalty to the crown, he sought a change of heart on the part of the king:

Hear and attest the warmest wish I bring,
God save the Congress and reform the King!
Long may Britannia rule our hearts again,
Rule as she rul'd on George the Second's reign;
May ages hence her growing empire see,
And she be glorious, but ourselves be free.³⁸

Charles Lee, a retired British army officer who was now a resident of Berkeley County, Virginia, attacked efforts at conciliation, and minimized the opposition which the colonists would have to face, should war break out. While George III was "justly esteemed to be the most gracious of

Wednesday, November 30, 1774. ([Philadelphia]: John Dunlap, [1775]), broadside, dated February 3, 1775. See the extract of a letter from London Dated Dec. 10 in the Pa. Packet, Feb. 6, 1775: "You will observe by the King's speech, and the address, what are the sentiments of this kingdom. Yet I can tell you that if America will but sue for grace she will find his Majesty ready to receive her with all the cordiality she can wish for." It was first necessary, however, to send the delegates of the Continental Congress home.

³⁷[Philip Freneau], A voyage to Boston. A Poem. By the Author of American Liberty, a Poem (Philadelphia: William Woodhouse, 1775), p. 16. General Gage was the narrator. Several editions were issued in Philadelphia.

³⁸Ibid., p. 24.

Sovereigns, the wisest, greatest, and best of Kings," he was not well liked in Hanover, where he presumably would have to secure some troops. In addition Lee denounced the quality of the British regular army as a "Notley assortment of the most debauched weavers apprentices. . . the scum of the Irish Roman Catholics, who desert upon every occasion, and a few, very few Scotch, who are not strong enough to carry packs."³⁹ Lee was convinced that the remonstrances, petitions, prayers, and supplications would do little good, and he suggested examples from England, Ireland, America, Guernsey, Jersey, and Minorca. Great Britain, according to this writer, was even contemplating capitulation; it was only fear of America which would be effective: "there are symptoms that it already begins to operate;--the monster, Tyranny, already begins to pant, press her now with ardor, and she is down."⁴⁰ His conclusions could be used to bolster the fainthearted and to oppose those, such as Thomas B. Chandler, later a prominent loyalist and author of The Appeal to the Public, who emphasized the overwhelming superiority of

³⁹[Charles Lee], Strictures on a Pamphlet, Entitled "A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusion," Addressed to the People of America (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774), pp. 8, 10. Probably published late November, 1774.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 14. At the same time George III was writing the following to Lord North: "A fear . . . alone prompts them to their present violence; we must either master them totally or leave them to themselves and treat them as Aliens." George III to North, Nov. 18, 1774, in Fortescue, ed. Correspondence of King George the Third, III, 154.

the British military power.⁴¹ John Zubly added some support to Lee's contentions when he suggested that the circumstances of sending troops from Ireland and Scotland to America might be tempting to the supporters of the Pretender; with the Pretender again active, Americans would be safe.⁴² Such sentiment of possible loyalty to the king, but opposition to the policies of the British government and to the troops, however, quite rapidly were overshadowed by added complications in the relationship between the colonies and the mother country.

The crisis in Anglo-American misunderstanding had reached critical proportions by April, 1775. Early in the month there appeared in the press the text of a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth to the provincial governors which declared that the king was displeased with the calling of a conference at Philadelphia (*i. e.*, the Continental Congress) and that it was his Majesty's pleasure that they "exhort all persons to desist from such unwarrantable proceedings, which

⁴¹See [Thomas B. Chandler]. A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans, on The Subject of our Political Conclusions: In Which The Necessary Consequences Of Violently Opposing the King's Troops, And Of A General Non-Importation Are Fairly Stated. (New York: [James Rivington], 1774). See esp. pp. 25, 28, 37, 47.

⁴²Zubly, The Law of Liberty, pp. 23-24. Zubly also commented on the colonial regard for the House of Hanover: "It may be owing to nothing but the firm attachment to the reigning family that so many Americans look upon the present measures as a deep laid plot to bring in the Pretender. Perhaps this jealousy may be groundless, but so much is certain, that none but Great-Britain's enemies can be gainers in this unnatural contest. Ibid.

cannot but be highly displeasing to the King."⁴³ The next week there appeared the address of the two houses of Parliament to the king in which the former declared that

We can never go so far as to desert the trust reposed in us, as to relinquish any part of the sovereign authority over your Majesty's dominions which by law, is vested in your Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament.⁴⁴

King and Parliament were united in their efforts to suppress the colonists.

Hostilities between the colonists and the mother country commenced on April 19 at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts. No longer could it solely be a struggle between Parliament and colonists; the king's troops had shed the blood of Americans. Shortly before there had appeared a letter signed "Junius" reprinted from the Public Ledger in which the author again emphasized the responsibility of the king for the destruction of cordial relations between the government and the colonies. The king had achieved influence over the representatives of the people: "the safety of the subject depends only on the disposition of the Sovereign. If he is a bad man, he may murder and plunder and enslave without control; for who is there to resist his will?"⁴⁵ The author of The Crisis went even further to establish the

⁴³Pa. Evening Post, April 6, 1775; see the reaction of the members of the North Carolina Assembly; they maintained that the king had favorably received the petition of the Continental Congress. Pa. Journal, April 26, 1775.

⁴⁴Pa. Evening Post, April 13, 1775.

⁴⁵Ibid., April 18, 1775.

responsibility of George III and justify the colonial action:

When a King throws off all restraint of law, and is bound by no principles of justice or humanity, when he invades with open force the liberties and persons of his subjects in a hostile manner . . . the people of England and every part of the British empire, will be justified in taking up arms, and resisting such invasions and violence. . . . The resistance of the Americans, against our present seduced, malignant Popish King, is no violation of any law of God or the land, but a just and necessary war.⁴⁶

The fault, the writer later averred, was the king's:

When protection is first unjustly withdrawn on the Sovereign's part, all allegiance ceases on the subject's. The subject must then recur to the rights of nature; resistance may ensue, but no revolt, for the Sovereign, by breaking compact, has set the subject free.⁴⁷

Another writer was more succinct:

May Kings, who lawless tyrannies provoke,
Feel the full force of law, the axe's stroke!⁴⁸

However much some denounced the king, there still appeared moderate and even pro-monarchical accounts which placed George III in a favorable light, even after fighting had begun. The old problem of the evil advisers continued to appear. The Scottish-born John Carmichael, a graduate of

⁴⁶The Crisis, No. XIV, Saturday, April 22, 1775. The Present necessary defensive war, on the Part of America, Justified by the laws of God, nature, reason, state and nations; and therefore no treason or rebellion. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775], pp. 114, 120. On the anniversary of the Quebec Act in Montreal, someone blackened the bust of George III "Hung a chaplet round its neck with a cross pendant, and a label, Behold the pope of Canada or the fool of England." Pa, Evening Post, June 1, 1775.

⁴⁷A Crisis Extraordinary, Wednesday, August 9, 1775. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775], p. 7.

⁴⁸Pa. Evening Post, May 4, 1775.

the College of New Jersey and a Presbyterian minister of Chester County, emphasized in a sermon that the struggle was not against the king, but rather it was against the ministers and Parliament:

You must still continue to reverence royalty, and observe your allegiance to the King, on the true principles of the constitution. Your drawing the sword now must not be against the person of his Majesty; but the mal-administration of his government, by designing, mischief-making ministers.

All Americans, according to Carmichael, acknowledged that they were subjects of George III. The members of Parliament were merely fellow-subjects "chosen by the freeholders of that island to legislate for them, as our Assembly doth for Pennsylvania." The colonists had never sworn allegiance to the Parliament "else we would have above 500 Kings."⁴⁹ The loyalist William Smith declared that "our rightful Sovereign has no where more loyal subjects, or more zealously attached to those principles of government, under which his family inherits the Throne."⁵⁰ Jacob Duché prayed that God would

⁴⁹John Carmichael, A Self-Defensive War Lawful, Proved in a Sermon, Preached at Lancaster, before Captain Ross's Company of Militia, in the Presbyterian Church, on Sabbath Morning, June 4th, 1775 (Lancaster: Francis Bailey, 1775), pp. 23, 24. One writer even addressed Queen Charlotte in an effort to obtain her assistance against the ministers: "Our wish, our hope is, that you will attempt to prevail with his Majesty, to banish from his presence, for ever, those who have treated his subjects with indignity; and that he will be graciously pleased to lay aside the prosecution of measures, that promise only mortification and repulses. Fa. Packet, May 22, 1775.

⁵⁰William Smith, A Sermon On the Present Situation of American Affairs, Preached in Christ-Church, June 23, 1775. At the Request of the Officers of the Third Battalion of the City of Philadelphia and District of Southwark

remove from the presence of the king "all those, who would seek to change his government into oppression, and to gratify their own licentious desires at the expense of the blood and treasure of his subjects!" He emphasized that true government was based on common consent but denied that the colonists had any notions of "independency." Duché added that "in our present Circumstances, we contend not for Victory, but for Liberty and peace."⁵¹ Even the majority of official colonial opinion remained, on the surface at least, favorable to the king. The provincial congress at Watertown declared that the fighting at Lexington had

not yet detached us from our Royal Sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and so hardly dealt with as we have been are still ready, with out lives and fortunes, to defend his person, family, crown and dignity.⁵²

The opportunity for reconciliation and for defending the "person, family, crown and dignity" was diminishing, but it just might have been possible fully to support the king.

(Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junior, 1775), pp. 11, 111. See also the address of the North Carolina Assembly to Governor Josiah Martin; written prior to hearing of Lexington and Concord, it expressed strong devotion to the king: "His Majesty has no subjects more faithful than the inhabitants of North-Carolina," Pa. Ledger, April 29, 1775.

⁵¹Jacob Duché, The Duty of Standing Fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties, a Sermon, Preached in Christ-Church, July 7th, 1775, Before the First Battalion of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia; And now published at their Request (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junior, 1775), pp. 12, 18, 22.

⁵²Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, held at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775 (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775), pp. 44-45.

if only the necessary concessions had been made. The General Committee of the province of New York, for example, in an address to the Lord Mayor and Magistrates of London, declared that when their grievances were redressed they would testify "on all proper occasions . . . the most unshaken fidelity to their Sovereign."⁵³ The possibility for retreat on the part of the British government, however, was limited. An extract from a London letter reported that

'Tis impossible to describe the ruin that is studied, the load of taxes, the number of placemen to be saddled on you: The land is to be confiscated, and the King an arbitrary monarch; he is determined to be arbitrary, and consults no one who will not encourage his universal sway.⁵⁴

Such prospects of an absolute monarch recalled the example of James II, who was removed from the throne in 1688. One writer asked "what was it that justified the Revolution and the expulsion of the Stuart family: Was it not an attempt to introduce popery and arbitrary power into the King's dominions?" The writer implied that one could imagine similar problems in the present age.⁵⁵ A "Sailors' Address" also suggested that the Stuarts continued to maintain their

⁵³Pa. Evening Post, May 18, 1775.

⁵⁴Pa. Packet, June 12, 1775.

⁵⁵"What was sauce for the goose will be sauce for the gander, upon a like occasion," Pa. Ledger, June 10, 1775. According to a "short and accurate definition of GOVERNMENT," when the king said "Having entire confidence in the wisdom of Parliament, he will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended," he meant "That having entire confidence in his own wisdom or Lord Bute's, he will steadily pursue the present measures!" Pa. Evening Post, June 15, 1775.

influence in the government:

Near relation of some who at court now do thrive,
The Pretender did join in the year forty-five;
And many in favour, disguis'd with foul arts,
While they roar out for George, are for James
in their hearts.⁵⁶

Should this allegation of Stuart influence be accurate the monarch might recall the fate of another Stuart; the subject of this poem was the younger George III:

O! may some vision of the midnight hour;
Some dying Charles before thy fancy roll,
And teach thee goodness equal to thy power!
Remember, Sire, (or if thou hast not read,
Turn o'er the sad, but wise, historic page:)
There was a people sold their Prince's Head,
And there are villains born in every age.⁵⁷

Official colonial addresses also were moving inexorably toward an attack on the monarch. By July 6 the representatives of the colonies had agreed on their principles for taking up arms. They concluded that the troubles began toward the end of the Seven Years' War, when "it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion."⁵⁸ The delegates also were incensed at the reception which their petition to the king allegedly had received:

⁵⁶Pa. Evening Post, June 8, 1775.

⁵⁷Pa. Journal, June 14, 1775.

⁵⁸A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North-America now met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting [sic] forth the cause and necessity of their taking up arms (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775), p. 5. Pa. Evening Post, July 11, 1775. Reprinted in Commager, Documents of American History, p. 92.

Our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both houses amongst a bundle of American papers, and there neglected.⁵⁹

Again, such action on the part of the king could only incite disaffection.

Congress had set aside July 20 as a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer. The preachers on the occasion, according to the Congressional resolve, should pray that God would

 bless our rightful Sovereign King George the third, and inspire him with wisdom to discern, and pursue the true interest of all his subjects, that a speedy end may be put to the civil discord between Great Britain and the American colonies.⁶⁰

A number of these sermons were reprinted in Philadelphia. Many demonstrated an affection for Great Britain, while they criticized the mother country and the government for the limitations on the liberties of America.

Jacob Duché used the analogy of a vine taken from the parent plant, and declared that all would continue to be happy if Britain would be satisfied with the fruits which filial duty would require them to give. He condemned the British actions which would "cut down and destroy this branch of thine own vine, the very branch, which Providence

⁵⁹A Declaration . . ., p. 7. See also The Twelve United Colonies, by their Delegates in Congress: to the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, July 8, 1775 . . . (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775), p. 4: "Our petitions are treated with indignity; our prayers answered by insults."

⁶⁰Pa. Evening Post, June 15, 1775; Pa. Packet, June 19, 1775.

hath made strong even for thyself!"⁶¹ Daniel Batwell, an English missionary to York and Cumberland counties for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and later a loyalist refugee, prayed on behalf of the king "that wisdom descending from above may inform his soul and regulate his thoughts--words and actions" and that this wisdom would enable the king, in the words of congress, "to discern and pursue the true interests of all his subjects." Batwell declared that he had

a commission, and it is written in the most luminous characters of truth; to bid you honour the King--- yet I trust you want not the admonition: But I have no commission to bid you honour those, who wickedly stand between throne and subject.⁶²

Joseph Montgomery, a Presbyterian minister who later served from 1784 to 1788 as a Pennsylvania congressman, denied that the colonists were tainted with any republican sentiments and argued that "there never was a people more strongly attached to a King than the Americans were to the illustrious house of Hanover." Yet, using the analogy of Joseph in Egypt and the new pharaoh, there arose "a new King, who

⁶¹Jacob Duché, The American Vine, a Sermon, Preached in Christ-Church, Philadelphia, before the Honourable Continental Congress, July 20th, 1775. Being the day recommended by them for a General Fast throughout the United English Colonies of America (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Jr., 1775), pp. 19-21.

⁶²Daniel Batwell, A Sermon, Preached at York-Town, Before Captain Morgan's and Captain Price's Companies of Rifle-Men, On Thursday, July 20, 1775. Being the Day recommended by the Honorable Continental Congress for a General Fast throughout the Twelve United Colonies of North America (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1775), pp. 3, 19, 20.

seems not to know as his children and subjects." His ministers, led either by false principles or "interested motives," were jealous of the rising greatness of America and sought to crush it.⁶³ David Jones, the Baptist minister, was quite outspokenly in favor of the colonial cause, and depicted the war as a struggle between "absolute slavery and despotism" on the one hand and protecting their rights on the other. He denied that Americans could be classified as rebels: "Rebels are men disaffected with their sovereign in favour of some other person. This is not the case of America."⁶⁴ Americans were not, according to Jones, aiming at "independency." The various addresses and petitions to the king proved this. Yet a severing of the ties could come as God might "raise the spirit of the inhabitants of Great-Britain in our favour." In addition, Jones added, God was "able to open the eyes of the administration, or remove our enemies from about his Majesty, so that there may yet be a happy reconciliation with Great-Britain."⁶⁵

⁶³Joseph Montgomery, A Sermon, preached at Christians Bridge and Newcastle, The 20th of July, 1775, Being the day appointed by the Continental Congress, As a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Jr., 1775), pp. 10, 26-27. One London writer concluded that the king was "governed by men shown to be sworn enemies to his person and family, as well as to the rights and liberties of his people." Pa. Evening Post, Oct. 19, 1775.

⁶⁴David Jones, Defensive War in a just Cause Sinless. A Sermon Preached On the Day of the Continental Fast, at Tredyffryd, in Chester County (Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1775), pp. 18, 19.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 24, 26.

The colonial press also continued to play an important role in exposing defects in the character of the king. It was reported that on the table in the king's apartment were copies of a prayer book and Samuel Johnson's Taxation no Tyranny, seemingly an indication of where the king's heart lay.⁶⁶ The American cause was just; the British government was responsible for the hostilities: "The sword of civil war is drawn, and if there is truth in Heaven, THE KING'S TROOPS UNSHEATHED IT." This writer concluded that

It is a shameful falacy to talk about the SUPREMACY of PARLIAMENT; it is the DESPOTISM of the CROWN and the SLAVERY of the people which the ministry aim at.⁶⁷

The use of the term "King's troops" made it impossible for people to overlook the complicity of the king, who had united with Parliament to root out American liberty:

But hear, O ye swains ('tis a tale most profane)
How all ye tyrannical powers,
King, Commons, and Lords are uniting again,
To cut down this guardian of ours;
From the east to the west, blow the trumpet to arms,
Thro' the land let the sound of it flee,
Let the far and the near--all unite with a cheer,
In defense of our Liberty Tree.⁶⁸

"Charactacus" suggested that it was the actions of the king which had created the crisis:

Our sovereign . . . has divided his dominion over us with a venal Parliament. He has established

⁶⁶Pa. Evening Post, July 29, 1775.

⁶⁷Ibid., Aug. 12, 1775.

⁶⁸Pa. Ledger, Aug. 12, 1775.

Popery and arbitrary power over the greatest part of our continent--He has torn away our charters--and after all has answered our petitions for a redress of our grievances with fleets and armies.

Yet this writer in this same letter to General Burgoyne insisted that Americans still believed in the old formula that the "king can do no wrong."⁶⁹

Early in July, 1775, the Congress had sent another dutiful petition--the "Olive Branch" Petition--to the king. For the most part written by John Dickinson, the Olive Branch Petition was a request for the king to redress the grievances of the colonists; the grievances were caused by the king's ministers. It referred to the earlier happiness of the colonies and their relation with the mother country, but this had been destroyed by the "irksome variety of artifices practiced by many of your Majesty's Ministers." Despite all these artifices, the delegates emphasized that they remained loyal to his "Majesty's person, family and government, with all devotion that principle and affection can inspire, [and] connected with Great-Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies."⁷⁰ Though it was

⁶⁹Pa. Packet, Aug. 14, 1775.

⁷⁰Pa. Evening Post, Aug. 17, 1775; Pa. Ledger, Aug. 19, 1775; Pa. Packet, Aug. 24, 1775, supplement. See also the London comment on the previous colonial petition to the king reprinted in the Pa. Gazette, Aug. 23, 1775. The Pa. Ledger demonstrated its loyalty to the king by reprinting the birthday ode for the year, Aug. 26, 1775. The ode did not appear in the other issues of the Pennsylvania press. On the entire question of conciliation at this time see Weldon A. Brown, Empire or Independence: A Study in the Failure of Reconciliation, 1774-1783 (Fort Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1966 [1941], pp. 35-74.

sympathetic to the king and was aimed at compromise, the proffered means of compromise was for the king to accept the colonial position. Such a stand was not possible; the delegates undoubtedly realized this, as in a letter from John Dickinson, a leader in the movement for conciliation, to Arthur Lee:

If [the] Administration be desirous of stopping the Effusion of British blood . . . the Opportunity is now offered to them by an unexceptionable Petition, praying for an accomodation. If they reject this application with Contempt, the more humble it is, the more such Treatment will confirm the Mind of our Countrymen, to endure all the Misfortunes that may attend the Contest.⁷¹

This attempt at conciliation of American terms probably was sincere. Several weeks before this was published, however, there had appeared an address to the people of Ireland in which the delegates indicated that the king had been deaf to their complaints "and vain were all attempts to impress him with a sense of the sufferings of his American subjects."⁷² The intransigence of the king was implied at a meeting of the livery of London when it was resolved that the king was bound to hear the petitions of the people and that it was their right to be heard. Whoever would advise the king against hearing them was "equally an enemy to the happiness and security of the King, and to the peace and

⁷¹Quoted in Burnett, The Continental Congress, p. 85.

⁷²Pa. Evening Post, Aug. 5, 1775; Pa. Packet, Aug. 7, 1775; Pa. Ledger, Aug. 5, 1775.

liberties of the people."⁷³ In the same week that the Olive Branch Petition appeared in print in Pennsylvania, a letter from "The Whigs" to the king asked "How long, generous Sir, shall we, thy loving subjects, complain that thou hast turned a deaf ear to our petitions?"⁷⁴ Could any good be expected from petitions, even from one so condescending as the "Olive Branch" Petition?

In the late summer and autumn of 1775 the Pennsylvania press was filled with a variety of statements reprinted from the London radical press; most, it appears, were critical of the king in particular and of monarchy in general. Although it is difficult to determine the precise impact of such characterizations, it is important to note that Pennsylvanians now were being fed almost a steady diet of anti-monarchical statements. One writer declared that in reviewing the persons of the English monarchs from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne one must conclude that except for three or four, they were "weak, wicked, cruel, and worthless wretches." Yet he confessed that the worst ones had benefited the country; James I and Charles I were responsible for the petition of right and James II brought a revolution. He did not have any comments on the reign of

⁷³Pa. Evening Post, Sept. 8, 1775. The petition of the Lord Mayor, Alderman, and livery of London declared that the throne was "surrounded by men avowedly inimical to those principles on which your Majesty possesses the crown, and this people their liberties." Ibid., Sept. 8, 1775.

⁷⁴Ibid., Aug. 19, 1775. From the Public Ledger, May 25, 1775. "To the King."

George III, but it should be obvious to many that some good could come of it.⁷⁵ Another writer suggested that the present reign would "to posterity, appear the most disgraceful in the English history," a generalization which he supported with many examples:

Whether it is taken for the enormous profusion of bribes, to legalize the outrageous advances towards despotism . . . whether for patronizing notorious Jacobites, and Jacobite writers; or most ungratefully proscribing all the old tried friends of the House of Brunswick.⁷⁶

As added evidence of the Catholic and Jacobite plot against the English citizen it was suggested that the monarchs of Europe had reached agreements among themselves "until they shall have subjugated their respective subjects." The Spanish king, for example, would assist the king of Great Britain to subdue America; afterward George III would be able "to render himself an absolute monarch in Britain."⁷⁷

Even the classics were brought in to buttress the radical position. "Antonius" compared George III to Julius Caesar in that both seemed to think that all had been won for themselves.⁷⁸ An excerpt from the Morning Post described

⁷⁵Pa. Packet, Aug. 28, 1775. "To the Printer of the St. James's Chronicle."

⁷⁶Pa. Evening Post, Sept. 14, 1775.

⁷⁷Ibid., Oct. 3, 1775. Some similar "evidence" was reprinted from the New England Chronicle and Essex Gazette which reported that George III's father had said that should the American colonies ever be lost, "Great-Britain would become a province of France within three years." The American cause thus could become an international cause. See Ibid., Sept. 23, 1775.

⁷⁸Pa. Journal, Oct. 11, 1775.

the impressions of one person who saw for the first time a new portrait of the "prime minister":

the forehead had been the front of Nero; the eyes are those of Caligula; the nose and chin belonging to Dionysius; the mouth and snimper was Richard the Third's; the general shape of the head bears an exact resemblance of G the Td; and if we may judge of the heart from the actions that proceed from it, the virtues of all those great men he so much resembles are centered there.⁷⁹

George III quite obviously was in select company.

In 1775 there was published in Pennsylvania a multi-volumed study of the constitutional organization of the British empire. The author, James Burgh, nephew of the historian William Robertson and a dissenting schoolmaster, emphasized the responsibility of Parliament for the present crisis, and suggested as a solution to the problem the re-distribution of seats to ensure a stronger popular voice in the government.⁸⁰ Burgh also suggested, however, that one

⁷⁹Pa. Evening Post, Sept. 16, 1775. "A.B." also placed much of the responsibility on the minister, "who taught the king to place his confidence in the few, and that the multitude in England cannot think, as we are told those in America cannot fight." Pa. Packet, Sept. 18, 1775. From the St. James's Chronicle, July 13, 1775, "To the Printer." Franklin often signed articles "A.B.", though there is no indication that this was written by him. See Crane, Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press, e. g., pp. 248, 293.

⁸⁰James Burgh, Political Disquisitions: or An Enquiry into public Errors, Defects, and Abuses, Illustrated by, and established upon Facts and Remarks, extracted from a Variety of Authors, Ancient and Modern, Calculated To draw the timely Attention of Government and People, to a due Consideration of the Necessity, and the Means, of Reforming those Errors, Defects, and Abuses; of Restoring the Constitution, and Saving the State. (3 vols. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1775), I, 29, 67, 304. Announced as "just published" in the Pa. Journal, June 14, 1775; George Washington headed the list of "Encouragers of the work." It was published in England

could call even kings to account "if they govern in any manner inconsistent with the good of the people."⁸¹ He emphasized the practicality and the frugality of the wise king:

Several millions a year laid out in supporting the power of the court! And this is not sufficient; of such a growing nature is corruption! Nothing of this boundless unaccountable waste could have place in a republic. I do not mention this as any reflection on our king. It is but a small part of this immense sum, that is consumed by them in their propria persona; or that is laid out on their families. . . the dignity of a British monarch does not consist in his spending large sums of his poor people's money; but rather in his sparing their purses, and setting them an example of frugality.⁸²

Kings were limited in a more direct way. The people, for example, had the power to fix the prerogative of the king, who did not have to deliver his prerogatives to his successor undiminished. Rather it was "the duty of a prince to consult at all adventures, the greatest good of his people." Should

at 42s per volume, and in Philadelphia at 10s. See the advertisement in the Pa. Evening Post, Nov. 14, 1775, which claims that Burgh shows "how, and by what means the Royal, Ministerial, and Parliamentary Managers cajole, tempt, and bribe the people. "Antonius" used Burgh as evidence that "what our sleek courtiers here call dependence on the Parent State is in reality a dependence on George Third, Lords Bute and Mansfield." Pa. Journal, Oct. 11, 1775. On Burgh, see Crane, ed. Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press, pp. 285-287.

⁸¹Burgh, Political Disquisitions, I, 192, citing as authorities Locke and Milton.

⁸²Ibid., II, 39. Similarly, Burgh declared that "The pretence, that a king ought to have a number of attendants about him, to keep up his state and to strike the people with an awe of government, wants no answer. Was ever the parade of government kept up at a higher expense than in our time" Was ever government more despised by the subjects, than ours is now?" I, 130.

such a diminution of prerogative add to the happiness of millions there should be no question which course of action the king should follow. No power on earth had the "right to hinder the majority of a people from making, in their form of government, what innovations they please."⁸³ With regard to the power of the king the writer asked a question with an obvious answer, particularly for Americans:

Shall it be said, that the history of England during the greatest part of the 17th century is filled with instances of resistance to the tyranny of kings, and that the following century exhibits little else than a series of shameful concessions to the encroachments of corrupt courts?⁸⁴

Thomas Paine, writing as "Humanus," even gave a specific example of these British cruelties when he described the "horrid" activities of the British in the East Indies, in addition to the "ill use" which she made of America. He concluded that "the Almighty will finally separate America from Britain . . . call it independency or what you will." Such a step was necessary because "the paltry dignity of earthly kings has been set up in preference to the great cause of the King of kings."⁸⁵ Already there were overtones

⁸³Ibid., II, 285, 299. "Kings are the protectors not masters of their kingdoms; that a kingdom is a stewardship not an estate. That if princes were republicans, subjects would be royalists; and that the more authority princes challenge; the less free subjects will grant, and contrary-wise." Ibid., 376.

⁸⁴Ibid., II, 414.

⁸⁵Pa. Journal, Oct. 18, 1775. Reprinted in William M. Van der Weyde, The Life and Works of Thomas Paine (10 vols. New Rochelle, New York: Thomas Paine Historical Association, 1925), II, 1-2. Shortly thereafter there

of the advanced anti-monarchical sentiments which were to sweep America in Common Sense.

Whatever hope for reconciliation with the king which remained was dashed, on November 1, when there first appeared in print in the Pennsylvania press the proclamation of the king for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition. According to George III many of the North American subjects had been misled by "dangerous and ill designing men" and declared that the traitors would be brought to justice.⁸⁶ The king was confident that the fighting in America soon would be over; apparently he did not once question the wisdom of his own policies. Of equal importance in his mind was the fact that he was a monarch who had a duty to perform.⁸⁷

The proclamation gave the radicals the strongest reason yet to feel hostile toward the king. Undoubtedly

appeared another poem favorable to George III, provided he change his views. Pa. Ledger, Oct. 21, 1775. See also "Oppression: A Poem," in which the author professed loyalty to the crown if faction were removed. In Ibid., Oct. 3, 1775. William Andrews reprinted a poem which alluded to the shortcomings of George III and to the mortality of kings in general. See [William Andrews], Poor Will's Almanack for the Year of our Lord, 1776 . . . (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank [1775]), Poem for February, p. [6].

⁸⁶Pa. Journal, Nov. 1, 1775; Pa. Evening Post, Nov. 7, 1775; Pa. Gazette, Nov. 1, 1775, postscript; Pa. Ledger, Nov. 4, 1775; Pa. Packet, Nov. 6, 1775.

⁸⁷See Donoghue, Brit. Politics and the Am. Rev., p. 278. The king, on Aug. 18, had informed Lord North that "from the time it was first suggested I have seen it as most necessary first as it put people on their guard, and also as it shews the determination of prosecuting with vigour every measure that may tend to force those deluded People to Submission," in Fortescue, ed. Correspondence of King George the Third, III, 248.

many were glad to read in the Pennsylvania Gazette that somebody in London had noticed the disparity between the action of George III in issuing a proclamation of rebellion and the fact that "no proclamation . . . was used against the Scotch rebels in 1745, although their aim was to dethrone the King."⁸⁸ The king's action simply could not be excused. The Continental Congress, considering the king's proclamation on December 6, objected to the statement that they had forgotten their allegiance. They denied ever owing allegiance to Parliament, but affirmed that they had always avowed their allegiance to the king. At all times, however, they had maintained their rights:

To support our laws, and our liberties established by our laws, we have prepared, ordered, and levied war: But is this traitorously, or against the King? We view him as the Constitution represents him: That tells us he can do no wrong. The cruel and illegal attacks, which we oppose, have no foundation in the royal authority. We will not, on our part, lose the distinction between the King and his Ministers.⁸⁹

Thus the delegates to the Congress continued to assert their loyalty to the king. But of course, considering the newspapers which many must have read while meeting in Philadelphia, they were acquainted with more radical ideas. Indeed, some of the delegates were themselves in the forefront of the radical movement, publicizing those radical ideas. Whether the statement cited above represented the actual

⁸⁸Pa. Gazette, Nov. 15, 1775.

⁸⁹Ibid., Dec. 13, 1775; Pa. Evening Post, Dec. 7, 1775; Pa. Ledger, Dec. 9, 1775.

sentiment of the congress as a whole or whether it was in part used to defend the colonists from charges of treason in the unlikely event that Parliament did an abrupt volte-face is difficult to determine. It appears that the congressional distinction between the king and his ministers--though echoed by some writers--was one which had lost most of its meaning by the end of the year.

Several other announcements of governmental policy made the breach between the king and his American subjects even wider. On November 15 it was recorded in the press that the king had entered into a treaty with Hanover to furnish troops for use in America, even though some of the members of the Hanoverian council objected to the plan. It was suggested that "the King might hang up, in his tender mercy, all who should happen to fall in his hands," one indication of the consequences of opposition to the king.⁹⁰ It was also reported that the Olive Branch Petition was received, but that "no answer would be given."⁹¹ This quite obviously would be yet another blow to the moderate elements in the colonies, although many had anticipated its rejection. A speech delivered at the commencement ceremonies at Princeton also illustrated the growing attitude toward the king and even toward monarchy in general:

Were goodness and Wisdom inseparably united to a Crown, a people might be happy though their Sovereign

⁹⁰Pa. Journal, Nov. 15, 1775.

⁹¹Ibid.

was absolute. But such is the depravity of human nature, that Arbitrary Power has a tendency to corrupt the heart and to eradicate from it every principle of virtue.

Although, the speaker asked, many have mourned the loss of a Prince of Wales,

who ever shed a tear over the graves of the Kings of Britain: Even the limited power of the British constitution, has corrupted almost every hand that ever held it. Indeed the history of Kings and Emperors is little more than the history of royal villany.⁹²

Part of "An English Patriot's Creed" printed late in December included the statement that "I believe a King of England has not a claim to absolute uncontroled dominion."⁹³ A poetic rendition of a letter from Lord William Russell to Lord William Cavendish also added criticism of the king:

Happy the Prince! Thrice firmly fixed his crown!
Who builds on public good his chaste renown.

.....
But should some upstart, train'd in slavery's school,
Learn'd in the maxims of despotic rule,

.....
Should such a miscreant, born for England's bane,
Obscure the glories of a prosperous reign,
Gain, by the semblance of each praiseful art,
A pious prince's unsuspecting heart.

The writer foretold dire consequences for the prince as well as the "miscreant."⁹⁴ But if the prince were to be captivated by faction or become absolute in his own stead, what should the citizen do with respect to his "allegiance to the King and obedience to the parent country"? The mayor of New

⁹²Ibid., Nov. 29, 1775.

⁹³Pa. Packet, Dec. 25, 1775.

⁹⁴Pa. Evening Post, Nov. 25, 1775.

York reportedly gave the following advice:

If by the former you intend an unconditional obsequiousness to the will of the Prince, or of his Ministers, even though repugnant to the constitution; and by the latter, in an absolute submission to the laws of Parliament in all cases, we must confess it is to our glory to withhold both the one and the other.⁹⁵

An absolute king thus could command no allegiance from his subjects.

Occasionally there were reports of loyal addresses to the king. Often, however, they also contained statements which destroyed any credibility which they may have had. An oath in which the swearers promised to continue true to the king and "support, maintain, and defend his crown and dignity, against all traiterous attempts and conspiracies whatever," was said to have been "extorted from the people of Norfolk and Princess Anne, by Lord DUNMORE."⁹⁶ The address of the principal inhabitants of Manchester to the king was loyal and dutiful, and regretted that the lenience shown by the king to America had not been appreciated. An asterisk, however, identified Manchester as a town which was "infamously remarkable for being the only one in England where the Pretender found any number of friends."⁹⁷ Shortly

⁹⁵Ibid., Dec. 16, 1775.

⁹⁶Ibid., Dec. 12, 1775; Pa. Ledger, Dec. 16, 1775; Pa. Gazette, Dec. 13, 1775.

⁹⁷Pa. Evening Post, Nov. 11, 1775; Pa. Packet, Nov. 13, 1775. A toast drunk "in all constitutional companies and societies in and about London, proposed "Wooden shoes and collars for the despicable address of Manchester, Lancaster, Liverpool, Coventry and Leicester," Pa. Journal,

thereafter a writer from Manchester declared that the address did "not give the true sense of the town in general," because the invitation to the meeting had only gone to a few people and that it was signed "by very few, excepting High-Churchmen, and men of Jacobite principles."⁹⁸ The next month it was reported that "their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburgh were yesterday present in the drawing room; their dress were made of the Manchester manufacturing, trimmed with silver."⁹⁹ This further identified the Jacobite principles of Manchester with the extravagance of the court.

In 1775 the public press had been filled with various indications of anti-monarchical and anti-parliamentary sentiments. Though the official proclamations of the various provincial and continental meetings indicated the persistent efforts to reach conciliation on colonial terms, it was quite apparent that the king no longer was seen as the champion of the cause of his American provinces against the encroachments of ministers and Parliament as many had hoped. Indeed,

Jan. 10, 1776. The king wrote to North that "It is impossible to draw up a more dutiful and affectionate Address than the one from the town of Manchester which really gives me pleasure as it comes unsolicited; as You seem desirous that this Spirit should be encouraged I will certainly not object to it; though by fatal experience I am aware that they will occasion counter petitions." Fortescue, ed. The Correspondence of King George the Third, III, 256.

⁹⁸Pa. Gazette, Nov. 22, 1775.

⁹⁹Pa. Evening Post, Dec. 21, 1775.

the accounts of his education, his securing of troops, his rejection of the colonial petitions and apparent indifference to their cause, and his royal proclamation of rebellion suggested that the king was the source of many of the problems. By the summer of 1775 it appears that the king's hold on the loyalty of Pennsylvanians was rapidly being lost, and by the end of the year the bulk of the people clearly were prepared to abandon an increasingly despised monarch.

CHAPTER IX

THE GREAT DEBATE, 1776

In the six months preceding the issuance of the Declaration of Independence, American newspapers and pamphlets were filled with arguments concerning the future road which America was to follow. In the words of Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., it was "The Great Debate," as Americans, fired by Thomas Paine's Common Sense, analyzed the arguments for and against independence. It was in Philadelphia, where the Second Continental Congress was in session, that many of the more significant arguments were published.¹

Yet, in another sense, the debate had already been held. By 1776, although there was the debate over the steps which would be taken concerning the legal relationship between the colonies and the mother country, the major arguments against the king had already been made available to colonial readers, at least to those who had followed the Pennsylvania press. As 1776 began fewer and fewer Americans saw in the hostilities an attempt to secure their basic rights as subjects of the king within the framework of the British Empire. Some, such as the Adamses in Massachusetts, had gone beyond this. But independence had not been the

¹Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence, Ch. XII.

avowed goal of many Americans; certainly the Continental Congress had not admitted this. Full Tories, those who advocated complete capitulation to the ministers, king and Parliament were few, or at least few had access to the press.²

Most information reprinted from outside the colonies was hostile to the British government and its activities. A letter from Germany described the greed and avarice of the English; the writer also reported the continued influence of the Earl of Bute:

Touch but Bute's palm and all will be right; he is the arch fiend, and has all the imps at his command. We believe him to be a Jesuit, and we know he is a blood relation of the banished Stuart King, and we believe he has been long working schemes to bring in one of that family to be again King of England.³

Such reasoning seems a bit tortuous, and one could remain confident that the king was innocent. He could be seen as merely an unwitting pawn in the hands of Bute who sought to discredit the king, perhaps foment a revolution, and bring in the Stuarts. Nonetheless, such weakness in the person of the monarch could not reflect well on George III.

The Pennsylvania Journal reprinted a London toast which suggested that kings should "remember that they were made for their subjects and not their subjects for them."⁴ It was also reported that the opposition of George III's

²Ibid., pp. 260-261.

³Pa. Evening Post, Jan. 2, 1776.

⁴Pa. Journal, Jan. 10, 1776.

parents, as Prince and Princess of Wales, "to the mild, just, and constitutional government of George II was neither more or less than a Jacobite Conspiracy against the principles of the resolution [revolution], and the rights of the people." The writer was thus able to conclude that the government of George III was "only the full grown monster" of the principles of "ingratitude, disloyalty, and disobedience" instilled into the Prince of Wales by his parents.⁵ A letter to the London Public Advertiser declared that Americans had "no desire to shake off their dependency and connection with these kingdoms." Rather, they merely sought a restoration of the situation as it was before 1763, "that is not to be taxed internally without their own consent." They did not want to "dethrone our beloved Sovereign, or attack his precious life" or "exchange an amiable Protestant King for a Popish Tyrant."⁶

George III's speech to both houses of Parliament on October 28, however, had dispelled all hope of moderation. The leaders of the colonists in America, according to the king,

meant only to amuse by vague expressions of attachment to the Parent State, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt.

Yet the rebellion had spread and was now "manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire."

⁵Ibid.

⁶Pa. Packet, Jan. 15, 1776.

In order to "put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions," the king announced that he was increasing his naval and land forces, and also that he had "received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance."⁷ The House of Commons assured the monarch of their "entire concurrence" with the royal decision to deal with "the unhappy and deluded multitude."⁸

The most outspoken and inflammatory of the colonial publications against Great Britain and George III was Common Sense by Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had come to America in 1774 with letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin. Paine published Common Sense in pamphlet form on January 9, though he had at first intended to have it published serially in newspapers, as had John Dickinson with his Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer.⁹ Although filled with exaggerations and superficialities, Common Sense immediately won a widespread audience. Essentially the pamphlet, seventy-nine pages in the original edition, was an attack on hereditary monarchy and a refutation of any supposed advantages of reconciliation with Great Britain.¹⁰

⁷Pa. Ledger, Jan. 13, 1776. Printed also as a broadside by Hall and Sellers, William and Thomas Bradford, and John Dunlap, who dated it January 8, 1776, 10 o'clock.

⁸Pa. Packet, Feb. 12, 1776.

⁹Pa. Evening Post, Jan. 13, 1776: "Phil., January 9, 1776, This day was published, and is now selling by Robert Bell, in Third-street (price two shillings) COMMON SENSE addressed to the inhabitants of America."

¹⁰According to the title-page and the advertisements,

That Paine was the most influential propagandist of this time cannot be denied. After all, over one hundred thousand copies of Common Sense were sold in a short time, and it appeared in some twenty-five American editions. But he was fortunate in that a number of Americans already believed the charges which were now set before them with acid pen. Most of the charges and proposals which Paine had made had appeared in the press before, albeit they often were tempered by charges of ministerial or royal perversion of the government.

Rather than praising the English system of government as a number of his contemporaries had done, Paine subjected it to a scathing condemnation. Government was at best, according to Paine, "but a necessary evil." He admitted that the English constitution was "noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected," yet it compounded monarchical and aristocratic tyrannies with the more modern republican materials of the commons, thus destroying its value.¹¹ Nor could Paine understand the English attitude toward the king:

though we have been wise enough to shut and lock

the author proposed to discuss the following topics: "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.

¹¹[Thomas Paine], Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America (Philadelphia: R. Bell, [1776]), pp. 1, 6.

a door against absolute Monarchy, we at the same time have been foolish enough to put the crown in possession of the key.

Monarchies had caused all the problems of mankind: "the pride of kings . . . [threw] mankind into confusion." Even the Scriptures, according to Paine, showed that the Almighty disapproved of government by kings: "Monarchy is ranked in scripture as one of the sins of the Jews, for which a curse in reserve is denounced against them."¹² The hereditary aspects of monarchy were equally wrong and degrading; the present royal families were probably descended from "nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang; whose savage manners or preeminence in subtilty obtained him the title of chief among plunderers."¹³ He declared that

In England a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which, in plain terms, is to empoverish the nation and set it together by the ears. A pretty business indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thousand sterling a year for, and worshipped into the bargain!¹⁴

Paine also rejected the notion that the colonies had benefited from their connection with Great Britain, and declared that they would have flourished even more without control from outside.¹⁵ There could never be a true reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country, since the

¹²Ibid., pp. 11, 13-15.

¹³Ibid., p. 21

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 28-29.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 32.

latter would merely repeat her actions at some future date. The king would still have a veto over colonial legislation; this veto would be far more damaging in America than in England where he was subject to direct popular pressure for such needs as defense. It was only through independence that peace could be restored to the continent.¹⁶

Paine also outlined a form of government for America which might bring the colonies into a union. Of course, it would not include a king. The supreme leader would be Almighty God, rather an interesting statement by an individual later to become notorious for his attacks on religion: "He reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the royal brute of Great Britain." Paine concluded that "for as in absolute governments the king is law, so in free countries the law ought to be king."¹⁷ In an appendix to a later edition, Paine characterized the person of the monarch of Great Britain:

it matters very little now what the king of England either says or does; he hath wickedly broken through every moral and human obligation, trampled nature and conscience beneath his feet, and by a steady and constitutional spirit of insolence and cruelty procured for himself an universal hatred.¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁸[Thomas Paine], Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America . . . A new edition, with several Additions in the Body of the Work. To which is added an Appendix; together with an Address to the People called Quakers (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford [1776]), p. 38. Printed Feb. 14, 1776.

The charges which Faine had raised were far-reaching in their conception, and it remained to be seen how those who opposed this firebrand and his ideas came to grips with the issues he raised. Several writers continued to sympathize with the king, though they did not address themselves to the problems raised by the author of Common Sense. Instead they made one last try for the old "wicked minister" idea. One of them declared that he could not understand how a king "born and educated" in England and "glorying in the name of Briton" could forsake all his old advisers. He concluded that it was the "baneful breath of bad ministers" which had tarnished the glory of the throne:

no man ever made greater or more public professions of piety, yet never was King cursed with a more profligate court. No King of Great Britain ever before lived so privately or oeconomically; yet none was evermore distressed in his finances, notwithstanding the liberal assistances of the most complaisant Parliament that ever Prince had at his devotion.¹⁹

Even John Wilkes urged moderation in the present crisis, when, speaking as Lord Mayor, he declared that

we . . . ought to approach our Sovereign with sound and wholesome advice, and even with remonstrances against the conduct of his Ministers, who have precipitated the nation into an unjust war with our brethen in America.²⁰

¹⁹Pa. Packet, Jan. 22, 1776. See also [Arthur Donaldson], To the Tories . . . [Philadelphia, 1776], broadside, an ironic attack on the corruption of the King's officials in America: "We, the King's Judges, King's Attornies, and King's Custom-House Officers, having had a long Run in this City, grown rich from nothing at all, and engrossed every Thing to ourselves, would now most Willingly keep every Thing to ourselves.

²⁰Pa. Evening Post, Jan. 18, 1776.

Another writer, in a partial rejoinder to Common Sense, decried the "pigeon hearted wretches" who would favor the recall of the Stuart family--obviously this could not be the Hanoverian George III--and "the establishment of Fopery throughout Christendom." The writer, however, also called for independence which would place the colonies "on a footing for an equal negociation."²¹ Temple Luttrell, in the House of Commons, denied that the king had betrayed the principles of the kingdom: "Those evil counsellors who have so long poisoned the ear of their Sovereign, would now make us believe they had perverted his principles also." He concluded that the king was

too humane, and besides, too well acquainted with the history of this country and its constitution, with the memoirs of the Stuart race, and of his own illustrious house

to have a part in the charges which were being made against him.²²

A "Religious Politician," however, emphasized the corruptness of Great Britain and the ruling classes:

there is no degree of vice, folly or corruption now wanting, to fill up any measure of iniquity necessary for the downfall of a state. From the King on the throne, to the meanest freeman in the nation, all is corrupt. The crown, far from regarding its duty in the political world, only uses the public money to bribe the public officer.²³

²¹Ibid., Feb. 3, 1776.

²²Pa. Packet, Feb. 5, 1776.

²³Pa. Journal, Feb. 7, 1776; See Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence, p. 265. According to Richard Price, in a pamphlet which appeared later in the year, "licentiousness

Others also pointed out the necessity of opposing the British government for religious reasons:

who would not then stand forth in the defence of our liberties, so essentially necessary for the progress of religion and the rapid settlement of the Colonies? Who would not run the risk of spilling some blood for the enlargement of Christ's mystical body the Church, which he purchased with his own most precious blood? Glorious cause, my dear brethren, we are embarked in, worthy of a struggle!²⁴

Another writer, addressing the king, said that there was

a God who sees thro' the veil that covers thy deceit, and who hears the cry of the needy, and regards the prayer of the distressed, who will recompence vengeance on the wicked, though supported by the power of Great-Britain.²⁵

Common Sense had reached a very wide audience,²⁶ and

and despotism are more nearly allied than is commonly imagined." Richard Price, Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America. To which is added, an Appendix, containing A State of the National Debt, an Estimate of the Money drawn from the Public by the Taxes, and an Account of the National Income and Expenditure since the last War (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, [1776]), p. 10. Originally printed in London in 1776.

²⁴William Foster, True Fortitude Delineated, A Sermon, Preached at Fags Manor, to Captain Taylor's Company of Recruits, on the Lord's Day, February 18th, 1776 (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776), p. 17.

²⁵Pa. Packet, Feb. 22, 1776.

²⁶A writer from Maryland declared that "he has made a great number of converts here. His stile is plain and nervous; his facts are true; his reasoning just and conclusive. I hear of three only in my county, who disapprove of the piece." Pa. Evening Post, Feb. 13, 1776. However, shortly thereafter, there appeared the "Unanimous declaration of the Convention of the Province of Maryland," Jan. 18, 1776, in which the delegates concluded that they "were warmly impressed with the sentiments of affection for, and loyalty to, the house of Hanover," and declared that they "never did, nor do entertain any views or desires of independency," Pa. Packet, Mar. 4, 1776. A writer from New York also praised

Paine took advantage of every opportunity to continue the assault on the king. He used the news of the death of Major-General Richard Montgomery before Quebec to strike another blow against the institution of monarchy. According to the dialogue which Paine wrote, Montgomery was released from Elysian Fields so that he could warn the Americans of the dangers of accommodation with Great Britain. The king was a "Royal Criminal" bent on enslaving virtuous millions to satisfy his own greed for wealth and prestige; he was "the author of all the measures carried on against America." Montgomery also informed the "American Delegate" that there were no friends of America in Britain. Chatham and Rockingham, often described as champions of the American cause, were exposed as authors of schemes to ruin America, and "Wilkes has added infamy to the weakness of your cause." It thus was to the interest of virtuous Americans everywhere to break away from England; Montgomery also assured the delegate that "Divine Providence intends this country to be the asylum of persecuted virtue from every quarter of the globe."²⁷

Common Sense and declared that it "operates most powerfully upon the minds of the people." Yet he concluded that "its effects are trifling compared with the effects of the folly, insanity and villany of the King and his Ministers. Their last acts have given the finishing stroke to dependance [sic]." Pa. Evening Post, Mar. 2, 1776.

²⁷Pa. Packet, Feb. 19, 1776. The complete title was "A Dialogue Between the Ghost of General Montgomery just arrived from the Elysian Fields; and an American Delegate, in a wood near Philadelphia."

Common Sense, as well as Paine's other writings, had attracted widespread support in the colonies; yet it also stirred a number of writers to attempt a refutation of Paine's contentions.²⁸ A few days after Common Sense was issued the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting published a strong rejoinder; while not a direct refutation of the pamphlet, it did announce that the Quakers were opposed to the course of action which Paine suggested:

The benefits, advantages and favour we have experienced by our dependence on, and connection with, the kings and government, under which we have enjoyed this happy state, appear to demand from us the greatest circumspection, care, and constant endeavours, to guard against every attempt to alter, or subvert that dependence and connection.²⁹

Charles Inglis, an Anglican clergyman and supporter of the proposal for an American archbishopric earlier in the decade, likened Paine's remedy of destroying monarchy because of certain injustices to "cutting off a leg because the toe hurts."³⁰ In The True Interest of America Impartially

²⁸One writer declared early in February that other than an "oblique essay" in the Pa. Ledger and the solemn Testimony of the Quakers, "however intended," no one had offered a refutation. Pa. Evening Post, Feb. 3, 1776.

²⁹The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the People called Quakers, Renewed, with respect to the Kings and Government and Touching the Commotions now prevailing in these and other Parts of America, addressed to the people in general [Philadelphia, 1776], p. 3. Some indication of the opposition to this address can be seen in Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 176-177.

³⁰[Charles Inglis], The True Interest of America Impartially Stated, in Certain Strictures of a Pamphlet Intituled Common Sense, By an American (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, 1776), p. v. The preface was signed Feb. 16, 1776.

Stated, he denied that the English constitution had been erected in "dark and slavish times," as Faine had charged.

Rather,

the Constitution of England, as it now stands, was fixed at the revolution of 1688 . . . it was then that the limits of royal prerogative on the one hand, and the liberties and privileges of the subject on the other; were ascertained with precision.

Inglis also concluded that monarchical governments were "best adapted to extensive dominions; popular governments to a small territory." In addition he held that the best government had to be a combination of aristocratic and democratic elements "owing probably to the unavoidable evils incident to each,--or to the impracticability [sic] of forming either." Britons long had realized this, and the attempts both at despotism and democracy had failed:

Limited monarchy is the form of government which is most favourable to liberty--which is best adapted to the genius and temper of Britons; although here and there among us a crack-brained zealot for democracy or absolute monarchy may sometimes be found.³¹

Another refutation of Common Sense came from the pen of the Reverend William Smith, who wrote a series of eight essays under the pseudonym of "Cato." Smith was a prominent Anglican Clergyman and provost of the College of Philadelphia who was particularly distrusted by many Americans for having earlier championed an Anglican bishopric for America. He had undoubtedly been spurred into writing these essays not only by the reception given to Common Sense, but also by the

³¹Ibid., p. 53.

reception given his oration in memory of General Montgomery in the Continental Congress. Since Smith had indicated that Congress continued in its dependence on Great Britain, it produced a sharp debate.³² The initial essay appeared in the Pennsylvania Ledger on March 9, but it was also reprinted in other colonial newspapers. Smith admitted that the colonies had been mistreated by "ministerial vengeance," and yet he concluded that "they have not yet detached us from our Royal Sovereign, &c. trusting that in a constitutional connexion with the mother country, we shall soon be a free and happy people."³³ In his third letter "To the People of Pennsylvania" Smith reiterated his belief that "the true interest of America lies in reconciliation with Great-Britain, upon Constitutional Principles, and that I wish it upon none else." Once the present difficulties were overcome there was little doubt that Great Britain would have learned her lesson. The colonists would be willing, "by a constitutional connexion with her, to afford and receive reciprocal benefits; but although subjects of the same King.

³²William Smith, An Oration in Memory of General Montgomery, and of the Officers and Soldiers, Who Fell With Him, December 31, 1775, before Quebec; drawn up (and delivered February 19th, 1776.) At the desire of the honorable Continental Congress (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776). See also David Hawke, A Transaction of Free Men: The Birth and Course of the Declaration of Independence (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), p. 17.

³³Pa. Gazette, Mar. 13, 1776. See J. Paul Selsam, The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776: A Study in Revolutionary Democracy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), p. 107.

we will not consent to be her slaves."³⁴ Smith also rejected the notion which Paine had advanced in Common Sense for securing foreign alliances for the assistance of the colonial cause. No country would aid the Americans without seeking some personal advantage on the North American continent.³⁵

Another writer who attempted a refutation of Common Sense was "Candidus," the pseudonym of the author of Plain Truth.³⁶ The writer, perhaps James Chalmers, extolled the excellence of the British constitution and characterized Paine as a "Political Quack." He declared that

The best Princes are constantly calumniated by the envenomed tongues and pens of the most worthless

³⁴Pa. Ledger, Mar. 23, 1776. In his previous letter, Smith declared that "we are contending against an arbitrary ministry for the rights of Englishmen." Ibid., Mar. 16, 1776.

³⁵Ibid., Mar. 30, 1776. See also Letter V, Ibid.

³⁶Announced as "just printed, published and now selling" in Ibid., Mar. 23, 1776. James Chalmers is identified as the author in Bailyn, Pamphlets, I, 751, though it previously had been attributed to such individuals as Alexander Hamilton, Joseph Galloway, Charles Inglis, William Smith, and George Chalmers. Bailyn's justification for attributing authorship to James Chalmers has not yet appeared. The full title indicates its contents: [James Chalmers?], Plain Truth; addressed to the Inhabitants of America, Containing Remarks on a late Pamphlet, entitled Common Sense, wherein are shewn, that the scheme of Independence is ruinous, delusive, and impracticable: that were the author's asseverations, respecting the power of America, as real as nugatory; reconciliation on liberal Principles with Great Britain, would be exalted Policy: and that circumstanced as we are, permanent liberty, and true happiness, can only be Obtained, by reconciliation with that Kingdom. Written by Candidus. (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776). The publisher indicated his impartiality by appending an advertisement of Common Sense.

of their subjects. . . . The many unmerited insults offered to our gracious Sovereign by the unprincipled Wilkes, and others down to this late Author; will forever disgrace humanity.³⁷

"Candidus" also pointed out the error of the author of Common Sense when the latter declared his belief in a democracy. Democracies in the ancient world, according to the author, were constantly at war. The same generalization could be made with regard to Holland. The only other democracy of any importance was Switzerland, which, the author alleged, served France better as a democracy than when it had another form of government.³⁸ Likewise he warned his fellow colonists about the danger of England's power:

Can we a moment doubt, that the Sovereign of Great Britain and his ministers, whose glory as well as personal safety depends on our obedience, will not exert every nerve of the British power, to save themselves and us from ruin.³⁹

Another writer, addressing "Cato, Cassandra, and all the Writers on the Independent Controversy," expressed his displeasure at the course of events. Though the author emphasized that he was a "zealous advocate against Great Britain in the present controversy," he declared himself a firm opponent to popular government:

People in general know so little of the different movements of a state . . . that they are almost unequal to the task of forming a proper judgment

³⁷Plain Truth, pp. 2, 3, 6-7.

³⁸Ibid., p. 8.

³⁹Ibid., p. 28.

of the fitness or unfitness of this or that mode."⁴⁰

A similar concern was voiced by a writer who emphasized that the appeal to popular sentiment was the work of persons of questionable character:

To inveigh against Popery and Arbitrary Power has been ever a favourite topic with men, who wish to profit by the prejudices of the people.

The writer, Sir John Dalrymple, indicated that the king's support of Parliamentary authority showed that he "chose to be Monarch of one great and free Nation, rather than the Sovereign of a number of petty States."⁴¹

Several of these arguments illustrate the dilemma which many of the moderates also faced at this point. Though they realized that the decisions of the king and the English government were not in the best interests of America, they could not allow the government to fall into popular hands. The only alternative to the detested republican government was the support of the king. On the other hand, once they became convinced that George III was opposed to their claims, they almost had to advocate the virtue of "popular," or republican government. The only alternative was to cast about for another king.

Yet the anti-royalist propogandists--easily the

⁴⁰Pa. Ledger, Mar. 30, 1776.

⁴¹[John Dalrymple], The Rights of Great Britain Asserted against the Claims of America: being an Answer to the Declaration [of the causes for taking up arms, July 6, 1775] of the General Congress. Said to be written by Lord George Germaine. (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776), pp. 51-52, 63.

majority of the publicists--had the advantage in the pamphlet and newspaper war, since they did not have the great disadvantage of having to defend an increasingly unpopular institution. According to one writer, who signed himself "Salus Populi," a pure monarchy was a form of government "framed for the exaltation of the Prince alone, and his interest and grandure are of primary consideration." It was only a popular government "wherein the community at large takes the care of its own welfare, and manages its concerns by representatives elected by the people out of their own body" which fulfilled the proper function of government, securing the happiness of the people: "kings and nobles are artificial beings for whose emolument civil society was never intended." Throughout history kings had been wicked men, according to the writer who also concluded with the interesting comment that "if the wickedest of men stand most in need of prayers; it is no wonder that so many olergyemen are continually sending up petitions for Kings."⁴² Another writer declared that "hereditary government tends to keep a continual opposition between the court and the country: So that a courtier and a patriot are opposite characters."⁴³

⁴²Pa. Journal, Mar. 13, 1776.

⁴³[Jacob Green], Observations: on the Reconciliation of Great-Britain, and the Colonies: in which are exhibited, Arguments for, and against, that Measure: By a Friend of American Liberty. (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776), p. 24. In an advertisement in the back of the pamphlet the publisher announced that Plain Truth was "just printed." Thus Green's pamphlet probably appeared around April 1.

The American colonists, according to yet another writer, had not received the "least benefit" from the king's promise of full liberty to America.⁴⁴ A "Querist" asked whether a king was a legal sovereign or a tyrant when he broke

Charters, solemnly granted by his predecessors,
 . . . [rejected] the frequent and most humble
 petitions of his people with contempt, and . . .
 [refused] to redress any of their grievances.

Should not a prince, he asked, who ordered destruction of a part of his own country not be likened to Nero of ancient Rome?⁴⁵ Consequently, it was not necessary to support the king.

Events were moving inexorably toward independence. One problem which apparently still plagued some American officials and representatives to the Continental Congress, as well as the officers in the Continental Army, however, was the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to the king, in order to protect themselves against charges of treason. The colonists and the king's opposition often had berated George III for violating his oath. Could they now break their oaths of allegiance? Loyalists such as Charles Inglis defended the sanctity of the oath. Patriot writers suggested that the colonists no longer were held to their oaths, since the king had broken the bonds of allegiance by destroying the rights of his subjects. One said that the oath of

⁴⁴Pa. Journal, Mar. 20, 1776.

⁴⁵Ibid.

allegiance was so full of ambiguities as to be meaningless.⁴⁶

Others also decried the efforts at moderation. One writer described the method which the monarch employed to subvert the liberties of the people:

As soon as a Parliament is called, the King gives certain intimations of his designs, and applies for the probation and support of the Commons. . . . The King and his cabal go to work with all the secrecy and vigour they are masters of . . .⁴⁷

In December, 1775, Parliament passed an act which it felt would divide the colonial cause by enabling the king to appoint individuals who could grant pardons to well disposed persons. James Cannon, a mathematics tutor at the College of Philadelphia, writing as "Cassandra," condemned those colonists who felt their situation would be relieved by the presence of these special royal commissioners. How could they "put any confidence in men who spill your blood with as little ceremony and reluctance as a butcher would that of an ox. Is this all you know of the King and his Ministers?"⁴⁸ Such attacks were to continue to grow in intensity.

Thomas Paine, writing as "The Forester," continued his assault on the monarchical structure in a series of four essays in which he attacked Cato in particular and all the hesitators in general. The struggle was not against an arbitrary ministry, as Cato had contended. Rather the

⁴⁶Pa. Evening Post, Feb. 29, 1776. See [Inglis], The True Interest of America Impartially Stated, p. 50.

⁴⁷Pa. Evening Post, Mar. 2, 1776.

⁴⁸Ibid., Mar. 20, 1776.

Americans were "now contending against an arbitrary King, to get clear of his tyranny."⁴⁹ In his second "Forester" letter, Paine again characterized George III:

the true character of the King was but little known among the body of the people of America a year ago, willing to believe him good, they fondly called him so, but have since found that Cato's Royal Sovereign, is a Royal Savage.⁵⁰

Monarchical government and hereditary succession was necessarily a corrupt governmental process. Disorders would also, according to Paine, more likely occur under a monarchical government than under a republican:

Nature seems sometimes to laugh at mankind, by giving them so many fools for Kings; at other times, she punishes their folly by giving them tyrants; but England must have offended highly to be curst with both in one.⁵¹

In his final essay Paine warned against following the Assembly which was currently sitting in Pennsylvania, since it was "a branch from that power against whom we are contending." In addition the members of the Assembly had "taken an oath to discover to the King of England the very business, which . . . would unavoidably come before them."⁵²

Many other writers also levied attacks against the king. An indirect one came from an individual who allegedly had written a book entitled "The Way to reconcile all parties

⁴⁹Pa. Gazette, April 3, 1776; Pa. Ledger, April 6, 1776.

⁵⁰Pa. Journal, April 10, 1776.

⁵¹Pa. Packet, April 22, 1776.

⁵²Pa. Packet, May 20, 1776; Pa. Journal, May 8, 1776.

to Independency," and was seeking to print it by subscription. The various chapters would show that the population was made to be led by the king, princes, Lords, "and a few wealthy Commoners" who had this authority by a "divine, hereditary, and prescriptive right to lead and govern men as social and earthly animals." The book would be dedicated to "all those who are ambitious of and possess more power than is for the good of the common people."⁵³ James Cannon, leading Pennsylvania revolutionary and "chief architect of the Pennsylvania constitution," writing as "Cassandra," was more direct in his attack, though he implied that the fault originally lay with Parliament. Both the people of Great Britain and America had acknowledged the king, though they had differences among themselves. George III "in duty ought to have remained neuter" in the struggle; yet he joined the Parliament against the people of America. Cannon concluded then that Parliament was the tool of the king; their illegal claims were "only a specious covering for his endeavours after arbitrary power." Parliament could also demand the support of the king. Since his crown, dignity and support depended on the grants of Parliament, the king would "take part with them on every occasion." Governors in America, however, were not so dependent on American legislatures; this explained why they consistently had opposed the

⁵³Pa. Packet, April 8, 1776, postscript.

American cause.⁵⁴ A "Gentleman in Virginia" who had read Common Sense "with much pleasure," wrote that the corruption in Parliament was similar to that of the Roman senate in the time of Caligula:

I wish his Majesty would take it into his head to make one of his cream coloured horses a Member of Parliament; I dare say he would be received in either house with respect.⁵⁵

"An Elector" declared that Pennsylvanians could consider the bond between themselves and the king broken: "the Constitution is therefore (by the breach of royal faith in refusing to govern according to solemn compact among all his people) broken to pieces." It was no longer necessary to respect "a man who has rendered the idea of a Crown detestable to the whole Western World."⁵⁶ A poet described the amount of assistance which the colonists might expect from the king:

Deaf to your cries, the royal ear
Quite stopt, will no remonstrance hear;
Their Counsellors in blood rejoice,
And make destruction wide, their choice.⁵⁷

Several writers, however, still were not totally convinced of the advisability of a break with the mother country, though they opposed the practices of the English

⁵⁴Ibid.; Pa. Ledger, April 13, 1776. In his third letter Cassandra concluded that "a constitution that affords no check against its own servants, can yield no security to us." Pa. Ledger, April 27, 1776. On Cannon see Thayer, Pa. Politics, pp. 189-190.

⁵⁵Pa. Evening Post, April 9, 1776.

⁵⁶Pa. Packet, April 29, 1776.

⁵⁷Ibid., May 13, 1776.

government. One such writer declared that Common Sense had staggered him "with the high wrought declamations against Monarchy in general, and of Britain in particular." Yet, upon sober reflection he became determined to continue in opposition to the government within the empire, "till a firm basis of liberty can be established." He concluded, as did Cato, that "the most certain foundation for American happiness" was a reconciliation with Great Britain and questioned whether a new form of government could improve on the religious liberty which he presently enjoyed, or on the habeas corpus act, or trial by jury, or an "impartial ballot."⁵⁸ One poet, in a "Song by Americans," expressed a sentiment which had almost disappeared; he still looked for the king to change his ways:

May the eyes of the King soon be open'd to see
 We are his good subjects, his slaves we'll not be;
 Leave our freedom untouched, then united we'll sing
 Come fill up your bumpers here's God save the King.⁵⁹

Several other writers, while urging independence from Great Britain, expressed at the same time a hint of moderation. A writer to the Pennsylvania Evening Post listed seven "Reasons for a Declaration of the Independence of the American Colonies." One of these would be the restoration of the British Constitution, which Paine had condemned as a totally corrupt instrument of government. Such a declaration

⁵⁸Ibid., April 29, 1776, postscript.

⁵⁹Pa. Ledger, May 4, 1776.

would also remove America from the danger of Crown officers. The writer made no comment about the king, but he did state that the colonists also "would be delivered from the disorders which arise from the unlimited, undescribed, and sometimes arbitrary powers of Conventions, Committees of Safety, and Committees of Inspection."⁶⁰ Popular government was to be avoided. John Witherspoon, the President of the College of New Jersey, told his audience that they would not hear from him any

railing at the King personally, or even his ministers and the parliament, and people of Britain, as so many barbarous savages. Many of their actions have probably been worse than their intentions.

He concluded, however, that he would "refuse submission to their unjust claims." Though Witherspoon was a supporter of the American cause, and perhaps a bit timid with regard to the person of the king, he thus expressed his opposition to some of the intemperate language which was being employed.⁶¹

By mid-May the various state conventions and the Continental Congress had begun to call for a re-examination of the relationship between Britain and the colonies. On May 10 the Continental Congress passed a resolution which declared that should a colony have "no government sufficient

⁶⁰Pa. Evening Post, April 20, 1776.

⁶¹John Witherspoon, The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men. A Sermon preached at Princeton, on the 17th of May, 1776. Being the General Fast appointed by the Congress through the United Colonies. To which is added An Address to the Natives of Scotland residing in America (Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1776), p. 41.

to the exigencies of their affairs" that colony would have the right to establish a government "best conduce [sic] to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general." Four days later, after rather a sharp debate, the Congress passed a preamble to this resolution defending their action. This step was made necessary since the king, acting with the Lords and Commons, had "excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his crown." It appeared "irreconcilable to reason and good conscience" for colonists to take oaths

for the support of any government under the crown of Great-Britain; and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown should be totally suppressed.⁶²

The same day that the congressional resolve first appeared in the Pennsylvania press there also appeared in the Pennsylvania Evening Post a list of twenty-one questions directed against those who were "Advocates for Dependence upon the Crown of Britain." Opposing the king was justified; the writer asked in question fifteen whether it was not "treason to the British constitution to maintain any longer the least shadow of his power amongst us?"⁶³ Many of the points here raised were to be incorporated into the

⁶²Pa. Evening Post, May 16, 1776; Pa. Packet, May 20, 1776; Pa. Gazette and Pa. Journal, May 22, 1776; also published as a broadside by John Dunlap. For details of the Congressional action see Edmund Cody Burnett, The Continental Congress (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1964 [1941]), pp. 156-161.

⁶³Pa. Evening Post, May 16, 1776. See Appendix for the full text of the questions.

Declaration of Independence eight weeks later. The appearance of these questions at the same time as the congressional resolve undoubtedly re-enforced the popular conception that a new government without the king could and should be established.

A "number of inhabitants" of the Philadelphia area supported the congressional motion to establish new governments under the authority of the people. They were much more blunt in their denunciation of the king, and fully accepted the warning advanced by Thomas Paine. The power of the old Assembly, they maintained, was "derived from our mortal enemy the King of Great-Britain, and the members thereof were elected by such persons only as were either in real or supposed allegiance to the said King." Consequently this Assembly should have no power in framing a new government.⁶⁴ A similar argument was advanced in The Alarm, a pamphlet distributed only four days after the passage of the resolution of the Continental Congress. It was necessary to call a convention which would establish a legal government in Pennsylvania: "Until the authority of the Crown, by which the present House of Assembly sits, be suppressed, the House is not qualified to carry the Resolve of Congress, respecting a new government, into execution." The writer concluded that "Our God will support us against barbarous

⁶⁴pa. Packet, May 27, 1776, supplement.

tyrants, foreign mercenaries, and American traitors."⁶⁵

Similar resolutions appeared throughout the colonial seaboard. The North Carolina select committee to examine charges raised against the king concluded that the king and Parliament had usurped powers which rightfully belonged to the colonists. They resolved that "the Delegates for this colony in the Continental Congress by empowered to concur with the Delegates of the other colonies in declaring independancy."⁶⁶ A Virginia committee reached the same conclusion, citing the intransigence of the king's representative and affirming that they either had to declare independence or bow to "those overbearing tyrants."⁶⁷ The sixteen members of a committee of Charlotte county, Virginia, described the "despotic plan adopted by the King, Ministry and Parliament of Great-Britain . . . to enslave America." They wanted to instruct their delegate to use his influence to "cast off the British yoke, and to enter into a commercial alliance with any nation, or nations, friendly to our cause." With regard to the king they resolved that

And as King George III. of Great-Britain, &c. has manifested deliberate enmity towards us; and, under the character of a parent, persists in behaving as a tyrant, that they, in our behalf,

⁶⁵The Alarm: or, an Address to the People of Pennsylvania, on the late Resolve of Congress, for totally suppressing all Power and Authority derived from the Crown of Great-Britain [Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1776], pp. 1, 4.

⁶⁶Pa. Evening Post, May 28, 1776.

⁶⁷Ibid.

renounce allegiance to him for ever.⁶⁸

The Virginia House of Burgesses dissolved itself with the explanation that "the people could not now be legally represented according to the ancient constitution, which has been subverted by the King, Lords, and Commons."⁶⁹ A Maryland resolution which excised the name of the king from the Book of Common Prayer, began with a statement that "his Britannic Majesty, King George, has prosecuted, and still prosecutes a cruel and unjust war against the British Colonies in America." In addition he had "acceded to acts of Parliament declaring the people of the said Colonies in actual rebellion."⁷⁰ The inhabitants of the town of Boston, in their instructions to their members of the Massachusetts Assembly, emphasized the many cruel actions of the king. He repeatedly had rejected the petitions of the colonies with disdain:

for the prayer of peace, he has tendered the sword;
for liberty, chains; and for safety, death. . . .
The Prince, therefore, in support of whose crown

⁶⁸Ibid., May 21, 1776.

⁶⁹Ibid. One Virginian, Carter Braxton, a delegate to the Congress urged the colonies not to proceed so rapidly. "However, necessary it may be to shake off the authority of arbitrary British dictators, we ought nevertheless to adopt and perfect that system, which England has suffered to be so grossly abused." [Carter Braxton], An Address to the Convention of the Colony and ancient Dominion of Virginia; on the Subject of Government in general, and recommending a particular Form to their Consideration. By a Native of that Colony. (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776), p. 13. Braxton eventually signed the Declaration of Independence. See Burnett, The Continental Congress, p. 160.

⁷⁰Fa. Gazette, June 5, 1776.

and dignity, not many years since, we would most cheerfully have expended life and fortune, we are now constrained to consider as the worst of tyrants. Loyalty to him is now treason to our country.

The king, ministry and Parliament had expressed their determination to enslave the Americans; nor was it possible any longer to count on the British people for aid: "the people there have no disposition to oppose them"⁷¹

At the same time as the Continental Congress agreed on its resolution for establishing new governments under the authority of the people, one writer addressed some questions "to the advocates for Dependence upon the crown of Britain." He asked, as many were asking, whether the king should not "be considered as their enemy" since he had "concurred with the British Parliament in attempting to enslave them." Many of the other statements were somewhat similar to the charges later advanced in the Declaration of Independence. The king had induced his subjects to ravage the American coasts and seize American property; he took colonists to England for trial and imprisonment, shed the blood of their loved ones, and answered their petitions with fleets and armies. The king was a tyrant: "if he is not, then we are rebels. But if he is, then we are bound by the principles of the British constitution to resist him."⁷² By the pure British

⁷¹Pa. Evening Post, June 8, 1776.

⁷²Ibid., May 14, 1776. See the complete text in the appendix. Shortly thereafter there appeared the texts of treaties between George III and the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave and the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassell, signed in January and February, 1776. Pa. Packet, May 27, 1776.

constitution, however, many writers were not referring to the post-1688 institution. Rather, many spoke--erroneously-- of the simple pre-Norman Saxon constitution:

it is reported by our historians, that our Saxon ancestors had no Kings in their own country; but lived in tribes or small communities, governed by laws of their own making and magistrates of their own electing.⁷³

If the Saxons could conduct their government in order without a king, so could the colonists in North America.

Throughout the entire crisis the colonists emphasized the constitutionality of their position. At first it had been the ministers, then the Parliament, and finally the king who had broken the constitution. By May and June of 1776 most accounts which appeared in the press, however, seemed to lay the primary responsibility for the conflict at the feet of the king, though there was an occasional attack on the royal ministers. One writer described the fate of the king who had failed to consider the good of the country:

Such hath, and ever will be the fate of kings,
who only listen to the voice of pleasure,
thrown in their way by the sirens of adminis-
tration, which never fail to swallow them up

⁷³Pa. Packet, May 20, 1776. For a discussion of the use of the Saxon myth see Colbourn, The Lamp of Experience, pp. 25-32, 183-184, 194-198. See also The Genuine Principles of the Ancient Saxon, or English Constitution. Carefully collected from the best Authorities: With some Observations on their peculiar fitness, for the United Colonies in general, and Pennsylvania in particular (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776), p. 8: "Whatever is of Saxon establishment is truly constitutional; but whatever is Norman is heterogeneous to it, and partakes of a tyrannical spirit." It contained a copy of the Declaration of Independence, with an advertisement dated July 9.

like a quicksand.⁷⁴

He concluded, however, that George III had been a wicked king and that it was necessary to rid the country of all vestiges of royalty:

Since tyrants reign, and lust and luxury rule;
 Since kings turn Nero's--statesmen play the fool;
 Since Parli^oment in cursed league combine,
 To sport with rights that's sacred and divine;
 Petitions---waste Paper--great Pharaoh cries,
 Nor care a rush for your remonstrances.
 Each Jacobite, and ev'ry pimping Tory,
 Waits for your wealth, to raise his future glory:

 Cast off the idol god! kings are but vain!
 Let justice rule, and independence reign.
 Are ye not men? Pray who made men by God?
 Yet men made kings--to tremble at their nod!
 What nonsense this--let's wrong with right oppose,
 Since nought will do, but sound impartial blows.
 Let's act in earnest, not with vain pretense,
 Adopt the language of sound COMMON SENSE
 And with one voice proclaim INDEPENDENCE.⁷⁵

The "Watchman" also emphasized the corruptness of the reign of George III, comparing it unfavorably to the previous one and denouncing all moderates such as "Cato and his clan."⁷⁶ A letter to the "Common People of Pennsylvania" also called for an end to the vacillating policies of the "Tories," who emphasized the continued need for reconciliation:

⁷⁴[John Leacock], The Fall of British Tyranny: or, American Liberty triumphant. The first Campaign. A Tragi-comedy of five acts, as lately planned at the Royal Theatrum Pandemonium, at St. James's. The principal place of Action in America. Publish'd according to Act of Parliament. (Philadelphia: Styner and Cist, 1776), p. 15.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 65-66.

⁷⁶Pa. Evening Post, June 13, 1776.

Let the Congress pass a resolve for suppressing all authority derived from the King of Britain in the United Colonies, and the [Tories] will tell you no Congress has a right to interfere with the "domestic police" of a Colony.⁷⁷

There could be no moderation in the question of the relationship with Great Britain; it was necessary to take a stand and to assess responsibility for the crisis, as did a poet who placed the blame on the king in a paean to Virginia's "Declaration of Independence":

And now, when BRITAIN's mercenary bands
Bombard our cities, desolate our lands,
 (Our prayer's unanswer'd and our tears in vain.)
 While foreign cutt-throats crown th' ensanguin'd plain;
 Thy glowing virtue caught the glorious flame,
 And first rencunc'd the cruel TYRANT's name!
 With just disdain, and most becoming pride
 Further dependance on the CROWN deny'd!⁷⁸

The movement toward independence from Great Britain also made it necessary to create state governments. In Pennsylvania the Assembly had adjourned without agreeing on the procedure for electing delegates to a constituent assembly. Consequently the Philadelphia Committee by means of a circular letter to the other county committees called a Provincial Conference to formulate a program for the establishment of a state government. On June 24, the deputies of Pennsylvania met as a Provincial Conference, and, in addition to laying the groundwork for the new government of the province, signed a declaration of their position toward the king. The deputies emphasized that George III, "in violation

⁷⁷Pa. Packet, June 10, 1776.

⁷⁸Pa. Journal, June 19, 1776.

of the principles of the British constitution, and of the laws of justice and humanity," had excluded the people of Pennsylvania from his protection "by an accumulation of oppressions unparalleled in history." Since obligations of allegiance of the subjects to the king were derived from mutual agreements, those obligations were now dissolved by the actions of the king. Hence, the delegates unanimously agreed "to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the United Colonies free and independant states." They emphasized that they were "driven to it in obedience to the first principles of nature by the oppressions and cruelties of the aforesaid King and Parliament of Great Britain."⁷⁹ The members of the Provincial Conference of Committees for Pennsylvania resolved that every one who voted for a member of the Assembly or a convention had to swear that he did not hold himself bound to George III and that he would not oppose the establishment of a free government in Pennsylvania.⁸⁰ The members of the Convention had to take the following oath:

⁷⁹Pa. Evening Post, June 25, 1776; Pa. Journal and Pa. Gazette, June 26, 1776; Pa. Packet, July 1, 1776. On the Provincial Conference see Selsam, Pa. Constitution of 1776, pp. 136-168. David Hawke's In the Midst of a Revolution (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), emphasizes this aspect of Pennsylvania history.

⁸⁰Extracts from the Proceedings of the Provincial Conference of Committees for the Province of Pennsylvania, held at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, June 18, 1776 (Philadelphia: Styner and Cist, 1776), p. 1. One writer described the affinity of the proprietary party for the king: "Every thing respecting the King of Great-Britain was represented by them in the softest colour," Pa. Packet, June 24, 1776.

I _____ do declare, that I do not hold myself bound to bear Allegiance to George the Third, King of Great-Britain, &c. and that I will steadily and firmly at all Times promote the most effectual Means, according to the best of my Skill and Knowledge, to oppose the Tyrannical Proceedings of the King and Parliament . . . 81

Richard Henry Lee, on June 7, had formally proposed-- among other things--that the colonies formally separate from Great Britain with an appropriate declaration. A number of delegates--including those of Pennsylvania-- had not, however, yet decided upon independence. The press, consequently, continued to print letters and articles favorable to such a declaration, such as that of "Republicus" in the Pennsylvania Evening Post. This writer declared that he would "rejoice to hear the title of the United States of America, in order that we may be on a proper footing to negotiate a peace." He concluded that "upon the whole, we may be benefited by independance, but we cannot be hurt by it, and every man that is against it is a traitor."⁸² Similar letters and articles reported the various stages of the revolution in the other colonies.

The Continental Congress had appointed a committee on June 11 to prepare a draft of a formal declaration of independence from Great Britain, but it was decided to postpone further debate on the issue until July 1; by that

⁸¹Extracts from the Proceedings of the Provincial Conference, p. 2; Pa. Ledger, June 29, 1776; Pa. Journal, June 26, 1776.

⁸²Pa. Evening Post, June 29, 1776.

time it was hoped that the remaining provinces--including the delegates of the five middle colonies--could be won to independence. The strategy was successful. The Provincial Conference in Pennsylvania which sanctioned independence, had indicated the trend of popular opinion there; John Dickinson and Robert Morris--both opposed to immediate independence--voluntarily absented themselves from the vote on July 2. An additional delegate for Delaware, Caesar Rodney, was able to break the former deadlock in that delegation and swing Delaware into supporting independence; New Jersey imprisoned its royal governor, Benjamin Franklin's son, William, and Maryland ordered its last proprietary governor to leave. The uninstructed New York delegation did not vote. On July 2, therefore, delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies decided that they were "absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them, and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved." The next day both the Pennsylvania Journal and the Pennsylvania Gazette announced that on the previous day "the Continental Congress declared the United Colonies Free and Independent States." Thus the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, was almost an anticlimax.⁸³ The New York

⁸³John Adams wrote the following to his wife: "The second day of July 1776 will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival." Quoted in John Richard Alden, The American Revolution, 1775-1783 (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1954), p. 81.

state convention gave its approval to the idea of independence on July 9.

The text of the Declaration of Independence, which soon was reprinted throughout the colonies,⁸⁴ was essentially the work of Thomas Jefferson. Certain of his phrases, such as those condemning the British people and the slave trade, could only alienate potential supporters of the united effort against the British government and were deleted from the final draft.⁸⁵ The Declaration was a combination of Lockean and other natural law philosophies with two centuries of American political experience. Governments were established to secure the natural rights of the people; should the government break this contract, the people had the right to turn elsewhere to secure their rights.

Implicit throughout the document was the idea that the colonies had never owed any allegiance to Parliament; at one point there was reference to the attempts by the British legislature "to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us," but for the most part, Parliament was ignored. Throughout the crisis period the colonial propagandists repeatedly had emphasized that the American provinces were not subject to Parliamentary acts. They had, however,

⁸⁴See Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence, p. 283, for a list of the dates of the first printing of the Declaration in the various colonial newspapers.

⁸⁵Carl L. Becker, The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas (New York: Vintage: Books, 1942), pp. 211-212.

freely acknowledged their dependence and devotion to the crown and to the person of George III. It was thus necessary to justify the Declaration not only in the eyes of the world--thus the legal and moral justification for their action in the second paragraph--but also in the eyes of the American people who had been led to believe that George III was their legal ruler. Jefferson thus sought in the major portion of the text to demonstrate what many colonists by this time had seen for themselves--that the king was the source of all the troubles of America. The twenty-eight charges levied against the king were essentially a list of the general grievances which the colonists had been arguing since 1763; in many instances they were not accurate descriptions of the activities of the king. They little resembled the earlier colonial attitudes toward the king. Previously the changes of policy had been attributed to the ministers or to the Parliament, but now it was apparent to all that

the history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states.⁸⁶

The Declaration of Independence inspired public celebrations almost wherever it was proclaimed. The toasts, bonfires, firing of cannon, and the ringing of churchbells--

⁸⁶The accuracy of the specific charges has been examined on several occasions. See in particular, Sidney George Fisher, "The Twenty-Eight Charges Against the King in the Declaration of Independence," Pa. Mag. XXXI, (1907), 257-303, and Edward Dumbauld, The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).

techniques which earlier had been used for celebrating the king's birthday---were employed to show the popular enthusiasm for this final step. In addition, there continued to appear publications which showed the complicity of the king in the various aspects of anti-colonial legislation.⁸⁷

Yet understandably there was also some regret among many Americans, not only among those who refused to take the final step and renounce their allegiance to the king. Many realized the solemnity of the occasion. For many years the colonists had proudly worn their title of Englishmen; now that apparently was gone. Many an American had written stout defenses of the king and glowing tributes to George III, not only at his accession, but also throughout the entire crisis. In addition, some were skeptical of the government which would arise from the ashes of the old. Did their experience indicate that a monarchy was by nature bad, or was it just this particular perversion of the institution which had created the difficulties? Only time would indicate the wisdom of their decision.

⁸⁷See, for example, the following issued shortly after independence was proclaimed: [John Cartwright], American Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain: Containing Arguments which prove, that not only in Taxation, but in Trade, Manufactures, and Government, the Colonies are entitled to an entire Independency on the British Legislature; and that it can only be by a formal Declaration of these Rights, and forming thereupon a friendly League with them, that the true and lasting Welfare of both Countries can be promoted. In a Series of Letters to the Legislature. (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776), esp. 33-34, 40, 49, 110.

CHAPTER X

A SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The accession of George III to the throne in 1760 was an important constitutional and political landmark in British history. When the twenty-two year old king came to the throne, British power and prestige was at its height. He was destined to reign longer than any previous king of England, and was, in 1760, symbolic of the vigor and youthful nature of the expanded empire. Never before had one nation ruled such far-flung territories. Although fighting continued on the European continent, the empire was triumphant throughout the rest of the world. Yet, less than a decade and a half after the accession of George III, the most significant area of the empire was in rebellion, and, shortly thereafter, fighting for its independence and blaming the king for all the troubles it had encountered.

The expanded empire not only had created new problems; it had also brought to the surface a number of old ones. The empire had never been well-administered and the regulations, particularly those laws relating to trade, had never been effectively enforced. The colonists tended to view Britain as a defender in time of acute crisis, but not

as a political entity to which they owed total submission. Their attitude toward the authorities in England reflected this.

Parliament was recognized as the supreme authority in England; many colonists had argued even before the crisis had developed, however, that this power did not extend to the colonies overseas. There was, first of all, a fundamental law above that of Parliament; hence Americans often appealed to natural laws and natural rights. There was, in addition, another argument used to oppose the power of Parliament. Since the king had granted them their charters, the American colonists, to rid themselves of the unwanted Parliamentary acts, freely acknowledged the sovereignty of George III. It was to the king that they appealed for redress of grievances; it was to the king that they addressed their appreciation for the repeal of the unwanted acts of Parliament. Although many of the colonists were avid students of English history and the fundamental laws of that country and knew about 1688 and the dangers of royal tyranny, little such fear appeared in the press early in the reign of George III. The Parliamentary supremacy implicit in the settlement of 1688, as well as the formula of "King in Parliament," often was ignored by those who opposed the acts of Parliament.

News of the accession of George III reached America in late December, 1760, and early January, 1761, and both the colonial officials and the public in general solemnly

proclaimed him king. Here was a monarch who freely acknowledged his English background and announced, in a memorable and often reprinted phrase, that he gloried "in the name of Briton." Although in England the opposition made this statement appear as a royal attack on English superiority in the British Isles and as evidence of Scottish influence, it was, as one might imagine, well-received in the colonies. These initial favorable reactions to the new king, however, soon were modified in private letters to America. The king was young, inexperienced, and, perhaps, lacking in judgment. Yet none of the statements which appeared in print in Pennsylvania during the early years of the new reign revealed any blemishes in the character of George III.

The first indication of adverse reaction to the king in England involved his relationship to the Earl of Bute, whom scurrilous English newspapers and pamphlets linked not only to Jacobite influence, but also to the king's mother, through whom Bute influenced the education of the king. Though there were inklings of these charges in the Pennsylvania press, there seemed to be little concern about them in general. In fact, it was at this time that the campaign for the conversion of Pennsylvania into a royal colony was rapidly gathering momentum. Even the Wilkes trial over North Briton, No. 45, while it received widespread coverage in the press, failed to elicit a sustained response. The adverse comments which were printed placed the responsibility for the action on the ministry.

It was the Stamp Act which served as a catalyst for colonial antagonism against Great Britain. The measure was regarded in America as additional evidence of ministerial perfidy; some even suggested that it was the weakness of judgment of the monarch which allowed such ministers to attain office. Anti-monarchical sentiments, however, were denounced as totally without merit. It was asserted that the king had been deceived into signing the measure by corrupt ministers who were seeking either to enrich themselves or to enhance their position. It was only necessary --in addition to non-importation--to ask the king for a redress of grievances and he would comply. When the repeal was secured it was seen by many as the logical outcome of the dutiful address to the throne. Throughout this crisis the reputation of the king remained high.

The new plan of imperial control which Parliament enacted in June, 1767, evoked new colonial responses against the British authorities. Once again the press played an important role--the tax would fall on paper among other items--but again in Pennsylvania the king appeared in a favorable light. The most celebrated and widely reprinted attack on the Townshend Acts, John Dickinson's Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer, professed complete loyalty to the king.

Yet there were dissenters. A number of writers regularly began to describe the woes of royal, as well as Parliamentary, despotism. It was also regularly affirmed

that the king was under, not above, the law. Most earlier discussions had omitted this aspect. The attempt to establish an episcopacy in America was denounced as an attempt to subvert religion in the colonies or to establish Catholicism. Since the head of the Church of England was the king, there was apparently some distrust of royal motives. Likewise the reopened Wilkes case sharpened opinion against George III as the unconstitutional proceedings against Wilkes were seen as a threat to the traditional rights and liberties of the English subject. It was apparent that Wilkes' profession of devotion to the monarch were little heeded in England. In addition, the king's name or office repeatedly were linked to elements subversive to the English liberties--Catholics, Jacobites, the French, Bute, Governor Bernard of Massachusetts, as well as a dissolute court.

The majority of statements printed in the Pennsylvania press were still, by 1770, favorable to the king. There were, however, more warnings against royal despotism, though ministerial intrigue was still seen as the primary cause of the difficulties. Because of the fear of prosecution for libel, the attacks were usually indirect--fictional stories, descriptions of the evil reigns of Charles I or James II, or exaggerated praise of George III's possible successors. Yet the press reprinted with increasing regularity the attacks on George III which appeared in the English newspapers. Also popular and significant were the letters from English correspondents in which a variety of

allegations were made. The king's mother, under the influence of Bute, it was charged, allegedly remained the power behind the throne. Such attacks appeared throughout the first few years of the 1770's, and they continued to increase in intensity. In addition, the attacks more often were directed against the person of the king. Few of these assaults apparently were native to America; most were reprinted from English sources.

There appeared comments favorable to the office of the king and praise of the personal virtues of George III and Queen Charlotte in the first four or five years of this decade. Yet these favorable comments often aroused rebuttals reprinted either in the same issue or shortly thereafter. Increasingly there was evidence that the colonial petitions to the king were ignored, even though it was affirmed that he had read them. Now and then somebody suggested that rather than the ministers or Parliament being responsible for the changes in policy, it was the king who was subverting the constitution through his personal influence. Rather than George III being a virtuous individual, it was scurrilously charged that he was personally dissolute; Queen Charlotte, who long appeared in a most favorable light in the colonial press, even came in for some of this abuse. Significant in the growing list of charges against the king was the passage of the Coercive and Quebec Acts, the latter particularly noteworthy with regard to colonial attitudes toward George III. In the first six months of 1775 the

attacks on the person and the office of the king outweighed the defenses. By the time the "Olive Branch" petition was sent to the king in July, 1775, most of the writers in the Pennsylvania press were placing much of the responsibility for the fighting on the king. When George III rejected their petition, the die was cast. Thomas Paine's Common Sense administered the coup de grace to the rapidly expiring prestige of the king. Since the colonists long had denied the authority of the Parliament, there only remained the necessity to justify their break with the king in the Declaration of Independence.

It is not possible to point to one event as the cause of the changes in the American attitudes toward the king. It appears that rather than being caused by a single event, the anti-royalist feeling was primarily the result of the slow realization of misplaced hopes. Also significant in the formation of the colonial attitudes toward the king was the part which the English press played in revealing defects in the royal character and in establishing a basic explanation of royal subversion of the rights of the English subjects. It makes little difference whether George III actually sought to subvert the English constitution as the opposition in England had charged. Modern scholars still have not agreed on this aspect of the reign of George III. Yet the opposition charges against the king could readily be accepted as part of a pattern for depriving Englishmen of their rights. Since the Parliament would or could do

nothing, the only alternative lay in declaring independence from a king who, upon reflection, was seen as plotting the overthrow of their liberties from the very beginning.

The popular press in America, as is well-known, played an important role in the conflict between the colonies and the mother country and aided in determining the basic constitutional questions at stake. In examining a specific issue such as the attitude toward the king, it is also apparent that the press played a significant role in the consolidation of popular opinion. Despite the initial American enthusiasm toward the king, the newspaper and pamphlet press revealed an ever-increasing alienation from George III until the final break in July, 1776, and thus smoothed the way for the idea that a fight for English rights had to become a war for independence.

APPENDIX

"SERIOUS QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO THE ADVOCATES
FOR DEPENDANCE UPON THE CROWN OF BRITAIN."¹

1. Are not the American Colonies intitled by nature, and by the principles of the British constitution, to freedom?
2. Have they not a right to assert their claims against every power whatever?
3. Seeing the King of Great-Britain has concurred with the British Parliament in attempting to enslave them, should he not be considered as their enemy?
4. Can it therefore be called taking up the dispute upon new or false ground to oppose him?
5. Has he not issued proclamations, in which he has called us Rebels?
6. Has he not given up his share of prizes to induce his British subjects to ravage our coasts, and to rob us of our property?
7. Has he not answered our petitions for justice and mercy with fleets and armies?
8. Has he not shed the blood of our fathers, brothers, and children?
9. Has he not dragged some of our countrymen across the ocean in irons; and has he not doomed them, by acts of Parliament, to suffer for their virtue at Tyburn?
10. Did he not sue to all the powers of Europe not to supply us with arms and ammunition, and is he not at this time bribing them to assist him in enslaving us?
11. In a word, has he not, in a thousand instances, dissolved his allegiance to us?
12. Have the Colonies any constitutional power to arraign or punish him or his ministers?
13. Is he not a tyrant? If he is not, then we are rebels. But if he is, then we are bound by the principles of the British constitution to resist him?
14. Can the wisdom of man, in our present circumstances, furnish any other method of resisting him successfully than that of proclaiming him a traitor, and dissolving our allegiance to him?
15. Is it not treason to the British constitution to

¹pa. Evening Post, May 14, 1776.

- maintain any longer the least shadow of his power amongst us?
16. Are not the advocates for Independence the only true friends to the principles of the British constitution?
17. Is not Reconciliation an untrodden path; for where can we find an instance of a people's returning to their allegiance to a tyrant, after he had violated every political and moral obligation to them?
18. Is not Independence a trodden path? Did not the United Provinces, and the Cantons of Switzerland, establish their liberty by declaring themselves Independent, the one of the Court of Spain, the other of the House of Austria?
19. Is not a dependance upon the crown of Britain as big with mischief and folly as submission to the Parliament of Britain under our present circumstances?
20. Is it not as criminal now to submit to one as it is to the other?
21. Is it not just, therefore, to stigmatize with the name of Tories all advocates for dependance upon the present arbitrary and corrupted crown of Britain[?]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography represents only those items which were directly utilized in the writing of this study. Essentially it is a listing of those items which appear in the footnotes.

I. Sources

Manuscripts

Dreer Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

David Hall Papers, American Philosophical Society Library.

Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

Penn Letterbook, HSP.

Penn Manuscripts, Saunders-Coates, HSP.

Penn Private Correspondence, HSP.

Penn Official Correspondence, HSP.

Records of the Proprietary Government, Provincial Secretary, General Correspondence, HSP.

Shippen Family Papers, HSP.

Shippen Letterbook, HSP.

William Smith, D. D., Papers, HSP.

Contemporary Books, Pamphlets, and Broadsides

Act of the Associate Presbytery in Pennsylvania, for a Public Fast. At Philadelphia, the seventh day of November, 1774. Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1774.

The Address of the People Call'd Quakers, in the Province of Pennsylvania, To John Penn, Esquire. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1764.

An Address to the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania. In Answer to a Paper called The Plain Dealer. Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1764.

An Address to the Freeholders of New Jersey, on the Subject of Public Salaries. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1763.

An Address to the Merchants, Freeholders and All Other the Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania in Particular, and the Southern Colonies in General. [Philadelphia: William Goddard?, 1768].

An Address to the Rev. Dr. Alison, the Rev. Mr. Ewing, and others, Trustees of the Corporation for the Relief of Presbyterian Ministers, their Widows and Children: being a vindication of the Quakers, From the Aspersions of the said Trustees in their Letter Published in the London Chronicle, No. 1223. [Philadelphia: William Dunlap], 1765.

Advertisement and not a Joke. A Speech there is, which no man spoke, October 1, 1764. [Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1764].

Aguecheek, Andrew [pseudonym]. The Universal American Almanack, or, Yearly Astronomical, Historical, and Geographical Magazine . . . for the Year of our Lord 1761. Philadelphia: W. Bradford and A. Steuart, 1760.

. The Universal American Almanack . . . for the Year of our Lord 1764. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, [1763].

The Alarm: or, an Address to the People of Pennsylvania, on the late Resolve of the Congress, for totally suppressing all Power and Authority derived from the Crown of Great-Britain. [Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1776].

The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the People called Quakers, Renewed, with respect to the King and Government; and Touching the Commotions now prevailing in these and other Parts of America, addressed to the People in General. [Philadelphia: 1776].

Eine andere Anrede an die Deutschen Freyhalter der Stadt und County Philadelphia von etlichen von ihren Landsleuten. Philadelphia: Anton Armbruester, 1764.

Andrews, William. Poor Will's Almanack for the Year of our Lord, 1775. Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, [1775].

Poor Will's Almanack for the Year of our Lord, 1776. Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, [1775].

Anmerkungen über Ein noch nie erhört und gesehen Wunder Thier in Pennsylvanien, genannt Streit und Strauss Vogel, heraus gegeben von einer Teutschen Gesellschaft freyer Bürger und getreuer Unterthanen Seiner Gross Brittanischen Majestät. [Germantown: Christopher Sauer, 1764].

Eine Anrede an die Deutschen Freyhalter der Stadt und County Philadelphia. Philadelphia: [Anthony Armbruester], 1764.

An Answer to the Pamphlet Entituled The Conduct of the Paxton Men. Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester, 1764.

Argumentum ad Hominem: being an Extract From a Piece intituled, England's present Interest considered, with Honour to the Prince, and Safety to the People. In Answer to this one Question: What is most Fit, Easy and Safe at this Juncture of Affairs to be done, for quieting of Differences, allaying the heat of contrary Interests, and making them subservient to the Interest of the Government, and consistent with the Prosperity of the Kingdom? By William Penn, Founder of the Province of Pennsylvania. To which are added Some Extracts from the Writings of divers Authors, more particularly recommended to the Notice of the People called Quakers. Philadelphia: 1775.

The Association, &c. We, his Majesty's most loyal Subjects, the Delegates of the several Colonies . . . [Philadelphia: 1776].

An Authentic Account of the Proceedings Against John Wilkes, Esq; Member of Parliament for Aylesbury and Late Colonel of the Buckinghamshire Militia, Containing All the Papers relative to this interesting Affair, from that Gentleman's being taken into Custody by his Majesty's Messengers, to his Discharge at the Court of Common Pleas, With An Abstract of that precious Jewel of an Englishman, The Habeas Corpus

Act. Also The North Briton, No. 45. Being the Paper for which Mr. Wilkes was sent to the Tower. Addressed to all Lovers of Liberty. Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1763.

The Author of Quaker Unmask'd, Strip'd Start [sic] Naked, or the Delineated Presbyterian Play'd Hob With. Philadelphia: [Anthony Ambruester], 1764.

[Barton, Thomas]. The Conduct of the Paxton-Men, Impartially Represented with Some Remarks on the Narrative. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1764.

Batwell, Daniel. A Sermon, Preached at York-Town, Before Captain Morgan's and Captain Price's Companies of Rifle-Men, on Thursday, July 20, 1775. Being the Day recommended by the Honorable Continental Congress for a General Fast throughout the Twelve United Colonies Of North America. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1775.

Benezet, Anthony. A Short Account of that Part of Africa, Inhabited by the Negroes. With Respect to the Fertility of the Country, the good Dispositions of many of the Natives, and the Manner by which the Slave Trade is carried on. Extracted from several Authors, in order to shew the Iniquity of that Trade, and the Falsity of the Arguments usually advanced in its Vindication. Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1762.

Biddle, James. To the Freeholders and Electors of the Province of Pennsylvania. [Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1765].

Blackstone, William. Commentaries on the Laws of England, In Four Books. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1771.

Blair, Samuel. An Oration Pronounced at Nassau-Hall, January 14, 1761; on Occasion of the Death of his late Majesty King George II. Woodbridge, New Jersey: James Parker, 1761.

Bland, Richard. An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies Intended as an Answer to the Regulation lately made concerning the Colonies, and the Taxes imposed upon them considered. In a Letter addressed to the Author of that Pamphlet. Williamsburgh: Alexander Purdie & Co., 1766.

Brackenridge, Hugh Henry. A Poem on Divine Revelation; being an Exercise delivered at the Public Commence-

ment at Nassau-Hall, September 28, 1774. Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1774.

[Braxton, Carter]. An Address to the Convention of the Colony and ancient Dominion of Virginia; on the Subject of Government in General, and Recommending a particular Form to their Consideration. By a Native of that Colony. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776.

Brown, John. On Religious Liberty: A Sermon, Preached at St. Paul's Cathedral, On Sunday the 6th of March, 1763. On Occasion of the Brief for the Establishment of the Colleges of Philadelphia and New York. Publish'd at the Request of the Managers of the Charity. To which is Prefixed An Address to the Principle Inhabitants to the North American Colonies, on Occasion of the Peace. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1763.

Buchanan, George. De Juri Regni Apud Scotos, or a Dialogue, concerning the due Privilege of Government in the Kingdom of Scotland. Betwixt George Buchanan and Thomas Maitland, by the said George Buchanan, and Translated out of the Original Latin into English. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1766.

Burgh, James. Political Disquisitions; or, An Enquiry into public Errors, Defects, and Abuses. Illustrated by, and established upon Facts and Remarks, extracted from a Variety of Authors, Ancient and Modern. Calculated To draw the timely Attention of Government and People, to a due Consideration of the Necessity, and the Means, of Reforming those Errors, Defects, and Abuses; of Restoring the Constitution, and Saving the State. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1775.

[Bushe, Gervase Parker?]. The Case of Great-Britain and America, Addressed to the King, and Both Houses of Parliament. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1769.

By the Lord Hyde Packet, Captain Jefferies, arrived at New-York in six weeks from Falmouth, we have His Majesty's most gracious Speech, To both Houses of Parliament. On Wednesday, November 30, 1774. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1775.

Caner, Henry. Joyfulness and Consideration; or, the Duties of Prosperity and Adversity. A Sermon Preached at King's-Chapel, in Boston, before His Excellency

Francis Bernard, Esq; Captain-General and Governor in Chief, the Honourable His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives, Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, January 1, 1761. Upon Occasion of the Death of our late most Gracious Sovereign King George the Second. Boston: Green & Russell, and Edes & Gill. [1761].

Carmichael, John. A Self-Defensive War Lawful, Proved in a Sermon Preached at Lancaster, Before Captain Ross's Company of Militia, In the Presbyterian Church, on Sabbath Morning, June 4, 1775. Lancaster: Francis Bailey, 1775.

[Cartwright, John]. American Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain; Containing Arguments which prove, that not only in Taxation, but in Trade Manufactures, and Government, the Colonies are entitled to an entire Independency on the British Legislature; and that it can only be by a formal Declaration of these Rights, and forming thereupon a friendly League with them, that the true and lasting Welfare of both Countries can be promoted. In a Series of Letters to the Legislature. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776.

[Chalmers, James]. Plain Truth; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America, Containing Remarks on a late Pamphlet, entitled Common Sense. Wherein are shewn, that the Scheme of Independence is Ruinous, Delusive, and Impracticable: that were the Author's Asseverations, respecting the power of America, as real as nugatory; Reconciliation on liberal Principles with Great Britain, would be exalted Policy; and that circumstanced as we are, permanent Liberty, and true Happiness, can only be obtained, by Reconciliation with that Kingdom. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776.

[Chandler, Thomas Bradbury]. 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. New York: [James Rivington], 1774.

The Chronicle of the Kings of England, from the Reign of William the Conqueror, First King of England, Down to his Present Majesty George III. Containing a true History of their Lives, and the Character which they severally sustained, whether in Church or State, in the Field, or in Private Life. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, and Benjamin Towne, 1774.

[Cluny, Alexander]. The American Traveller: Containing Observations on the Present State, Culture and Commerce of the British Colonies in America and the further Improvements of which they are capable. [Philadelphia: Crukshank and Collins], 1770.

Cockings, George. The Conquest of Canada; or, the Siege of Quebec: An Historical Tragedy of five Acts . . . Philadelphia: William Magill, 1772.

A Collection of Tracts from the Late Newspaper, &c. Containing Particularly the American Whig, A Whip for the American Whig, with Some other Pieces, On the Subject of the Residence of Protestant Bishops in the American Colonies, and in Answer to the Writers who opposed it, &c. New York: John Holt, 1768.

The Committee for Tarring and Feathering. To the Delaware Pilots . . . [Philadelphia: 1773].

The Conduct of the Presbyterian-Ministers Who Sent the Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury Considered, and set in a True Light: In Answer to Some Remarks thereon. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1761.

The Constitutional Courant. Containing Matters Interesting to Liberty, and no wise repugnant to Loyalty. Sept. 21, 1765. Numb. 1. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster], 1765.

Coombe, Thomas. An Exercise, Containing a Dialogue and two Odes, Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, November 17, 1767. Philadelphia: William Goddard, [1767].

Cooper, Samuel. A Sermon Upon Occasion of the Death of Our late Sovereign George the Second. Preach'd Before His Excellency Francis Bernhard, Esq; Captain-General and Governor in Chief, the Honourable his Majesty's Council and House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, January 1, 1761. At the Appointment of the Governor and Council. Boston: John Draper, 1761.

The Crisis, Number I. To the People of England and America. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

. Number II. A Bloody Court, A Bloody Ministry, and a Bloody Parliament. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

. Number IV. To the Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen.

who may be Employed to Butcher their Relations, Friends, and Fellow-Subjects in America. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

Number V. To the People. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

Number VI. To the Right-Honorable Lord North. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

Number IX. To the King. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

Number XI. Saturday, April 1, 1775. This Country is now reduced to a Situation Really Degrading and Deplorable, through the strange Obstinacy and weak Prejudices of the King. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

Number XII. The Prophecy of Ruin. A Poem. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

Number XIV. Saturday, April 22, 1775. The Present Necessary Defensive War, or the Part of America, justified by the Laws of God, Nature, Reason, State and Nation; and therefore no Treason or Rebellion. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

A Crisis Extraordinary. Wednesday, August 9, 1775. General Gage's Proclamation lies before me, though it is not a Subject for Criticism, yet it deserves Notice. [Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1775].

[Dalrymple, John]. The Rights of Great Britain Asserted against the Claims of America: being an Answer to the Declaration of the General Congress. Said to be written by Lord George Germaine. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776.

Davies, Samuel. A Sermon Delivered at Nassau-Hall, January 14, 1761. On the Death of his late Majesty King George II. New York: James Parker and Company, 1761.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North-America now met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting [sic] forth the cause and necessity of their taking up arms. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775.

A Dialogue, Containing some Reflectings on the late Declaration and Remonstrance; Of the Back-Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania. With a serious and

short Address, to those Presbyterians, who (to their dishonor) have too much abetted, and conniv'd at the late Insurrection. By a Member of that Community. Philadelphia: [Andrew Steuart], 1764.

[Dickinson, John]. An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados. Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1766.

_____. 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. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774.

_____. Friends and Countrymen. [Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1765].

[_____]. The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies on the Continent of America, Considered; In a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in London. Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1765.

_____. Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1768.

_____. A Letter from the Country to a Gentleman in Philadelphia. [Philadelphia; 1773].

_____. A Reply to a Piece Called the Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esquire. Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1764.

_____. A Speech Delivered in the House of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1764. On Occasion of a Petition, drawn up by Order and then under Consideration, of the House; Praying his Majesty for a Change of Government of this Province. With a Preface. Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1764.

[Dodsley, Robert]. The Oeconomy of Human Life. Philadelphia: William Dunlap, 1765.

[Donaldson, Arthur]. To the Tories . . . [Philadelphia: 1776].

[Dove, David James]. The Quaker Unmask'd; or Plain Truth. Humbly address'd to the Consideration of all the Freemen of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: [Andrew Steuart], 1764.

[Drinker, John]. Observations on the Late Popular Measures, Offered to the Serious Consideration of the Sober Inhabitants of Pennsylvania. By a Tradesman of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: 1774.

Drummond, Robert Hay. A Sermon Preached at the Coronation of King George III. and Queen Charlotte, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, September 22, 1761. 4th ed. Boston: John Perkins, 1762.

Duché, Jacob. The American Vine, a Sermon, Preached in Christ-Church, Philadelphia, before the Honourable Continental Congress, July 20th, 1775. Being the day recommended by them for a General Fast throughout the United English Colonies of America. Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junior, 1775.

. The Duty of Standing Fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties, a Sermon Preached in Christ-Church, July 7th, 1775. Before the First Battalion of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia; And now published at their Request. Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junior, 1775.

. The Life and Death of the Righteous. A Sermon Preached at Christ-Church, Philadelphia on Sunday February the 13th, 1763, at the Funeral of Mr. Evan Morgan. Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1763.

[] . Observations on a Variety of Subjects, Literary, Moral and Religious; In a Series of Original Letters, Written by a Gentleman of Foreign Extraction, who resided some Time in Philadelphia. Revised by a Friend, to whose Hands the Manuscript was committed for Publication. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1774.

[] and [Francis Hopkinson]. An Exercise Containing a Dialogue and Ode on the Accession of His Present Gracious Majesty, George III. Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 18th, 1762. Philadelphia: William Dunlap, 1762.

An Earnest Address to such of The People called Quakers As are Sincerely Desirous of Supporting and Maintaining the Christian Testimony of their Ancestors. Occasioned by a Piece, intituled, "The Testimony of the People called Quakers, given forth by a Meeting of the Representatives of said People, in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, held in Philadelphia the Twenty-fourth day of the first month, 1775." Philadelphia: John Douglas M'Dougal, 1775.

The Election: a Medley, Humbly Inscribed to Squire Lilliput.

Professor of Scurrility. [Philadelphia: 1764]. Broad-side.

Elmer, Jonathan. A Funeral Eulogium; Sacred to the Memory Of the late Reverend Wm. Ramsay. Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1772.

An Epistle from our Yearly-Meeting, Held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by Adjournments, from the 24th day of the 9th month, to the 1st of the 10th month, inclusive, 1774; to our Friends and Brethren in these and the neighbouring Provinces. [Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1774].

The Epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings in London. To Friends and Brethren in New-England. [Philadelphia: 1775].

An Essay upon Government, Adopted by the Americans. Wherein, the lawfulness of revolutions, are Demonstrated in a Chain of consequences from the Fundamental Principles of Society. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers, 1775.

Etliche merkwürdige Funckten, betreffende die Verwechslung des Governments. Gerichtet an die deutsche Einwohner der Provinz Pensylvanien. Philadelphia: Anthony Ambruester, 1764.

Evans, Nathaniel. A Dialogue on the Peace, An Entertainment, Given by the Senior Class at the Anniversary Commencement Held at Nassau-Hall, September 28, 1763. Philadelphia: William Dunlap, 1763.

Ode, On the Late Glorious Successes of his Majesty's Arms, And Present Greatness Of the English Nation. Philadelphia: William Dunlap, 1762.

[] and [Paul Jackson]. An Exercise Containing a Dialogue and Ode on Peace. Performed at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 17, 1763. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1763.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Provincial Conference of Committees for the Province of Pennsylvania, held at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, June 18, 1776. Philadelphia: Styner and Cist, [1776].

The First Book of the American Chronicles of the Times. Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, [1774-1775].

[Fisher, Jabez]. Americanus Examined, and his Principles

compared with Those of the Approved Advocates for America. By a Pennsylvanian. [Philadelphia: 1774].

Four Dissertations, on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union Between Great-Britain and her American Colonies. Written for Mr. Sargent's Prize-Medal. To which (by Desire) is prefixed, an Eulogium, Spoken on the Delivery of the Medal at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20, 1766. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1766.

Poster, William. True Fortitude Delineated. A Sermon, Preached at Fags Manor, to Captain Taylor's Company of Recruits, on the Lord's Day, February 18th, 1776. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776.

[Franklin, Benjamin]. Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs. In a Letter to a Friend in the Country. Philadelphia: W. Dunlap, 1764.

[_____]. Remarks on a Late Protest against the Appointment of Mr. Franklin an Agent for this Province. [Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1764].

[Freneau, Philip]. A Voyage to Boston, A Poem. By the Author of American Liberty, a Poem. Philadelphia: [Benjamin Towne], 1775.

[Galloway, Joseph?]. A Letter, To the People of Pennsylvania; Occasioned by the Assembly's passing that Important Act, for Constituting the Judges of the Supream Courts and Common-Pleas, During Good Behaviour. Philadelphia: [William Dunlap], 1760.

[_____]. The Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esq; One of the Members for Philadelphia County: In Answer to the Speech of John Dickinson, Esq; Delivered in the House of Assembly, of the Province of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1764. On Occasion of a Petition drawn up by Order, and then under the Consideration of the House; praying his Majesty for a Royal, in lieu of a Proprietary Government. Philadelphia: William Dunlap, 1764.

Gates, Hezekiah. King George's Right to the Crown of Great Britain Displayed. Being a collection from history, from the first known times to the Present Year, 1769. Boston: W. McAlpine, 1772.

The Genuine Principles of the Ancient Saxon, or English

Constitution. Carefully collected from the best Authorities; With some Observations, on their peculiar fitness, for the United Colonies in general, and Pennsylvania in particular. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776.

Goddard, William. The Partnership: or the History of the Rise and Progress of the Pennsylvania Chronicle &c. Wherein the Conduct of Joseph Galloway, Esq; Speaker of the Honourable House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, Mr. Thomas Wharton, Sen., and their Men Benjamin Towne, my late Partners with my own, is properly delineated, and their Calumnies against me fully refuted. Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1770.

[_____]. To my fellow Citizens, Friends to Liberty, and Enemies to Despotism. [Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1773].

Good News for America. To the Sons of Liberty. [Philadelphia: Anthony Ambruster, 1766].

A Grand Chorus, to be Sung on the Fourth of June, Being his Majesty's Birth Day; at an Entertainment on the Banks of the Schuylkill, by a Large Company of the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia. [Philadelphia: 1766].

[Green, Jacob]. Observations: on the Reconciliation of Great-Britain, and the Colonies; in which are exhibited, Arguments for, and against, that Measure: By a Friend of American Liberty. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776.

Hancock, John. An Oration: Delivered March 5, 1774, at the Request of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston; To commemorate the Bloody Tragedy of the Fifth of March, 1770. Philadelphia: J. Douglass M'Dougall, 1775.

Haven, Samuel. The Supreme Influence of the Son of God, in Appointing, Directing, and Terminating the Reign of Princes. A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of King George the Second, and the Happy Accession of His Majesty King George the Third, to the Imperial Throne of Great Britain; delivered at Portsmouth, January 25th, 1761. Portsmouth, New-Hampshire: D. Fowle, 1761.

Hicks, William. The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power Considered; In some Remarks upon Mr. Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons, previous to the

Repeal of the Stamp-Act: with the Introduction, applicable to the Present Situation of the Colonies.
Philadelphia: [William and Thomas Bradford], 1768.

Hopkinson, Francis. An Exercise, Containing A Dialogue and Ode Sacred to the Memory of his late gracious Majesty, George II. Performed at the public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 23d, 1761.
Philadelphia: William Dunlap, 1761.

[Hopkinson, Thomas]. Liberty, a Poem, Lately Found in a Bundle of Papers, Said to be Written by a Hermit in New Jersey. Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1769.

[Hunt, Isaac]. A Humble Attempt at Scurrility. In Imitation of Those Great Masters of the Art, the Rev. Dr. S---th; the Rev. Dr. Al----n; the Rev. Mr. Ew-n; the Irreverend D. J. D-ve, and the Heroic J--n D-----n, Esq; Being a Full Answer to the Observations on Mr. H----s's Advertisement. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster], 1765.

[_____] . A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians. Or a Brief Examination of their Loyalty, Merit, and other Qualifications for Government. With some Animadversions on the Quaker unmask'd. Humbly Address'd to the Consideration of the Loyal Freemen of Pennsylvania, Numb. 1. Philadelphia: [Anthony Armbruster], 1764.

[_____] . The Substance of an Exercise, had This Morning in Scurrility Hall. [Philadelphia: Andrew Stuart], 1765.

[Inglis, Charles]. The True Interest of America Impartially Stated, in Certain Strictures on a Pamphlet intituled Common Sense. By an American. Philadelphia: James Humphrey, 1776.

Inhabitants of Pennsylvania. [Philadelphia: 1773].

Jones, David. Defensive War in a just Cause Sinless. A Sermon Preached On the Day of the Continental Fast, at Tredyffryd in Chester County. Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1775.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, held at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775.

_____. September 5, 1774. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774.

Eine Kurzfasszte Historische Nachricht von den Kämpfen der
Schweitzer für die Freyheit. NB. Diese Schrift ist
erstlich als ein Anhang zu einer Predigt gedruckt
worden, betitelt, Das Gesetz der Freyheit, welche bey
dem Drucker in Englisch zu haben ist. Philadelphia:
Henrich Miller, 1775.

[Laurens, Henry]. Extracts from the Proceedings of the Court
of Vice-Admiralty in Charles-Town, South-Carolina; in
the Cause, George Roupell, Esq; v. the Ship Ann and
Goods; with a few Explanatory Remarks, To which is
subjoined, some General Observations on American
Custom-House Officers, and Courts of Vice-Admiralty.
[Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford], 1768.

[Leacock, John]. The Fall of British Tyranny: or, American
Liberty triumphant. The first Campaign. A tragi-
comedy of five acts, as lately planned at the Royal
Theatrum Pandemonium, at St. James's. The principal
Place of Action in America. Publish'd according to
Act of Parliament. Philadelphia: Styner and Cist,
1776.

[Lee, Charles]. Strictures on a Pamphlet, entitled, A
"Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, on the
subject of our political Confusion." Addressed to
the People of America. Philadelphia: William and
Thomas Bradford, 1775.

A Letter, To the People of Pennsylvania; Occasioned by the
Assembly's passing that Important Act, for Consti-
tuting the Judges of the Supream Courts and Common-
Pleas, During Good Behaviour. Philadelphia: [Wil-
liam Dunlap], 1760.

Liberty. A Poem. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1768.

Der Lockvögel Warnungsgesang Vor den Stossvögeln: Oder
Nöthige Beantwortung der sogenannten Getreuen
Warnung, gegen die Lockvögel, &c. [Philadelphia:
Henrich Miller], 1764.

Macpherson, John. Macpherson's Letters, &c. Philadelphia:
[William Ewitt], 1770.

Martin, Alexander. America. A Poem . . . To which is added
Liberty. A poem by Rusticus. The second edition
longe emendatio priore: Likewise from Mr. Addison
in Praise of Liberty with Something Suitable to the
Times. [Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1769?].

Mayhew, Jonathan. A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of

George II, and the Happy Accession of His Majesty King George III. To the Imperial Throne of Great Britain: Delivered Jan. 4th. 1761. And Published at the Desire of the West Church and Congregation in Boston. New-England. Boston Edes & Gill, 1761.

The Military Glory of Great-Britain, an Entertainment Given by the Late Candidates for Bachelor's Degree, at the Close of the Anniversary Commencement, Held at Nassau-Hall, New Jersey, September 29, 1762. Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1762.

Montgomery, Joseph. A Sermon, preached at Christiana Bridge and Newcastle, The 20th of July, 1775, Being the day appointed by the Continental Congress, As a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer. Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junr., 1775.

Eine Neue Anrede an die Deutschen in Philadelphia County, &c. [Philadelphia: Henrich Miller, 1764].

The New-England Primer Enlarged. For the more easy attaining the true Reading of English. To which is added, The Assembly's Catechism. Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1771.

The New-Year's Verses of those who carry the Pennsylvania Journal to the Customers. [Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774]. Broadside.

_____. [Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775]. Broadside.

The New-Year Verses, of the Printers Lads, who carry about the Pennsylvania Gazette to the Customers, January, 1760. [Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1760]. Broadside.

_____. January, 1769. [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1769]. Broadside.

_____. January, 1770. [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1770]. Broadside.

_____. January, 1771. [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1771]. Broadside.

_____. January, 1772. [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1772]. Broadside.

_____. January, 1773. [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1773]. Broadside.

New York. Every Friend to the Americans, and to those natural and inestimable Right of Mankind which they are now struggling to defend. Will be pleased to find the Sense and Spirit of our countrymen, Natives of the British Colonies, expressed in the following Petition. [Philadelphia?: 1774].

Of Justitia. A Complete Trial. God gives, and takes away, Well, Justice Shall Take Place. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1765].

[Paine, Thomas]. Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, [1776].

[_____]. Common Sense; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America . . . A new edition, with several Additions in the Body of the Work. To which is added an Appendix; together with an Address to the People called Quakers. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, [1776].

The Paxton Boys, A Farce. Translated from the Original French, by a Native of Donegall. Philadelphia: [Anthony Armbruster], 1764.

Philadelphia den 19ten, May 1766. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1766]. Broadside.

Pietas et gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos. Boston: J. Green & J. Russell, 1761.

Pitt, William. The Speech Of the Right Honourable the Earl of Chatham, in the House of Lords, January 20th, 1775. On a Motion for an Address to His Majesty, to give immediate orders for removing his Troops from Boston forthwith, in order to quiet the minds and take away the Apprehensions of His good subjects in America. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1775.

[Plant, Thomas]. Joyful News to America, A Poem. Expressive of our More than Ordinary Joy on the Repeal of the Stamp Act. Together with the Praise of Liberty and Two Acrosticks. [Philadelphia: 1766].

The Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain, founded on the Liberty of the Colonies, and the Mischiefs attending the Taxing of them by Act of Parliament. Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1768.

Price, Richard. Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America. To which is added,

an Appendix, containing A State of the National Debt, an Estimate of the Money drawn from the Public by the Taxes, and an Account of the National Income and Expenditure since the last War. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, [1776].

[Priestley, Joseph]. An Address to Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations, On the approaching Election of Members of Parliament, With Respect to the State of Public Liberty in General, and of American Affairs in Particular. Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junior, 1774.

Proceedings of the Convention, for the Province of Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia, January 23, 1775, and continued by Adjournments, to the 28th. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775.

A Prophecy, Lately Discovered; In which are Predicted many Great and Terrible Events. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster], 1763.

The Quaker Vindicated; Or observations on A late Pamphlet, Entituled The Quaker Unmask'd, or Plain Truth. . . . [Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart], 1764.

Quincy, Josiah, Jr. Observations on the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port-Bill; with Thoughts on Civil Society and Standing Armies. Philadelphia: John Sparhawk, 1774.

Raynel, Guillaume Thomas François. The Sentiments of a Foreigner, on the Disputes of Great-Britain with America. Translated from the French. Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junior, 1775.

Remarks on the Quaker unmask'd; or Plain Truth found to be Plain Falsehood; Humbly address'd to the Candid. Philadelphia: John Morris, [1764].

Saunders, Richard [pseudonym]. Poor Richard Improved: Being an Almanack and Ephemeris . . . for the Year of our Lord, 1763. Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, [1762].

_____. Poor Richard Improved: Being an Almanack and Ephemeris . . . for the Year of our Lord, 1765. Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, [1764].

_____. Poor Richard Improved: Being an Almanack and Ephemeris . . . for the Year of our Lord, 1775. Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, [1774].

Ein Schön weltlich Lied. Melodie: Ein Soldat bin ich eben und steh vor meinem Feind. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester, 1764].

Scott, William. O Tempora! O Mores! or The Best New-Years' Gift for a Prime Minister, Being the Substance of Two Sermons Preached at a few Small Churches only, and published at the repeated Request of the Congregations by the Rev. William Scott, M. A. Late scholar of Eton. Dedicated to Lord North. The pulpit was refused at eight of the most capital Churches in London. Philadelphia: Benjamin Towne, 1774.

The Scribler: Being a Letter from a Gentleman in Town to a Friend in the Country, concerning the present State of Public Affairs; with a Lapidary Character. [Philadelphia]: Anthony Armbruester, 1764.

Seiner Königlichen Erhabensten Majestät im Hohen Rath, nahe sich Diese demüthigste Vorstellung und Bitte von Seiner Majestät gehorsamst-getreuen Unterthanen, den freyen Einwohnern der Provinz Pennsylvania. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester, 1764].

A Serious Address, to Such of the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, as have cannived at, or do approve of, the late Massacre of the Indians at Lancaster; or the Design of killing those who are now in the Barracks at Philadelphia. Philadelphia: [Anthony Armbruester], 1764.

A Sermon on Tea. Lancaster: Francis Bailey, [1774].

Shipley, Jonathan. A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at Their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, February 19, 1773. By the right reverend Jonathan Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1773.

[]. A Speech, intended to have been spoken on the Bill for altering the Charters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. 5th ed. Lancaster: Francis Bailey, 1774.

[Smith, William]. An Answer to Mr. Franklin's Remarks on a late Pamphlet. Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1764.

An Oration in Memory of General Montgomery, and other the Officers and Soldiers, who Fell with Him. December 31, 1775, before Quebec: Drawn up (and

delivered February 19th, 1776.) At the desire of the honorable Continental Congress. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1776.

. A Sermon on the Present Situation of American Affairs. Preached in Christ-Church, June 23, 1775. At the Request of the Officers of the Third Battalion of the City of Philadelphia and District of Southwark. Philadelphia: James Humphreys, Junior, 1775.

Some Observations of Consequence, In Three Parts. Occasioned by the Stamp-Tax, Lately imposed on the British Colonies. [Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers?], 1768.

[Somers, John]. The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms and Nations, Concerning the Rights, power, and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Priviledges, and Properties of the People: Shewing . . . The Right of the People and Parliament of Britain, to Resist and Deprive their Kings for evil . . . The prophets and ancient Jews were Strangers to absolute Passive-Obedience. Resisting of Arbitrary Government is allow'd by many Examples in Scripture; a large Account of the Revolution . . . Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1773.

The Speeches of the Right Honourable Mr. Pitt, General Conway, George Grenville in Parliament, on Tuesday the 14th Day of January, 1766, for and against the Repeal of the Stamp Act, taken down by a Gentleman on the Spot, and by him transferred to his Friend in Philadelphia. [Philadelphia: 1766].

Steiner, Johann Conrad. Schuldigstes Liebes-und Ehren-Denkmal, Unserm weyland Allergnädigsten und Glorwürdigsten Könige von Grossbritannien Georg dem Zweyten, nach Seiner Majestät tödlichem Hinschiede, so erfolgt den 25sten October 1760, aufgerichtet in der Hochdeutsch-Reformirten Gemeine zu Philadelphia, nach Anleitung des Bildes Moses, des Knechts des Herrn, in einer öffentlichen Trauerrede, über die Worte Deut. 34: 5, 7, 8. Philadelphia: Henrich Miller, [1761].

The Substance, Of a Council Held at Lancaster, August the 28th, 1764. By a Committee of Presbyterian Ministers and Elders deputed from all Parts of Pennsylvania, in order to settle the ensuing Election of Members for the Assembly. Published at the Request of their respective Congregations. [Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruester], 1764.

Tennent, Gilbert. A Sermon, on I Chronicles XXXIX. 28.
Occasioned by the Death of King George the Second,
Of happy Memory, who departed this Life on the 25th
Day of October, in the Year of our Lord, 1760, in the
77th Year of his Age, and the 34th of his Reign,
beloved and honored by his Subjects, for his Eminent-
Royal-Virtues. Together, with some brief Hints, of the
amiable Character of his Majesty King George the
Third, Now seated on the British Throne and the
auspicious omens, that attend his Infant Reign.
Preached at Philadelphia, January 25th, 1761, and
published at the request of the Audience. Phila-
 delphia: William Dunlap, 1761.

Tobler, John. The Pennsylvania Town Crier and Countryman's
Almanack for 1763. Germantown: Christopher Sauer,
 [1762].

To the Freeholders And other Electors of Assembly-Men, for
Pennsylvania. [Philadelphia: Anthony Ambruester,
 1765].

To the Freemen of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: 1772.
 Broadside.

To the Freemen of Pennsylvania. [Philadelphia: 1773].
 Broadside.

To the Good People of Pennsylvania. [Philadelphia: Henry
 Miller, 1773].

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council, The Humble
Petition and Memorial of the Assembly of Jamaica.
 Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1775.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council, The Peti-
tion of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Prov-
ince of Pensilvania. Philadelphia: Franklin and
 Hall, 1764.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council, The Repre-
sentation and Petition of Your Majesty's dutiful and
Loyal Subjects, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the
Province of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Henry
 Miller, [1764].

To the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain. The
Memorial of the Merchants and Traders of the City
of Philadelphia. [Philadelphia: 1765].

To the Public. [Philadelphia: 1770]. Broadside.

To the Tradesmen, Mechanics, &c. of the Province of Pennsylvania. [Philadelphia: 1773]. Broadside.

The Twelve United Colonies, by their delegates in Congress: to the inhabitants of Great-Britain. July 8, 1775. Philadelphia: 1775.

The Unanimity, spirit and zeal, which have heretofore animated all the Colonies, from Boston to South-Carolina have been so eminently displayed in the opposition to the pernicious project of the East India Company, in sending tea to America. . . . [Philadelphia: 1773]. Broadside.

The Universal Peace-Maker, or Modern Author's Instructor. Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1764.

Weatherwise, Abraham [pseudonym]. Father Abraham's Almanack for the Year of Our Lord, 1769. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, [1768].

. Father Abraham's Almanack for the Year of Our Lord, 1772. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, [1771].

[Weiss, Ludwig?]. Getreue Warnung gegen die Lockvögel, Samt einer Antwort auf die andere Anrede an die deutsche Freyhalter der Stadt und County von Philadelphia. Philadelphia: [Henrich Miller], 1764.

[Wells, Richard]. A Few Political Reflections submitted To the Consideration of the British Colonies. By a Citizen of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1774.

. The Middle Line: or, an attempt to Furnish some Hints For ending the Differences Subsisting Between Great-Britain and the Colonies. Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1775.

[Williamson, Hugh]. The Plain Dealer: or, A few Remarks upon Quaker-Politicks, And their Attempts to Change the Government of Pennsylvania. With [s]ome Observations on the false and abusive Papers which they have lately publish'd. Numb. I. Philadelphia: [Andrew Stuart], 1764.

. The Plain Dealer: or Remarks on Quaker Politicks in Pennsylvania. Numb. III. Philadelphia: [William Dunlap], 1764.

. What is Sauce for a Goose is also Sauce for a Gander. Being a small Touch in the Lapidary Way.

Or Tit for Tat, in your own Way. An Epitaph on a certain great Man. Written by a departed Spirit and now Most humbly inscrib'd to all his dutiful Sons and Children, who may hereafter chose [sic] to distinguish him by the Name of A Patriot. Philadelphia: [Anthony Armbruster], 1764.

[Wilson, James]. Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament. Philadelphia: William and Thomas Bradford, 1774.

Witherspoon, John. The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men. A Sermon preached at Princeton, on the 17th of May, 1776. Being the General Fast appointed by the Congress through the United Colonies. To which is added, An Address to the Natives of Scotland residing in America. Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1776.

Zubly, John Joachim. The Law of Liberty. A Sermon on American Affairs, Presented At the Opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia. Addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth. With an Appendix. Giving a concise Account of the Struggles of Swisserland to recover their Liberty. . . . Philadelphia: Henry Miller, 1775.

Printed Letters, Papers, and Documents

"American Politics Discussed in Commercial Letters, 1764-1766," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XVII (1893), 211-212.

Bailyn, Bernard, ed. Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776. 1 vol. to date. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965- .

Boyd, Julian F., ed. The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. 17 vols. to date. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950.

Commager, Henry Steele, ed. Documents of American History. 7th ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963.

Crane, Verner, ed. Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press, 1758-1775. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950.

Empire and Nation: Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania.

- John Dickinson, Letters from the Federal Farmer.
Richard Henry Lee. Intro. Forrest McDonald.
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962.
- Everett, C. W., ed. The Letters of Junius. London: Faber
and Gwyer, [1927].
- Fortescue, John, ed. The Correspondence of King George the
third from 1760 to December 1783. 6 vols. London:
Macmillan and Company, Inc., 1927-1928.
- Horn, D. B. and Mary Ransome, eds. English Historical Docu-
ments, 1714-1783. vol. X of English Historical
Documents, David C. Douglas, ed. New York: Oxford
University Press, 1957.
- "James Logan on Defensive War, or Pennsylvania Politics in
1741." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and
Biography, VI (1882), 403-411.
- Jensen, Merrill, ed. American Colonial Documents to 1776.
vol. IX of English Historical Documents, David C.
Douglas, ed. New York: Oxford University Press,
1955.
- Journals of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.
II vols. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office,
1939.
- Labaree, Leonard W., ed. The Autobiography of Benjamin
Franklin. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.
- _____. The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. 10 vols. to
date. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
- "Letter of Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, October 8, 1756."
The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.
XXXI (1907), 246-247.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot, ed. Sources and Documents Il-
lustrating the American Revolution and the formation
of the Federal Constitution, 1764-1788. 2nd ed.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1965 [1929].*
- Pennsylvania Archives [First series], 1664-1790. 12 vols.
Philadelphia: Joseph Stephens and Co., 1852-1856.

*Throughout this bibliography the writer cites, in addition to the publication dates of reprints used for this study, the original date of publication in brackets.

. Eighth series. Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania.
8 vols. Harrisburg: 1931.

Pennsylvania Colonial Records: Minutes of the Provincial Council. 10 vols. Philadelphia: 1852-1853.

Sedgwick, Romney, ed. Letters from George III to Lord Bute. 1756-1766. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1939.

Tappert, Theodore G. and John W. Doberstein, eds. and trans. The Journal of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. 3 vols. Philadelphia: The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States and The Muhlenberg Press, 1942-1958.

"To George the Third, King of Great Britain and the Dominions thereunto Belonging: The Address and Petition of the People Called Quakers, March, 1775." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. IX (January 1886). 479-480.

"William Strahan to David Hall, April 7, 1766." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. X (April 1886), 94-99.

Williams, E. Neville, ed. The Eighteenth-Century Constitution, 1688-1815: Documents and Commentaries. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1960.

Newspapers

The Pennsylvania Chronicle. 1767-1774.

The Pennsylvania Evening Post. 1775-1776.

The Pennsylvania Gazette. 1760-1776.

The Pennsylvania Journal. 1760-1776.

The Pennsylvania Ledger. 1775-1776.

The Pennsylvania Packet. 1771-1776.

Der Wochenliche Philadelphiaische Staatsbote. 1763-1776.
Scattered issues.

II. Secondary Works

Bibliographic Aids

- Adams, Thomas R. American Independence, The Growth of an Idea: A Bibliographical Study of the American Political Pamphlets Printed Between 1764 and 1776 Dealing with the Dispute Between Great Britain and Her Colonies. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1965.
- Evans, Charles. American Bibliography. 14 vols. Chicago: Blakely Press, and Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1903-1959.
- A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1949.
- Weis, Frederick Lewis. The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England. Lancaster, Massachusetts: 1936.
- _____. Colonial Clergy of the Middle Colonies: New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, 1628-1776. Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1957. Reprinted from American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, LXVI (October 1956).

Selected Books, Including Background Studies

- Albright, Raymond W. A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964.
- Alden, John Richard. The American Revolution, 1775-1783. Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962 [1954].
- Andrews, Charles M. The Colonial Period of American History. 4 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934-1938.
- Becker, Carl L. The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas. New York: Vintage Books, 1942.
- Beer, George Louis. British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765. Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1958 [1907].
- Bolles, Albert S. Pennsylvania: Province and State, A History from 1609 to 1790. 2 vols. Philadelphia: John Wanamaker, 1899.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. The Mysterious Science of the Law. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958 [1941].
- Boyd, Julian P. Anglo-American Union: Joseph Galloway's

- Plans to Preserve the British Empire, 1774-1788.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1941.
- Bridenbaugh, Carl. Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.
- _____. Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742. New York: The Ronald Press, 1938.
- _____. Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- _____. and Jessica Bridenbaugh. Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962 [1942].
- Bronner, Edwin B. William Penn's "Holy Experiment": The Founding of Pennsylvania, 1681-1701. Philadelphia: Temple University Publications [Distributed by Columbia University Press], 1962.
- Brooke, John. The Chatham Administration, 1766-1768. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1956.
- Brown, Gerald Saxon. The American Secretary: The Colonial Policy of Lord George Germain, 1775-1778. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963.
- Brown, Robert E. Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955.
- Brown, Weldon A. Empire or Independence: A Study in the Failure of Reconciliation, 1774-1783. Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1966 [1941].
- Brumbaugh, Martin Grove. A History of the German Baptist Brethren in America. Mount Morris, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1899.
- Brunhouse, Robert L. The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942.
- Burnett, Edmund Cody. The Continental Congress. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964 [1941].
- Butterfield, Herbert. George III and the Historians. Rev. ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959.
- Cary, John. Joseph Warren: Physician, Politician, Patriot.

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961

- Christie, Ian R. Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform: The Parliamentary Reform Movement in British Politics, 1760-1785. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1962.
- Colbourn, H. Trevor. The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965.
- Cone, Carl B. Burke and the Nature of Politics, vol. I, The Age of the American Revolution. [Lexington]: University of Kentucky Press, 1957.
- Cummings, Hubertis. Richard Peters: Provincial Secretary and Cleric, 1704-1776. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944.
- Davidson, Philip. Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941.
- Davies, A. Mervyn. The Influence of George III on the Development of the Constitution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Dibdin, T. F. The Library Companion; or the Young Man's Guide and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library. London: Printed for Harding, Triphook, Lepard and J. Major, 1924.
- Dickerson, Oliver Morton. American Colonial Government, 1696-1765: A Study of the British Board of Trade in its Relation to the American Colonies, Political, Industrial, Administrative. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1962 [1912].
- _____. The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution. New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1963 [1951].
- Dilke, Charles Wentworth. The Papers of a Critic. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1895.
- Donoghue, Bernard. British Politics and the American Revolution: The Path to War, 1773-75. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1964.
- Dumbauld, Edward. The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.
- Dunbar, Louise Burnham. A Study of Monarchical Tendencies

in the United States from 1776 to 1801. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1923.

Ellegård, Alvar. A Statistical Method for Determining Authorship: The Junius Letters, 1769-1772. Göteborg, 1962.

_____. Who Was Junius? Stockholm: Alqvist & Wiksell, 1962.

Faust, Albert Bernhardt. The German Element in the United States, With Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909.

Felling, Keith Grahame. The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1959 [1938].

Foord, Archibald S. His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1964.

Gipson, Lawrence Henry. The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962 [1954].

_____. The British Empire Before the American Revolution. 12 vols. to date. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934-.

Graeff, Arthur D. The Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and The British Authorities (1750-1776). Norristown, Pennsylvania: Norristown Herald, Inc., 1939.

Granger, Bruce Ingham. Political Satire in the American Revolution, 1763-1783. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960.

Guttridge, G. H. English Whiggism and the American Revolution. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963 [1941].

Hanna, William S. Benjamin Franklin and Pennsylvania Politics. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.

Harlow, Vincent T. The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793, vol. I, Discovery and Revolution. London: Longmans, 1964 [1952].

Hawke, David. In the Midst of a Revolution. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961.

_____. A Transaction of Free Men: The Birth and Course of the Declaration of Independence. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964.

- Hinkhouse, Fred Junkin. The Preliminaries of the American Revolution as Seen in the English Press, 1763-1775. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926.
- Jenkins, Howard M., ed. Pennsylvania: Colonial and Federal, A History, 1608-1903. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Historical Publishing Association, 1903.
- Jones, Rufus M. The Quakers in the American Colonies. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962 [1911].
- Keith, Charles F. The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania, 1733-1776. Philadelphia: 1883.
- Kemp, Betty. King and Commons, 1660-1832. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1965 [1957].
- Knollenberg, Bernhard. Origin of the American Revolution, 1759-1766. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960.
- Knorr, Klaus E. British Colonial Theories, 1570-1850. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964 [1944].
- Koebner, Richard. Empire. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- Konkle, Burton Alva. George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731-1791. Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1922.
- Kraus, Michael. The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1961 [1949].
-
- . Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution, With Special Reference to Northern Towns. New York: Octagon Books, 1964 [1928].
- Labaree, Leonard Woods. Conservatism in Early American History. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962 [1948].
-
- . Royal Government in America: A Study of the British Colonial System before 1783. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1958 [1930].
- Levy, Leonard. Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History: Legacy of Suppression. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963 [1960].
- Lincoln, Charles H. The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760-1776, in Publications of the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania, Series in History, No. 1.
Philadelphia: Published for the University, 1901.

- Lipson, E. The Economic History of England, vols. II and III.
The Age of Mercantilism. 6th ed. London: Adam
and Charles Black, 1956.
- McCarthy, Justin and Justin Huntly McCarthy. A History
of the Four Georges and of William IV. 4 vols.
London: Chatto and Windus, 1901.
- McIlwain, Charles Howard. The American Revolution: A Con-
stitutional Interpretation. Ithaca: Cornell
University Press, 1958 [1923].
- Marshall, Dorothy. Eighteenth Century England. New York:
David McKay, Company, Inc., 1962.
- Miller, John C. Origins of the American Revolution. Bos-
ton: Little, Brown and Company, 1943.
- Morgan, Edmund S. The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- _____ and Helen M. Morgan. The Stamp Act Crisis: Pro-
logue to Revolution. New rev. ed. New York:
Collier Books, 1963 [1953].
- Morris, Richard B., ed. The Era of the American Revolution.
New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965 [1939].
- Mumby, Frank Arthur. George III, and the American Revolu-
tion: The Beginnings. London: Constable & Com-
pany, Ltd., 1924.
- Namier, Lewis. Crossroads of Power: Essays on Eighteenth
Century England. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962.
- _____. England in the Age of the American Revolution.
2nd ed. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1961.
- _____. The Structure of Politics at the Accession of
George III. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.,
1961.
- _____ and John Brooke. Charles Townshend. New York:
St. Martin's Press, 1964.
- _____. The House of Commons, 1754-1790 in The History
of Parliament. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University
Press, 1964.
- Nettels, Curtis P. The Roots of American Civilization: A

History of American Colonial Life. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1938.

- Norris, John. Shelburne and Reform. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1963.
- Osgood, Herbert L. The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century. 4 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924-1925.
- Owen, J. B. The Rise of the Pelhams. London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1957.
- Pares, Richard. King George III and the Politicians. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1954 [1953].
- Plumb, J. H. Sir Robert Walpole. 2 vols. to date. London: The Cresset Press, 1956- .
- Rea, Robert R. The English Press in Politics, 1760-1774. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1963.
- Reitan, E. A., ed. George III: Tyrant or Constitutional Monarch? Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1964.
- Ritcheson, Charles R. British Politics and the American Revolution. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.
- Robbins, Caroline. The Eighteenth-century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Root, Winfred Trexler. The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696-1765. New York: D. Appleton and Company, Agents for the University of Pennsylvania, 1912.
- Rossiter, Clinton. Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1953.
- Rothermund, Dietmar. The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740-1770. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961.
- Rudé, George. Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1965 [1962].

- Russell, Elmer Beecher. The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council, in vol. LXIV of Columbia University, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. New York: Columbia University, 1915.
- Savelle, Max. Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.
- Scharf, J. Thomas and Thompson Westcott. History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884. 3 vols. Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884.
- Schlesinger, Arthur Meier. The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957 [1918].
- _____. Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776. New York: Vintage Books, 1965 [1957].
- Seidensticker, Oswald. The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830. Philadelphia: Schaefer and Koradi, 1893.
- Schuyler, Robert Livingston. Parliament and the British Empire: Some Constitutional Controversies Concerning Imperial Jurisdiction. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1963 [1929].
- Selsam, J. Paul. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776: A Study in Revolutionary Democracy. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1936.
- Sharpless, Isaac. A Quaker Experiment in Government. Philadelphia: Alfred J. Ferris, 1898.
- _____. Quakerism and Politics. Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach, 1905.
- _____. "The Quakers in Pennsylvania," in Rufus Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies. New York: Russell and Russell, 1962 [1911].
- Shepherd, William Robert. History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania, vol. VI of Columbia University, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. New York: Columbia University, 1896.
- Sherrard, O. A. Lord Chatham and America. London: The Bodley Head, 1958.
- Siebert, Frederick Seaton. Freedom of the Press in England.

- 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965 [1952].
- Smith, Charles Page. James Wilson: Founding Father, 1742-1798. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956.
- Straka, Gerald M., ed. The Revolution of 1688: Whig Triumph of Palace Revolution? Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1963.
- Thayer, Theodore. Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1953.
- Thompson, Faith. Magna Carta: Its Role in the Making of the English Constitution, 1300-1627. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1948.
- Tolles, Frederick B. Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963 [1948].
- _____. Quakers and the Atlantic Culture. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960.
- Trevelyan, George Otto. The American Revolution. New ed. 3 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1905.
- _____. The Early History of Charles James Fox. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880.
- Tyler, Moses Coit. The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783. 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.
- Van Doren, Carl. Benjamin Franklin. New York: The Viking Press, 1938.
- Walcott, Robert, Jr. English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Wallace, J. W. An Old Philadelphian, Colonel William Bradford. Philadelphia: 1884.
- Werkmeister, Lucyle. The London Daily Press, 1772-1792. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963.
- Wilkes, John W. A Whig in Power: The Political Career of

Henry Pelham. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964.

Winstanley, D. A. Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966 [1912].

Wittke, Carl. The German-Language Press in America. [Lexington]: University of Kentucky Press, 1957.

Wolff, Mabel P. The Colonial Agency of Pennsylvania, 1712-1757. Philadelphia [Lancaster]: Intelligencer Printing Company, 1933.

Zane, John Maxcy. The Story of Law. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1927.

Periodical Articles

Andrews, Charles M. "The Royal Disallowance," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, XXIV, new series, Part 2 (October 1914), 342-362.

Baldwin, Ernest H. "Joseph Galloway, The Loyalist Politician," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXVI (April 1902), 161-191.

Butterfield, Herbert. "Some Reflections on the Early Years of George III's Reign," Journal of British Studies, IV (May 1965), 78-101.

Calkin, Homer L. "Pamphlets and Public Opinion During the American Revolution," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXIV (January 1940), 22-42.

Christie, Ian R. "Was There a 'New Toryism' in the Earlier Part of George III's Reign?" Journal of British Studies, V (November 1965), 60-76.

Colbourn, H. Trevor. "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIII (July 1959), 271-292.

Crane, Verner W. "Benjamin Franklin and the Stamp Act," Proceedings of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XXII (1932), 56-77.

Duff, Stella F. "The Case Against the King: The Virginia Gazette Indict George III," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, VI (July 1949), 383-397.

Durnbaugh, Donald F. "Christopher Sauer, Pennsylvania-

- German Printer, His Youth and Later Relationships," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXII (July 1958), 316-340.
- Fisher, Sidney George. "The Twenty-Eight Charges Against the King in the Declaration of Independence," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXXI (July 1907), 257-303.
- Gleason, J. Philip. "A Scurrilous Colonial Election and Franklin's Reputation," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XVIII (January 1961), 68-84.
- Hershberger, Guy Franklin. "Pacifism and the State in Colonial Pennsylvania," Church History, VIII (March 1939), 54-74.
- Hutson, James H. "Benjamin Franklin and the Parliamentary Grant for 1758," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XXIII (October 1966), 575-595.
- Jacobson, David L. "John Dickinson's Fight Against Royal Government, 1764," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XIX (January 1962), 64-85.
- Kite, Benjamin. "Recollections of Philadelphia Near Seventy Years Ago," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XIX (July 1895), 264-266.
- Knauss, James O. "Christopher Saur the Third," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, XLI, new series, (April 1931), 235-253.
- _____. "Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America," (Part XXX of Pennsylvania: The German Influence in its Settlement and Development, A Narrative and Critical History) The Pennsylvania-German Society, Philadelphia, October 2, 1918 XXIX (1922), v-x, 1-217.
- Leonard, Sister Joan de Lourdes. "The Organization and Procedure of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1682-1776," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXII (1948), 215-239, 376-412.
- Maier, Pauline. "John Wilkes and American Disillusionment with Britain," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XX (July 1963), 373-395.
- Mansfield, Harvey C., Jr. "Sir Lewis Namier Considered," Journal of British Studies, II (November 1962), 28-55.

- _____. "Sir Lewis Namier Again Considered," Journal of British Studies, III (May 1964), 109-119.
- Miller, Daniel. "Early German American Newspapers," (Part XXII of Pennsylvania: The German Influence in its Settlement and Development, A Narrative and Critical History) The Pennsylvania German Society. Philadelphia, November 6, 1908. XIX (1910), 5-107.
- Morgan, Edmund S. "Colonial Ideas of Parliamentary Power, 1764-1766," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, V (July 1948), 311-341.
- _____. "Thomas Jefferson's Use of the Past," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XV (January 1958), 56-70.
- Robins, Edward. "David Garrick and 'Old Penn'," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXXIX (January 1915), 48-52.
- Rothermund, Dietmar. "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIV (January 1960), 3-21.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M. "The Colonial Newspapers and the Stamp Act," New England Quarterly, VIII (January 1935), 63-83.
- _____. "Politics, Propaganda, and the Philadelphia Press, 1767-1770," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LX (October 1936), 303-322.
- Smith, Culver H. "Why Pennsylvania Never Became a Royal Province," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LIII (April 1929), 141-158.
- Stillé, Charles. "Pennsylvania and the Declaration of Independence," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XIII (October 1899), 385-429.
- Stoudt, John J. "The German Press in Philadelphia and the American Revolution," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LIX (January 1935), 74-90.
- Thayer, Theodore. "The Quaker Party of Pennsylvania, 1755-1765," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXI (January 1947), 19-43.
- Van Tyne, Claude H. "Sovereignty in the American Revolution," American Historical Review, XII (April 1907), 529-545.
- Wainwright, Nicholas. "Governor William Denny," The Penn-

sylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXI
(April 1957), 192-194.

Walcott, Robert. "'Sir Lewis Namier Considered' Considered,"
Journal of British Studies, III (May 1964), 85-108.

Warden, G. B. "The Proprietary Group in Pennsylvania, 1754-
1764," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XXI
(July 1964), 367-389.

Unpublished Dissertation

Warren, Giles J. "The Development and Expression of Anti-
British Sentiment in New Jersey from 1763 to 1776
and its Relation to the Grievances Against King
George III as Stated in the Declaration of Inde-
pendence." Unpublished D. Ed. dissertation, New
York University, 1949.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Name: Robert D. Fiala

Birth: September 27, 1938; Saint Louis, Missouri

Education: Primary and secondary schools in Saint Louis. St. Paul's [Junior] College, Concordia, Missouri, 1956-1958; B. S. in Ed., Concordia Teachers College, Seward, Nebraska, 1960; attended University of Houston, 1961; M. A., University of Omaha, 1963.

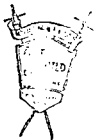
Positions: Instructor in Social Studies, Lutheran High School, Houston, Texas, 1960-1961; Graduate Intern, Department of History, University of Omaha, 1961-1962; Graduate Associate, Department of History Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1962-1965; Assistant Professor of History, Concordia Teachers College, Seward, Nebraska, 1965- .

Recognitions: Colonial Dames Award, Detroit Chapter, 1964; Detroit Historic Memorials Society, 1965; Research Grant-in-Aid under the Humanities and Social Science Development Act, United States Office of Education in Nebraska.

Memberships: American Historical Association; Historical Association (London); Conference on British Studies.

Publications: Regular contributor of abstracts to America: History and Life and Historical Abstracts. Book review in Issues in Christian Education.

WAYNE STATE UNIV.
HISTORY DEPT.



NOV 1967

