5. Texts of Associations, 1774-1776

transcribed by Marion Stange and Hermann Wellenreuther

[Williamsburg, Va., May 27, 1774]

Friday, May 27. At ten o'clock this day, the honourable Members of the late House of Burgesses, met by agreement, at the long room of the *Raleigh* tavern, in *Williamsburg*, called the *Apollo*; when, having formed themselves into a Committee, and appointed the Honourable *Peyton Randolph*, Moderator, the following Association was unanimously entered into by the patriotic Assembly, in support of the constitutional liberties of *America*, against the oppressive Acts of the *British* Parliament, respecting the town of *Boston*, which, in the end, must affect all the other Colonies.

AN ASSOCIATION, BY THE MEMBERS OF THE LATE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the late Representatives of the good people of this country, having been deprived by the sudden interposition of the Executive part of this Government from giving our countrymen the advice we wished to convey to them in a legislative capacity, find ourselves under the hard necessity of adopting this, the only method we have left, of pointing out to our countrymen such measures as in our opinion are best fitted to secure our dearest rights and liberty from destruction, by the heavy hand of power now lifted against *North America*. With much grief we find that our dutiful applications to *Great Britain*, for security of our just, ancient, and constitutional rights, have been not only disregarded, but that a determined system is formed and pressed for reducing the inhabitants of *British America* to slavery, by subjecting them to the payment of taxes, imposed without the consent of the people on their Representatives; and that in pursuit of this system, we find an Act of the

British Parliament, lately passed, for stopping the harbour and commerce of the town of *Boston*, in our sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay, until the people there submit to the payment of such unconstitutional taxes, and which Act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property in wharfs erected by private persons, at their own great and proper expense, which Act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all *America*.

It is further our opinion, that as tea, on its importation into *America*, is charged with a duty, imposed by Parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue, without the consent of the people, it ought not to be used by any person who wishes well to the constitutional rights and liberty of *British America*. And whereas the *India* Company have ungenerously attempted the ruin of *America*, by sending many ships loaded with tea into the Colonies, thereby intending to fix a precedent in favour of arbitrary taxation, we deem it highly proper and do accordingly recommend it strongly to our countrymen, not to purchase or use any kind of *East India* commodity whatsoever, except saltpetre and spices, until the grievances of *America* are redressed.

We are further clearly of opinion, that an attack, made on one of our sister Colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes is an attack made on all *British America*, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied. And for this purpose it is recommended to the Committee of Correspondence, that they communicate, with their several Corresponding Committees, on the expediency of appointing Deputies from the several Colonies of *British America*, to meet in general Congress, at such place annually as shall be thought most convenient: there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of *America* may from time to time require.

A tender regard for the interest of our fellow-subjects, the merchants and manufacturers of *Great Britain*, prevents us from going further at this time; most earnestly hoping, that the unconstitutional principle of taxing the Colonies without their consent will not be persisted in, thereby to compel us against our will, to avoid all commercial intercourse with Britain. Wishing them and our people free and happy, we are their affectionate friends the late Representatives of *Virginia*.

Signed by eighty-nine Members of the late House of Burgesses.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 350-351.

[Boston Committee, June 8, 1774]

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS SENT BY THE BOSTON COMMITTEE, TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS PROVINCE, WITH A PAPER WHICH THEY ARE TO SIGN.

Boston, June 8, 1774.

There is but one way that we can conceive of to prevent what is to be deprecated by all good men, and ought by all possible means to be prevented, viz: the horrors that must follow an open rupture between *Great Britain* and her Colonies; or on our part, a subjection to absolute slavery; and that is by affecting the trade and interest of *Great Britain* so deeply as shall induce her to withdraw her oppressive hand. There can be no doubt of our succeeding to the utmost of our wishes, if we universally come into a solemn league not to import goods from *Great Britain*, and not to buy any goods that shall hereafter be imported from thence, until our grievances shall be redressed. To these, or even to the least of these shameful impositions, we trust in *God* our countrymen never will submit.

We have received such assurances from our brethren in every part of the Province, of their readiness to adopt such measures as may be likely to save our country, and that we have not the least doubt of an almost universal agreement for this purpose; in confidence of this, we have drawn up a form of covenant to be subscribed by all adult persons of both sexes; which we have sent to every town in the Province, and that we might not give our enemies time to counteract us, we have endeavoured that every town should be furnished with such a copy on or before the fourteenth day of this month, and we earnestly desire that you would use your utmost endeavours that the subscription paper may be filled up as soon as possible, so that they who are in expectation of overthrowing our liberties, may be discouraged from prosecuting their wicked designs; as we look upon this, the last and only method of preserving our land from slavery without drenching it with blood; may *God* prosper every undertaking which tends to the salvation of this people. We are, &c.

Signed by order and in behalf of the Committee of Correspondence for *Boston*.

WILLIAM COOPER, *Clerk*.

FORM OF COVENANT SENT TO EVERY TOWN IN MASSACHUSETTS

We the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of ***** having taken into our serious consideration the precarious state of the liberties of *North America*, and more especially the present distressed condition of this insulted Province, embarrassed as it is by several Acts of the British Parliament, tending to the entire subversion of our natural and

charter rights; among which is the Act for blocking up the harbour of *Boston*. And being fully sensible of our indispensable duty to lay hold on every means in our power to preserve and recover the much injured Constitution of our country; and conscious at the same time of no alternative between the horrors of slavery, or the carnage and desolation of a civil war, but a suspension of all commercial intercourse with the Island of *Great Britain*, do, in the presence of *God*, solemnly and in good faith, covenant and engage with each other:

1st. That from henceforth we will suspend all commercial intercourse with the said Island of *Great Britain*, until the said Act for blocking up the said harbour be repealed, and a full restoration of our charter rights be obtained. And

2d. That there may be the less temptation to others to continue in the said, now dangerous commerce, we do in like manner solemnly covenant, that we will not buy, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person, by, for, or under us, to purchase or consume, in any manner whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandise, which shall arrive in *America* from *Great Britain* aforesaid, from and after the last day of *August* next ensuing. And in order as much as in us lies, to prevent our being interrupted and defeated in this only peaceable measure entered into for the preservation and recovery of our rights, we agree to break off all trade, commerce, and dealings whatever with all persons, who, preferring their own private interest to the salvation of their own perishing country, shall still continue to import goods from *Great Britain*, or shall purchase of those who do import, and never to renew any commerce or trade with them.

And, whereas the promoting of industry, economy, arts and manufactures among ourselves is of the last importance to the civil and religious welfare of a community: we engage,

3d. That from and after the first day of *October* next ensuing, we will not by ourselves, or any for, by or under us, purchase or use any goods, wares, manufactures, or merchandise, whensoever or howsoever imported from *Great Britain*, until the harbour of *Boston* shall be opened, and our charter rights restored.

And last. As a refusal to come into any agreement which promises the deliverance of our country from the calamities it now feels, and which like a torrent are rushing upon it with increasing violence, must evidence a disposition inimical to, or criminally negligent of, the common safety, we agree, that after this covenant has been offered to any person, and they refuse to sign it, we will consider them in the same light as contumacious importers, and withdraw all commercial connections with them forever, and publish their names to the world.

Witness our hands, *June* ----, 1774

[Williamsburg, Va., August 1774]
VIRGINIA CONVENTION

At a very full Meeting of Delegates from the different Counties in the Colony and Dominion of *Virginia*, begun in *Williamsburg* the first day of *August*, in the year of our Lord 1774, and continued by several adjournments to *Saturday*, the 6th of the same month, the following Association was unanimously resolved upon, and agreed to:

We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Delegates of the freeholders of *Virginia*, deputed to represent them at a general meeting in the City of *Williamsburg*, avowing our inviolable and unshaken fidelity and attachment to our most gracious Sovereign; our regard and affection for all our friends and fellow-subjects in *Great Britain* and elsewhere; protesting against every act or thing which may have the most distant tendency to interrupt or in any wise disturb his Majesty's peace, and the good order of Government within this his ancient Colony, which we are resolved to maintain and defend at the risk of our lives and fortunes; but, at the same time, affected with the deepest anxiety and most alarming apprehensions of those grievances and distresses by which his Majesty's *American* subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation the state of the whole Continent, find that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is chiefly occasioned by certain ill advised regulations, as well of our trade, as internal polity, introduced by several unconstitutional Acts of the *British* Parliament, and, at length, attempted to be enforced by the hand of power.

Solely influenced by these important and weighty considerations, we think it an indispensable duty which we owe to our country, ourselves, and latest posterity, to guard against such dangerous and extensive mischiefs, by every just and proper means.

If, by the measures adopted, some unhappy consequences and inconveniences should be derived to our fellow-subjects, whom we wish not to injure in the smallest degree, we hope, and flatter ourselves, that they will impute them to their real cause, the hard necessity to which we are driven.

That the good people of this Colony may on so trying an occasion continue steadfastly directed to their most essential interests, in hopes that they will be influenced and stimulated by our example, to the greatest industry, the strictest economy and frugality, and the exertion of every publick virtue; persuaded that the merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of *Great Britain*, and above all, that the *British* Parliament will be convinced how much the true interest of the Kingdom must depend on the restoration and continuance of that mutual friendship and cordiality which so happily subsisted between us, we have, unanimously, and with one voice, entered into the following Resolutions and Association, which we do oblige ourselves by those sacred ties of honour and love to our country, strictly to observe; and farther

declare, before *God* and the world, that we will religiously adhere to and keep the same inviolate in every particular, until redress of all such *American* grievances as may be defined and settled at the general Congress of Delegates from the different Colonies shall be fully obtained, or until this Association shall be abrogated or altered by a general meeting of the Deputies of this Colony to be convened as is herein after directed. And we do, with the greatest earnestness, recommend this our Association to all gentlemen, merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of this Colony, hoping that they will cheerfully and cordially accede thereto:

1st. We do hereby resolve, and declare, that we will not, either directly or indirectly, after the first day of *November* next, import from *Great Britain* any goods, wares, or merchandises whatever, medicines excepted; nor will we, after that day, import any *British* manufactures, either from the *West Indies* or any other place; nor any article whatever which we shall know, or have reason to believe, was brought into such countries from *Great Britain*; nor will we purchase any such articles so imported of any person or persons whatsoever, except such as are now in the country, or such as may arrive on or before the first day of *November*, in consequence of orders already given, and which cannot now be countermanded in time.

2d. We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, after the first day of *November* next, either from *Africa*, the *West Indies*, or any other place.

3d. Considering the article of tea as the detestable instrument which laid the foundation of the present sufferings of our distressed friends in the town of *Boston*, we view it with horror; and therefore resolve, that we will not from this day, either import tea of any kind whatever; nor will we use, or suffer even such of it as is now on hand to be used in any of our families.

4th. If the inhabitants of the town of *Boston*, or any other Colony, should by violence or dire necessity be compelled to pay the *East India* Company for destroying any tea which they have lately by their agents unjustly attempted to force into the Colonies, we will not directly or indirectly import or purchase any *British East India* commodity whatever, till the Company, or some other person on their behalf, shall refund and fully restore to the owners all such sum or sums of money as may be so extorted.

5th. We do resolve, that unless *American* grievances are redressed before the 10th day of *August*, 1775, we will not after that day, directly or indirectly, export tobacco, or any other article whatever to *Great Britain*; nor will we sell any such articles as we think can be exported to *Great Britain* with a prospect of gain to any person or persons whatever, with a design of putting it into his or their power to export the same to *Great Britain*, either on our own, his, or their account. And that this resolution may be the more effectually carried into execution, we do hereby recommend it to the inhabitants of this Colony to refrain from the cultivation of tobacco as much as conven-

iently may be; and in lieu thereof, that they will, as we resolve to do, apply their attention and industry to the cultivation of all such articles as may form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts, which we will endeavour to encourage throughout this Colony, to the utmost of our abilities.

6th. We will endeavour to improve our breed of sheep, and increase their number to the utmost extent; and to this end we will be as sparing as we conveniently can, in killing of sheep, especially those of the most profitable kind; and if we should at any time be overstocked, or can conveniently spare any, we will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially the poorer sort of people, upon moderate terms.

7th. *Resolved*, That the merchants and other venders of goods and merchandises within this Colony ought not to take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this Association, but that they ought to sell the same at the rates they have been accustomed to for twelve months last past; and if they should sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any devise whatever, violate or depart from this resolution, we will not, and are of opinion that no inhabitant of this Colony ought, at any time thereafter, to deal with any such person, their factors or agents, for any commodity whatever; and it is recommended to the Deputies of the several counties, that Committees be chosen in each county by such persons as accede to this Association, to take effectual care that these Resolves be properly observed, and for corresponding occasionally with the general Committee of Correspondence in the City of *Williamsburg*, provided, that if exchange should rise, such advance may be made in the prices of goods as shall be approved by the Committee of each county.

8th. In order the better to distinguish such worthy merchants and traders who are well-wishers of this Colony, from those who may attempt, through motives of self-interest, to obstruct our views, we do hereby resolve that we will not, after the first day of *November* next, deal with any merchant or trader who will not sign this Association; nor until he hath obtained a certificate of his having done so from the County Committee, or any three members thereof. And if any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandise after the first day of *November*, contrary to this Association, we give it as our opinion that such goods and merchandise should be either forthwith reshipped, or delivered up to the County Committee, to be stored at the risk of the importer, unless such importer shall give a proper assurance to the said Committee, that such goods or merchandises shall not be sold within this Colony during the continuance of this Association; and if such importer shall refuse to comply with one or the other of these terms, upon application and due caution given to him or her by the said Committee, or any three members thereof, such Committee is required to publish the truth of the case in the *Gazettes*, and in the county where he or she resides; and we will thereafter consider such person or persons as inimical to this country, and break off every connection and all dealings with them.

9th. *Resolved*, That if any person or persons shall export tobacco, or any other commodity, to *Great Britain*, after the 10th day of *August*, 1775, contrary to this Association, we shall hold ourselves obliged to consider such person or persons inimical to the community, and as an approver of *American* grievances; and give it as our opinion that the publick should be advised of his or their conduct, as in the eighth article is desired.

10th. Being fully persuaded that the united wisdom of the general Congress may improve these our endeavours to preserve the rights and liberties of *British America*, we decline enlarging at present; but do hereby resolve that we will conform to and strictly observe, all such alterations or additions assented to by the Delegates for this Colony, as they may judge it necessary to adopt, after the same shall be published and made known to us.

11th. *Resolved*, That we think ourselves called upon, by every principle of humanity and brotherly affection, to extend the utmost and speediest relief to our distressed fellow-subjects in the town of *Boston*; and, therefore, most earnestly recommend it to all the inhabitants of this Colony to make such liberal contributions as they can afford, to be collected and remitted to *Boston*, in such manner as may best answer so desirable a purpose.

12th. And lastly, *Resolved*, That the Moderator of this meeting, and, in case of his death, *Robert Carter Nicholas*, Esquire, be empowered, on any future occasion that may, in his opinion, require it, convene the several Delegates of this Colony, at such time and place as he may judge proper; and in case of the death or absence of any Delegate, it is recommended that another be chosen in his place.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 686-690.

[Anson County, N.C., August 18, 1774]

Proceedings of Freeholders in Anson County, 18th August 1774.

At a meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Anson, in the Province of North Carolina, held at the Court House of the said County, on the 15th tiny of August 1771, Thomas Wade Esqre Chairman,

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Meeting; that the late arbitrary and cruel Acts of the British Parliament, and other unconstitutional and oppressive measures of the British Ministry, against the Town and Port of Boston, and province of Massachusetts Bay, are no other than the most alarming prelude to that yoke of slavery already manufactured by the said Ministry, and by them intended to be laid on all the Inhabitants of British America, and their Posterity for ever.

Resolved, That in order to disappoint the machinations of the said Ministry, and to secure the Rights of British Subjects in America, the Members of this Meeting are fully sensible of the expediency of sending Deputies to represent them at a General Convention of Deputies from the several Counties of this Colony to be held at Johnston Court House on the 23th inst., and likewise of sending Delegates from thence to act for and represent the Inhabitants of this Colony at a General Congress of Delegates from all the Colonies on this Continent to be held at Philadelphia on the 20th of September next, or at such time and place as shall be generally agreed upon.

Resolved, That Samuel Spencer & William Thomas Esqres be and are hereby appointed Deputies on behalf of this County, to act for and represent the Inhabitants thereof at the said General Convention of Deputies, from the several Counties of this Colony to be held at Johnston Court House aforesaid, on the 20th of this instant August or at such other time and place as shall be generally agreed upon, then and there to consult on the great and important Subject of American Freedom, and thence to appoint Delegates to act on behalf of this Colony at the said general Congress, to be held as aforesaid, and to pursue such measures, in union with the rest of the Colonies, as may be thought most conducive to the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of this Colony and those of America in general. And that the conduct of the Deputies hereby appointed on behalf of this County, in conjunction with that of the Deputies appointed to represent the several Counties of this Colony in full convention, as aforesaid, shall be taken and deemed to be obligatory on us the Freeholders and Inhabitants of this County.

Resolved, That Thomas Dockery, Thomas Wade, Samuel Spencer, William Thomas, Charles Robinson, Charles Medlock, William Pickett and James Auld be, and they are hereby appointed a Committee for this County to correspond with any Committee of Correspondence in this Colony, and to appoint meetings of the Freeholders in this County as often as they, or a majority of them, shall conceive the exigency of the times may require.

Resolved, That as in the opinion of this meeting the cause wherein the Inhabitants of Boston and Massachusetts Bay are now suffering, in consequence of the aforesaid arbitrary and cruel Acts, is the common cause of all North America, the Committee hereby appointed be instructed to open and promote a subscription for contributing towards the relief of those indigent Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, whom the operation of one of the aforesaid Acts has deprived of the means of subsisting themselves, and that the money or other Articles collected by such subscription be transmitted by the above Committee to the said Committee of Correspondence appointed for this Colony, to be laid out and disposed of in such manner as the said last mentioned Committee shall conceive to be best adapted to answer the design thereof.

Resolved, That it be an Instruction to the Deputies above appointed on behalf of this County, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the speediest, most constitutional and effectual way to obtain redress of the grievances above mentioned will be for the several American Colonies on this Continent to stop all trade and commerce with Great Britain, and every part of America that shall continue any trade or commerce with the same (except in some necessary articles such as salt) until the above said Acts be repealed, and other unconstitutional measures of the British Ministry be discarded, and that it is the opinion of this meeting that such stoppage of commerce will indispensably involve the necessity of stopping the commencement and prosecution of suits for the recovery of the greatest part of such debts as are now due from persons residing in the said Colonies, and that it is the desire of this Meeting, that a line may be properly drawn and ascertained between such suits as ought and such as ought not to be commenced and prosecuted for the recovery of debts in said Colonies, upon the Principles of such stoppage of commerce, as aforesaid.

Saunders, William L. (ed.): Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 9, p. 1032-1049.

[North Carolina Convention, August 27, 1774]

NORTH CAROLINA CONVENTION

[...]

Saturday, August 27, 1774.

The Meeting met according to adjournment; and came to the following Resolutions, to wit:

We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Deputies from the several Counties and Towns of the Province of *North Carolina*, impressed with the most sacred respect for the *British* Constitution, and resolved to maintain the succession of the House of *Hanover*, as by law established, and avowing our inviolable and unshaken fidelity to our Sovereign, and entertaining a sincere regard for our fellow-subjects in *Great Britain*, viewing with the utmost abhorrence every attempt which may tend to disturb the peace and good order of this Colony, or to shake the fidelity of his Majesty's subjects resident here; but, at the same time conceiving it a duty which we owe to ourselves and posterity, in the present alarming state of *British America*, when our most essential rights are invaded by powers unwarrantably assumed by the Parliament of *Great Britain*, to declare our sentiments in the most publick manner, least silence

should be construed as acquiescence, and that we patiently submit to the burthen which they have thought fit to impose upon us:

Resolved, That his Majesty *George* the Third is lawful and rightful King of *Great Britain*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, and of this Province, as part thereof, and that we do bear faithful and true allegiance unto him as our lawful Sovereign; that we will to the utmost of our power maintain and defend the succession of the House of *Hanover*, as by law established, against the open or private attempts of any person or persons whatsoever.

Resolved, That we claim no more than the rights of *Englishmen* without diminution or abridgment; that it is our indispensable duty and will be our constant endeavour, to maintain those rights to the utmost of our power consistently with the loyalty which we owe Sovereign, and a sacred regard for the *British* Constitution.

Resolved, It is of the very essence of the *British* Constitution, that no subject should be taxed, but by his own consent, freely given by himself in person, or by his legal Representatives, and that any other than such a taxation is highly derogatory to the rights of a subject, and a gross violation of the Grand Charter of our liberties.

Resolved, That as the *British* subjects resident in *North America*, have not, nor can have, any representation in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, therefore any Act of Parliament imposing a tax upon them, is illegal and unconstitutional; that our Provincial Assemblies, the King by his Governours constituting one branch thereof, solely and exclusively possess that right.

Resolved, That the duties imposed by several Acts of the *British* Parliament upon tea and other articles, consumed in *America*, for the purpose of raising a revenue, are highly illegal and oppressive, and that the late exportation of tea by the *East India* Company, to different parts of *America*, was intended to give effect to one of the said Acts, and thereby establish a precedent highly dishonourable to *America*, and to obtain an implied assent to the powers which *Great Britain* had unwarrantably assumed, of levying a tax upon us without our consent.

Resolved, That the inhabitants of the *Massachusetts* Province have distinguished themselves in a manly support of the rights of *America* in general, and that the cause in which they now suffer is the cause of every honest *American* who deserves the blessings which the Constitution holds forth to them. That the grievances under which the town of *Boston* labours at present are the effect of a resentment levelled at them for having stood foremost in an opposition to measures which must eventually have involved all *British America* in a state of abject dependence and servitude.

The Act of Parliament, commonly called the *Boston* Port Act, as it tends to shut up the port of *Boston*, and thereby effectually destroy its trade, and deprive the merchants and manufacturers of a subsistence which they have hitherto procured by an honest industry; as it takes away the wharves, quays, and other property of many individuals

by rendering it useless to them; and as the duration of this Act depends upon circumstances founded merely in opinion, and in their nature indeterminate, and thereby may make the miseries it carries with it even perpetual,

Resolved, Therefore, that it is the most cruel infringement of the rights and privileges of the people of *Boston*, both as men and members of the *British* Government.

Resolved, That the late Act of Parliament, for regulating the Police of that Province, is and infringement of the Charter right granted them by their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and tends to lessen that sacred confidence, which ought to be placed in the acts of Kings.

Resolved, That trial by Juries of the vicinity is the only lawful inquest that can pass upon the life of a *British* subject, and that it is a right handed down to us from the earliest ages; confirmed and sanctified by Magna Charta itself, that no freeman shall be taken and imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement and liberties, or outlawed, or banished, on any wise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land, and therefore all who suffer otherwise are not victims to public justice, but fall a sacrifice to the powers of tyranny and high-handed oppression.

Resolved, That the Bill for altering the administration of justice, in certain criminal cases within the Province of *Massachusetts Bay*, as it empowers the Governours thereof to send to *Great Britain* for trial all persons who, in aid of his Majesty's officers, shall commit any capital offence, is fraught with the highest injustice and partiality, and will tend to produce frequent bloodshed of the inhabitants, as this Act furnishes an opportunity to commit the most atrocious crimes with the greatest probability of impunity.

Resolved, That we will not directly or indirectly after the first day of *January* 1775, import from *Great Britain* any *East India* goods, or any merchandise whatever, medicines excepted, nor will we after that day import from the *West Indies*, or elsewhere, any *East India* or *British* goods or manufactures, nor will we purchase any such articles so imported of any person or persons whatsoever, except such as are now in the country, or may arrive on or before the first day of *January*, 1775.

Resolved, That unless *American* grievances are redressed before the first day of *October*, 1775, we will not after that day, directly or indirectly, export tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, or any other article whatever to *Great Britain*, nor will we sell any such articles as we think can be exported to *Great Britain* with a prospect of gain, to any person or persons whatever, with a design of putting it in his or their power to export the same to *Great Britain*, either on our own, his or their account.

Resolved, That we will not import any slave or slaves, or purchase any slave or slaves, imported or brought into this Province by others, from any part of the world, after the first day of *November* next.

Resolved, That we will not, nor suffer *East India* tea to be used in our families, after the tenth day of *September* next, and that we will consider all persons in this Province, not complying with this resolve, to be enemies to their country.

Resolved, That the venders of merchandise within this Province ought not take advantage of the resolves relating to non-importation in this Province, or elsewhere, but ought to sell their goods and merchandise, which they have, or may hereafter import, at the same rates they have been accustomed to sell them within three months last past.

Resolved, That the people of this Province, will break off all trade, commerce and dealing, and will not maintain any the least trade, dealing or commercial intercourse with any Colony on this Continent, or with any city or town, or with any individual in such Colony, city, or town, which shall refuse, decline, or neglect to adopt and carry into execution such general plan as shall be agreed to in the Continental Congress.

Resolved, That we approve of the proposal of a general Congress, to be held in the City of Philadelphia, on the 20th of *September* next, then and there to deliberate upon the present state of *British America*, and to take such measures as they may deem prudent to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of *Americans*; repairing the breaches made in those rights; and for guarding them for the future from any such violations done under sanction publick authority.

Resolved, That *William Hooper*, *Joseph Hewes*, and *Richard Caswell*, Esquires, and every of them be Deputies to attend such Congress; and they are hereby invested with such powers as may make any act done by them, or consent given in behalf of this Province, obligatory in honour upon every inhabitant thereof, who is not alien to his country's good, and an apostate to the liberties of *America*.

Resolved, That they view the attempts made by the Minister upon the town of *Boston*, as a prelude to a general attack upon the rights of the other Colonies; and that upon the success of this depends in a great measure, the happiness of *America*, in its present race, and in posterity; and that therefore it becomes our duty to contribute in proportion to our abilities to ease the burthen imposed upon that town for their virtuous opposition to the Revenue Acts, that they may be enabled to persist in a prudent and manly opposition to the schemes of Parliament, and render its dangerous designs abortive.

Resolved, That liberty is the spirit of the *British* Constitution, and that it is the duty, and will be the endeavour of us as *British Americans*, to transmit this happy Constitution to our posterity in a state, if possible, better than we found it; and that to suffer it to undergo a change which may impair that invaluable blessing, would be to disgrace those ancestors, who, at the expense of their blood, purchased those privileges which their degenerate posterity are too weak or too wicked to maintain inviolate.

Resolved, That at every future Provincial Meeting, when any division shall happen, the method to be observed, shall be to vote by the counties and towns (having a right to send Members to Assembly) that shall be represented at every such meeting; and it is recommended to the Deputies of the several counties that a Committee of five persons be chosen in each county, by such persons as accede to this Association, to take effectual care that these resolves be properly observed, and to correspond occasionally with the Provincial Committee of Correspondence of this Province.

Resolved, That each and every county in this Province raise, as speedily as possible, the sum of twenty pounds, Proclamation money, and pay the same into the hands of *Richard Caswell*, Esquire, to be by him equally divided among the Deputies appointed to attend the general Congress at *Philadelphia*, as a recompense for their trouble and expense in attending the said Congress.

Resolved, That the Moderator of this meeting, and in case of his death, *Samuel Johnson*, Esquire, be empowered, on any future occasion that may in his opinion require it, to convene the several Deputies of this Province, which now are or hereafter shall be chosen, at such time and place as he shall think proper; and in case of the death or absence of any Deputy, it is recommended that another be chosen in his stead.

Resolved, That the following be Instructions for the Deputies appointed to meet in general Congress on the part of this Colony, to wit:

That they express our sincere attachment to our most gracious Sovereign King *George* the Third, and our determined resolution to support his lawful authority in the Province; at the same time, that we cannot depart from a steady adherence to the first law of nature: a firm and resolute defence of our persons and properties against all unconstitutional encroachments whatsoever.

That they assert our right to all the privileges of *British* subjects, particularly that of paying no taxes or duties but with our own consent; and that the Legislature of this Province have the exclusive power of making laws to regulate our internal polity, subject to his Majesty's disallowance.

That should the *British* Parliament continue to exercise the power of levying taxes and duties on the Colonies, and making laws to bind them in all cases whatsoever; such laws must be highly unconstitutional and oppressive to the inhabitants of *British America*, who have not, and from their local circumstances cannot have, a fair and equal representation in the *British* Parliament, and that these disadvantages must be greatly enhanced by the misrepresentation of designing men, inimical to the Colonies, the influence of whose reports cannot be guarded against, by reason of the distance of *America* from them, or as has been unhappily experienced in the case of the town of *Boston*, when the ears of Administration have been shut against every attempt to vindicate a people who claimed only the right of being heard in their own defence.

That therefore until we obtain an explicit declaration and acknowledgment of our rights, we agree to stop all imports from *Great Britain* after the first day of *January*, 1775; and that we will not export any of our commodities to *Great Britain* after the first day of *October*, 1775.

That they concur with the Deputies or Delegates from the other Colonies, in such Regulations, Addresses, or Remonstrances, as may be deemed most probable to restore a lasting harmony and good understanding with *Great Britain*, a circumstance we most sincerely and ardently desire; and that they agree with the majority of them in all necessary measures for promoting a redress of such grievances as may come under their consideration.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Honourable *John Harvey*, Esquire, Moderator, for his faithful exercise of that office, and the services he has thereby rendered to this Province, and the friends of *America* in general.

JOHN HARVEY, *Moderator*.

[Signed by 80 persons]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 733-737.

[East Greenwich, R.I., August 29, 1774]

Subscription for the Relief of the Inhabitants of Boston and Charlestown, in the town of East Greenwich, Rhode Island

East Greenwich, August 29, 1774.

We, the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of East Greenwich, in the colony of Rhode Island, taking into the most serious consideration the present alarming situation of our brethren in the towns of Boston and Charlestown, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, occasioned by the late cruel, malignant and worse than savage acts of the British Parliament; and whereas, a tame submission to the first approaches of lawless power, will undoubtedly involve this extensive continent in one scene of misery and servitude, than which, a glorious death, in defence of our unquestionable rights, is far more eligible; convinced likewise, that the only true glory and unfading grandeur of the British monarch consists in governing his extensive empire with equal and impartial laws, founded in reason, and rendered sacred by the wisdom of ages; and that every attempt to impair that noble constitution, which hath ever been the envy and terror of Europe, constitutes the blackest treason—from the most unfeigned loyalty to our sovereign—from the most settled abhorrence to the deep laid schemes

of his prime minister, whom we esteem the most determined foe to royalty; and from an ardent love to our country, which nothing but death can abate, we do promise and engage to pay, by the 1st day of October next, the respective sums to our names annexed, to James Mitchell Varnum, Esq.; Messrs. Preserved Pearce, A. Mumford and William Pearce, to be laid out and expended in such articles of provisions, for our said distressed brethren, as the majority of us shall agree upon, to be sent to the committee of ways and means for employing the poor in Boston, by the first conveyance.—*Providence Gazette*.

Bartlett, John Russell: Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, vol. 7: 1770-1776. New York 1862, p. 303.

[The Association of the First Continental Congress, Philadelphia, Pa., October 20, 1774]

We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, deputed to represent them in a continental congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety and most alarming apprehensions, at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation the state of the whole continent, find 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, evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies, and with them, the British Empire. In prosecution of which system, various Acts of Parliament have been passed for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America; and in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel and oppressive Acts have been passed, respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts Bay, and also an Act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus, by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the

inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall choose so to direct them.

To obtain redress of these grievances which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majesty's subjects, in North America, we are of opinion that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure: and therefore, we do, for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of love of our country, as follows:

1. That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares or merchandise whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandise, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

2. We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

3. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that from this day we will not purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East India Company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares or merchandise we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

4. The earnest desire we have not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said Acts and parts of Acts of the British Parliament hereinafter mentioned are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandise or commodity whatsoever to Britain, Ireland or the West Indies, except rice to Europe.

5. Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents and correspondents, in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant residing in Great Britain or Ireland shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares, or merchandise for America, in order to

break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and on the same being so done, we will not, from thenceforth, have any commercial connection with such merchant.

6. That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods-prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

7. We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of sheep and increase their number to the greatest extent; and to that end we will kill them as seldom as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West Indies or elsewhere; and those of us who are or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

8. We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress than a black crepe or ribbon on the arm or hat, for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarves at funerals.

9. Such as are vendors of goods or merchandise will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods, that may be occasioned by this association but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do for twelve months last past. And if any vendor of goods or merchandise shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall, in any manner, or by any device whatsoever violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

10. In case any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandise after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either reshipped or delivered up to the committee of the county or town wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risk of the importer until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed out of the sales, the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as are immediate sufferers by the Boston Port Bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored or sold to be inserted in

the public papers; and if any goods or merchandises shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

11. That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this Association; and when it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this Association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the gazette; to the end that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publicly known, and universally condemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

12. That the committee of correspondence, in the respective colonies, do frequently inspect the entries of their custom houses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this Association.

13. That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

14. And we do further agree and resolve that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings, or intercourse whatsoever, with any colony or province in North America which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this Association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this Association, until such parts of the several Acts of Parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colours imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed. And until that part of the Act of the 12 Geo. III, c. 24, entitled "An Act for the better securing his Majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," by which any persons charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed-and until the four Acts, passed the last session of Parliament, viz. that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston-that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts Bay-and that which is entitled "An act for the better administration of justice,

etc.”-and that “for extending the limits of Quebec, etc.” are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this Association. The foregoing Association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several members thereof; and thereupon, we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

Jensen, Merrill (ed.): American Colonial Documents to 1776. Reprint London 1969 (First ed. 1955) [English Historical Documents vol. 9].

[Frances Town, N.H., October 21,1774]

Province of New-Hampshire, County of Hillsborough, Oct. 21, 1774.

FRANCES TOWN RESOLVES

We the subscribers, being Inhabitants of Frances Town, having taken into our most serious consideration the alarming affairs of this Country at the present day, do most firmly enter into the following Resolutions, viz:

1st. That we will at all times defend our liberties and privileges, both civil and religious, even to the risk of our fortunes; and will not only disapprove of, but wholly despise, such persons as we have just and solid reason to think wish us deprived of the same.

2d. *Resolved*, That we do abhor and abominate all oppressive acts of persons in power, whether Magistrate or Officer, whereby the poor are distressed and unlawfully robbed of their properties in any unjust manner whatever; and we will always endeavour to treat them with such neglect and contempt as they justly deserve.

3d. *Resolved*, That we will at all times be ready to assist the Civil Magistrates in the due execution of their offices at the risk of our lives; and will at all times show our disapprobation of all unlawful proceedings of unjust men congregating together, as they pretend to maintain their liberties, and even trample under foot the very law of liberty, and wholly destroy that law our whole land firmly wish, and desire to maintain. And we,

4thly. *Resolved*, They are bold despisers of law, and that their proceedings directly tend to the utter subversion of all regularity and good order among his Majesty's good subjects in this land.

Unterschrieben von 23 Personen

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 888.

[Edenton, N.C., October 25, 1774]

ASSOCIATION SIGNED BY LADIES OF EDENTON, NORTH CAROLINA,
OCTOBER 25, 1774.

As we cannot be indifferent on any occasion that appears to affect the peace and happiness of our country; and as it has been thought necessary for the publick good to enter into several particular Resolves by a meeting of Members of Deputies from the whole Province, it is a duty that we owe not only to our near and dear relations and connexions, but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their welfare, to do every thing as far as lies in our power to testify our sincere adherence to the same; and we do therefore accordingly subscribe this paper as a witness of our fixed intention and solemn determination to do so.

Signed by fifty-one Ladies.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 891-892.

[Philadelphia, Pa., December 19, 1774]

PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE

Committee Chamber, December 19, 1774.

An Association of the Butchers of this City, &c., was delivered in at the Chair, and read.

Ordered, That the same be printed, as an instance of the spirited determination of all orders among us to do their utmost towards carrying into execution the Resolves of the Continental Congress.

Philadelphia, December 5th, 1774.

We whose names are underwritten, Butchers in the City and Suburbs of *Philadelphia*, being fully convinced that every thing we hold dear depends on the faithful execution of the Resolves of the Congress; and being desirous of supporting them as far as lies in our power, and of contributing our utmost endeavours in the present important struggle; and being glad of having an opportunity to show our zeal and attachment to the liberties of our country, we hope on this and every other occasion, when our greatest temporal blessings are in danger of being torn from us, to be able, in

order to preserve them, cheerfully to sacrifice every inferiour consideration of private interest or convenience. The recommendation of the Committee appearing to us the best method of carrying into execution the Resolves of the Congress for improving the breed of Sheep, and increasing their number, we do solemnly agree and pledge ourselves to the publick, that we will not hereafter purchase any Ewe Mutton or Lamb, until the first day of *May* next; nor any Ewe Lamb from the said first day of *May* until the first day of *October* following; nor will we after the first day of *January*, kill any Ewe Mutton or Lamb, on any account or pretence whatever, until the first day of *May* following; nor any Ewe Lamb whatever, from the said first day of *May* until the first of *October* following; and will at any time in future, during our struggle for our rights and liberties, be ready to comply with such further regulations as the Committee may think necessary for the preservation of the stock of Sheep, as witness our hands.

Signed by Sixty-six.

Extract for the Minutes of the Committee for the City and Liberties of *Philadelphia*.

Jonathan Smith

Secretaries

John Benezet

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1050-51.

[Bute County, N.C., probably December 1774]

The Bute County Association

We therefore the Trusty and well beloved Brothers, and friends, to each other, of Bute County North Carolina, being deeply impressed with the sense of our distressed brethren in the Northern provinces, who are now defending the General rights of mankind, against the arbitrary, and dispotick power of a Corrupt Ministry, by enforcing Laws on us, where we are not represented, depriving us of the Constitution, which we were born and bred under, as free Subjects, Privileges highly worthy the spiling the hearts blood of every American, doe most seriously, Religiously, Join our hearts and hands in embodying ourselves in to an Independent Company of free Men to be in readiness to defend ourselves against any violence that may be exerted against our persons and properties to stand by and Support to the utmost of our Power the Salvation of America. An do most humbly beseech our Lord Jesus Christ of his great Goodness that he will be pleased to govern and guide us to his glory, and to the good of our distressed Country & with full dependence thereof, we the subscribers do con-

stitute an agree, that this company consist of ninety rank and file, two Drummers, eight serjeants, one Ensign, two Lieutenants and a Captain to Command with full power, to our glory, and our Country's Good. And as the present distressed situation of this province in general, for arms, ammunition &c. we cannot think it prudent to embark ourselves beyond Potomack River in Virg^a, as the provinces northward are much more populous and in all proberbility better supplied with arms & ammunition &c. than this. But we will coincide with the majority of the Comp^y (sh^{ld} we be ever called for by the Commanding officer of the American army) being now Cheerfully Inlisted in this Independent Comp^y of Brothers, neighbors and friends, do engage to stand by Each other with life and fortune, and through whatever fate should befall either, to cherish each other in sickness and in Health. And doe furthermore most cordially promise to each other, under all the Tyes of Virtue and humanity, that should either of us survive the dreadful Calamities of War, that we will Religiously Cherish and support to the utmost of our power each other's desolate and loving wife, and tender affectionate Children, being poor orphans, form poverty and want, and for the faithful proformance, of this our Brotherly and friendly Covenant, which we mean to proforme So help us God.

Saunders, William L. (ed.): *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 9, p. 1104-05.

[Boston, December 22, 1774]

Boston, December 22, 1774.

TO THE PRINTERS OF THE BOSTON NEWSPAPERS.

As Messrs. *Edes* and *Gill*, in their paper of *Monday*, the 12th instant, were pleased to acquaint the publick, "that the Association sent by Brigadier *Ruggles*, &c., to the Town of *Hardwick*, &c., together with his son's certificate thereof, and the Resolves of the Provincial Congress thereon, must be referred till their next," I was so credulous as to expect then to have seen their next paper adorned with the form of an Association, which would have done honour to it, and, if attended to and complied with by the good people of the Province, might have put it in the power of any one very easily to have distinguished such loyal subjects to the King, as dare to assert their rights to freedom, in all respects consistent with the laws of the land, from such rebellious ones, under the pretext of being friends to liberty, are frequently committing the most enormous outrages upon the persons and properties of such of his Majesty's peaceable subjects, who, for want of knowing who to call upon (in these distracted times)

for assistance, fall into the hands of a banditti, whose cruelties surpass those of savages; but finding my mistake, now take the liberty to send copies to your several offices to be published in your next papers, that so the publick may be made more acquainted therewith than at present, and be induced to associate for the above purposes; and as many of the people, for some time past, have been arming themselves, it may not be amiss to inform them that their numbers will not appear so large in the field as was imagined, before it was known that independency was the object in contemplation; since which many have associated in different parts of the Province to preserve their freedom and support Government; and as it may become necessary in a very short time to give convincing proofs of our attachment to Government, we shall be much wanting to ourselves if we longer trample upon that patience which has already endured to long-suffering, and may, if this opportunity be neglected, have a tendency to ripen many for destruction who have not been guilty of overt act of rebellion, which would be an event diametrically opposite to the humane and benevolent intention of him whose abused patience cannot endure for ever, and who hath already, by his prudent conduct, evinced the most tender regard for a deluded people.

Tim. Ruggles.

THE ASSOCIATION

We, the subscribers, being fully sensible of the blessings of good Government, on the one hand, and convinced, on the other hand, of the evils and calamities attending on tyranny in all shapes, whether exercised by one or many, and having of late seen, with great grief and concern, the distressing efforts of a dissolution of all Government, whereby our lives, liberties, and properties are rendered precarious, and no longer under the protection of the law; and apprehending it to be our indispensable duty to use all lawful means in our power for the defence of our persons and property against all riotous and lawless violence, and to recover and secure the advantages which we are entitled to from the good and wholesome laws of the Government, do hereby associate and mutually covenant and engage to and with each other as follows, namely:

1st. That we will, upon all occasions, with our lives and fortunes, stand by and assist each other in the defence of his life, liberty, and property, whenever the same shall be attacked or endangered by any bodies of men, riotously assembled, upon any pretence, or under any authority not warranted by the laws of the land.

2d. That we will, upon all occasions, mutually support each other in the free exercise and enjoyment of our undoubted right to liberty, in eating, drinking, buying, sell-

ing, communing, and acting what, with whom, and as we please, consistent with the laws of *God* and the King.

3d. That we will not acknowledge or submit to the pretended authority of any Congress, Committees of Correspondence, or any other unconstitutional assemblies of men; but will, at the risk of our lives, if need be, oppose the forcible exercise of all such authority.

4thly. That we will, to the utmost of our power, promote, encourage, and when called to it, enforce obedience to the rightful authority of our most gracious Sovereign, King *George* the Third, and of his laws.

5thly. That when the person or property of any of us shall be invaded or threatened by any Committees, mobs, or unlawful assemblies, the others of us will, upon notice received, forthwith repair, properly armed, to the person on whom, or the place where such invasion or threatening shall be, and will, to the utmost of our power, defend such person and his property, and, if need be, will oppose and repel force with force.

6thly. That if any one of us shall unjustly and unlawfully be injured, in his person or property, by any such assemblies as before mentioned, the others of us will unitedly demand, and, if in our power, compel the offenders, if known, to make full reparation and satisfaction for such injury; and if all our means of security fail, we will have recourse to the natural law of retaliation.

In witness of all which we hereto subscribe our names this ***** day of *****

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1057-1058.

[Darien, Ga., January 12, 1775]

Darien (Georgia) Resolutions

In the Darien Committee, Thursday, January 12, 1775.

When the most valuable privileges of a people are invaded, not only by open violence, but by every kind of fraud, sophistry, and cunning, it behoves every individual to be upon his guard, and every member of society, like beacons in a country surrounded by enemies, to give the alarm, not only when their liberties in general are attacked, but separately, least a precedent in one may affect the whole; and to enable the collective wisdom of such people to judge of its consequence, and how far their respective grievances concerns all, or should be opposed to preserve their necessary union. Every laudable attempt of this kind by the good people of this Colony, in a constitutional manner, hath been hitherto frustrated, by the influence and authority of

men in office, and their numerous dependants, and in every other natural and just way, by the various arts they have put in practice. We, therefore, the Representatives of the extensive District of *Darien*, in the Colony of *Georgia*, being now assembled in Congress, by the authority and free choice of the inhabitants of the said District, now freed from their fetters, do Resolve,

1st. That the unparalleled moderation, the decent, but firm and manly conduct of the loyal and brave people of *Boston* and *Massachusetts Bay*, to preserve their liberty, deserves not only the applause and thanks of all *America*, but also, the imitation of all mankind. But, to avoid needless repetitions, we acquiesce and join in all the Resolutions passed by the Grand *American* Congress in *Philadelphia* last *October*. We thank them for their sage counsel and advice, and most heartily and cheerfully accede to the Association entered into by them, as the wisest and most moderate measure that could be adopted in our present circumstances to reconcile and firmly unite *Great Britain* and the Colonies, so indispensably necessary to each other, by the surest and best basis – mutual interest. But, as the wisest Councils upon earth are liable to the errors of humanity, and notwithstanding our reverence and partiality for that august Assembly, we beg leave to differ in opinion from them, in charging the unjust measures of the present and preceding Ministry, to a person qualified rather for a private than a public station; and as the resentment of his countrymen, on a former occasion, was raised by the illiberal and unjust abuse of them, indiscriminately, for the faults of that man, we humbly resume the renewing it at this time, on so little foundation, at least impolitick; being confident that every Member of that late, wise, patriotick, and truly honourable Congress, from a principle of candour and justice, will rather commend than blame our honest and well meant freedom.

2d. That in shutting up the Land Offices, with the intention of raising our quit-rents, and setting up our Lands at publick sale, representations of the Crown tract have not been truly considered (and attended to) in all its consequences to this vast Continent: That it is a principal part of the unjust system of politicks adopted by the present Ministry, to subject and enslave us, and evidently proceeds from an ungenerous jealousy of the Colonies, to prevent as much as possible the population of *America*, and the relief of the poor and distressed in *Britain* and elsewhere, for whom a kind Providence has opened a new world from their merciless oppressor, when the old is overrun with such monsters: That monopolizing our Lands into few hands, is forming and encouraging petty tyrants to lord it over us, or reside in any other part of the world in extravagance, luxury, and folly, by the fruit of our labour and industry – such oppressions, neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, and it drove us to the wil-

derness: And that all encouragement should be given to the poor of every Nation by every generous *American*.

3d. That Ministerial Mandates, under the name of Instructions, preventing the legal Representatives of the people to enact laws suiting their own respective situation and circumstances, are a general grievance, and more especially in this young Colony, where our internal police is not yet well settled; and as a proof of the intention of these restrictions, when time and opportunity offers, we point out particularly, amongst many others of like nature, the not suffering us to limit the term of our Assembly, or passing a quit-rent law, to ascertain and fix the most valuable part of our property.

4th. That an over proportion of Officers, for the number of inhabitants, and paying their salaries from *Britain*, so much cast up to us by Court parasites, and for which we are so often charged with ingratitude, are in truth real and great grievances, rendering them insolent and regardless of their conduct, being independent of the people who should support them according to their usefulness and behaviour, and for whose benefit and conveniency alone they were originally intended. That besides these exorbitant salaries, which enables them all to act by Deputies, whilst they wallow in luxury themselves, their combining to raise their exorbitant and illegal fees and perquisites, by various arts upon the subject, to an alarming height, are more dangerous to our liberties than a regular Army; having the means of corruption so much in their power, the danger of which is imminently exemplified in the present unhappy state of our brethren and fellow-subjects in *Britain*, and even in the late conduct of this Colony. To prevent therefore as much as in us lies these direful effects, we do resolve never to choose any person in publick office, his Deputy, Deputy's Deputy, or any expectant, to represent us in Assembly, or any other publick place, in our election, hoping the example will be followed throughout this Colony, and all *America*.

5th. To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for all mankind, of whatever climate, language, or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of Slavery in *America*, (however the uncultivated state of our country, or other specious arguments may plead for it,) a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties, (as well as lives,) debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest; and is laying the basis of that liberty we contend for (and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest posterity) upon a very wrong foundation. We therefore resolve, at all

times to use our utmost endeavours for the manumission of our Slaves in this Colony, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves.

6th. That we do hereby choose Messrs. ***** to represent us for this District, in the Provincial Congress at *Savannah*, the 18th instant, or at any other time and place appointed hereafter, for the space of one year from this day, and that a copy of these our Resolutions be given them expressing the sense of this District of publick grievances, which will serve for their direction and instructions; and it is further our desire, that our said Deputies shall use their endeavours to send two Delegates from this Colony to the General Continental Congress, to be held at *Philadelphia* next *May*.

ASSOCIATION

Being persuaded that the salvation of the Rights and Liberties of *America* depend, under *God*, on the firm union of the inhabitants, in its vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety, and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend the dissolution of the powers of Government, we, the Freeman, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of *Georgia*, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the Ministry to raise a Revenue in *America*, and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the *Massachusetts Bay*, do, in the most solemn manner, resolve never to become slaves, and do associate under all the ties of religion, honour, and love of Country, to adopt and endeavor to carry into execution, whatever may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention, that shall be appointed for the purpose of preserving our Constitution, and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive Acts of the *British* Parliament, until a reconciliation between *Great Britain* and *America*, on constitutional principles, which we most ardently desire can be obtained; and that we will in all things follow the advice of our General Committee, to be appointed, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property. Signed,

[...]

[Signed by 31 persons]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1135-1137.

[Fairfax County, Va., January 17, 1775]

Fairfax County (Virginia) Association

Threatened with the destruction of our ancient Laws and Liberty, and the loss of all that is dear to British subjects and freemen, justly alarmed with the prospect of impending ruin, - firmly determined at the hazard of our lives, to transmit to our children and posterity those sacred rights to which ourselves were born; and thoroughly convinced that a well regulated Militia, composed of the gentlemen, freeholders, and other freeman [sic!], is the natural strength, and only safe and stable security of a free Government, and that such Militia will relieve our mother country from any expense in our protection and defence, will obviate the pretence of a necessity for taxing us on that account, and render it unnecessary to keep any Standing Army (ever dangerous to liberty) in this Colony, we the subscribers, inhabitants of *Fairfax* County, have freely and voluntarily agreed, and hereby do agree and solemnly promise, to enroll and embody ourselves into a Militia for this County, intended to consist of all the able-bodied freemen from eighteen to fifty years of age, under Officers of their own choice, and for that purpose to form ourselves into distinct Companies of sixty-eight men each; and so soon as the said Companies or any of them in convenient neighbourhoods and Districts are completed, to choose from among our friends and acquaintance, upon whose justice, humanity and bravery, we can rely, a Captain, two Lieutenants, an Ensign, and four Sergeants, for each Company; every Captain respectively to appoint four Corporals and a Drummer for his Company, which election of Officers is to be annual in any Company, if the majority of the Company think fit; and whenever a sufficient number of Companies shall be made up, all the said Companies are to be formed into a Regiment, under the command of a Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, and Major, to be chosen by the Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns of the said Companies; which election of Field Officers is to be annual also, if the majority of the Officers think fit. And such of us as have, or can procure Rifle-Guns, and understand the use of them, will be ready to form a Company of Marksmen of Light-Infantry for the said Regiment, choosing our own Officers as aforesaid, and distinguishing our dress, when we are upon duty, from that of the other Companies, by painted hunting-shirts and Indian boots, or caps, as shall be found most convenient; which regulation and establishment is to be preserved and continued until a regular and proper Militia Law for the defence of the country, shall be enacted by the Legislature of this Colony. And we do each of us for ourselves respectively, promise and engage to keep a good Firelock, in proper order, and to furnish ourselves as soon as possible with, and always keep by us, one pound of Gunpowder, four pounds of Lead, one dozen Gun-Flints, and a pair of Bullet-Moulds, with a Cartouch-Box, or Powder-Horn, and Bag for Balls. That we will use our best endeavours to perfect ourselves in the Military Exercise and Disci-

pline, and therefore will pay due obedience to our Officers, and regularly attend such private and general musters as they shall appoint. And that we will always hold ourselves in readiness, in case of necessity, hostile invasion, or real danger, to defend and preserve to the utmost of our power, our religion, the laws of our country, and the just rights and privileges of our fellow-subjects, our posterity, and ourselves, upon the principles of the *English* Constitution.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1145-1146.

[Provincial Congress at Savannah, Ga., January 1775]

Association entered into by forty-five of the Deputies assembled in Provincial Congress, at SAVANNAH, in GEORGIA, on the 18th of JANUARY, 1775, and by them subscribed on the 23d, when they chose Noble WIMBERLY JONES, ARCHIBALD BULLOCK, and JOHN HOUSTON, Esquires, Delegates to represent that Colony in the Continental Congress, to be held in MAY next.

Whereas a Non-Importation, Non-Consumption, and Non-Exportation Agreement, faithfully adhered to, will probably prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure to obtain redress of *American* Grievances: We do, therefore, for ourselves and our constituents, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and love of our country, as follows:

First. That we will not receive into this Province any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises that shall be shipped from *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, after the 15th day of *March* next; or from any other place any such Goods, Wares, or Merchandises as shall be shipped from those Kingdoms after that time, except such as come under the rules and directions of the ninth Article herein mentioned; and except such Goods, Wares, or Merchandises as are absolutely necessary for carrying on the *Indian* trade, subject, nevertheless, to the control of the Continental Congress, intended to be held at *Philadelphia*, on the 10th day of *May* next. Nor will we from this day import or purchase any Tea from any part of the world, nor import any Molasses, Syrups, Paneles, Coffee, or Pimento, from the *British* Plantations, or from *Dominica*, nor Wines from *Madeira* or the Western Islands, nor foreign Indigo.

Second. That we will neither import or purchase any Slaves imported from *Africa*, or elsewhere, after the 15th day of *March* next.

Third. That we will not export any Merchandise, or commodity whatsoever, to *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, or to the *West Indies*, after the first day of *December* next, except Rice to *Europe*.

Fourth. Such as are Merchants, and use the *British* and *Irish* trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents, and correspondents in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, not to ship any Goods to them on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be

received in *Georgia*; and if any Merchants, residing in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, shall, directly or indirectly, ship any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises for this Province, in order to break such Non-Importation Agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made publick; and on the same being so done, we will not, from thenceforth, have any commercial connection with such Merchant.

Fifth. That such as are owners of Vessels will give positive orders to their Captains or Masters not to receive on board their Vessels any Goods prohibited by the said Non-Importation Agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

Sixth. We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of Sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent, and to that end will kill them as sparingly as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the *West Indies*, or elsewhere; and those of us who are, or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any Sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

Seventh. That we will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote Agriculture, Arts, and the Manufactures of *America*, especially that of Wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially Horse-Racing, and all kinds of gaming, Cock-Fighting, exhibitions of Shew, Plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or our families, will go into any further mourning dress than a Black Crape or Ribbon on the arm or hat, for gentlemen; and Black Ribbon and Necklace, for ladies; and we will discontinue the giving of Scarfs and Gloves at Funerals.

Eighth. That such as are venders of Goods or Merchandise, will not take advantage of the scarcity of Goods that may be occasioned by this Association, but will sell the same at the rates they have been accustomed to do for twelve months last past; and if any vender of Goods or Merchandise shall sell any Goods on higher terms, or shall, in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this Agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us, deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

Ninth. In case any Merchant, Trader, or other person, shall receive any Goods or Merchandises which shall be shipped after the 15th day of *March*, and before the 15th day of *May* next, the same ought, forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-shipped or delivered to the Committee of the Town, Parish, or District wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risk of the importer, until the Non-Importation Agreement shall cease, or be sold, under the direction of the Committee aforesaid; and in the last mentioned case, the owner or owners of such Goods shall be reimbursed, out of the sales, the first costs and charges; the profit, if any, to be applied

towards relieving such poor inhabitants of the Town of *Boston* as are immediate sufferers by the Port Bill; and a particular account of all Goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the publick Papers: and if any Goods or Merchandises shall be shipped after the said 15th day of *May* next, the same ought, forthwith, to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

Tenth. That a Committee be chosen in every Parish, Town, and District, by those who contribute towards the general tax, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this Association ; and when it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of a majority of any such Committee, that any person, within the limits of their appointment, has violated this Association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the *Gazette*, to the end that all such foes to the rights of *British America* may be publickly known, and universally condemned as the enemies of *American Liberty*, and thenceforth we will respectively break off all dealings with him or her.

Eleventh. That the Committee of Correspondence do frequently inspect the entries of the Custom House, and inform the Committees of the other Provinces, from time to time, of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this Association.

Twelfth. That all Manufactures of this Province be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantages be taken of a future scarcity of Goods.

And we do solemnly bind ourselves, and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this Association, until *American Grievances* are redressed.

The foregoing Association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several Members thereof; and, thereupon, we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

IN CONGRESS, *Savannah, Georgia*, January 23, 1775.

[Signed by 45 persons]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1158-1160.

[Dutchess County, N.Y., January 18, 1775]

Dutchess County (New-York) Association

We, the subscribers, being desirous to convince mankind that we are firmly attached to our most happy Constitution, and are disposed to support and maintain peace and good order under his Majesty's Government, do therefore declare, that our Sovereign Lord King *George* the Third, is the only Sovereign to whom *British America*

can, or ought to owe and bear true and faithful allegiance, and that there is no legal power or authority therein but what is only derived from them; that our Representatives, in General Assembly convened, are the only guardians of our Rights and Liberties; that without them no laws here can be made to bind us, and that they only are the channel through which our grievances can properly be represented for redress; and that, to support their right and authority, we do hereby associate and mutually covenant and engage to and with each other as follows, namely:

First. That we will upon all occasions stand by and assist each other in the defence of his life, liberty, and property, whenever the same shall be attacked or endangered by any bodies of men riotously assembled, upon any pretence, or under any authority whatsoever, not warranted by the laws of the land.

Second. That we will upon all occasions mutually support each other in the free exercise and enjoyment of our undoubted right to liberty in eating, drinking, buying, selling, communing, and acting what, with whom, and as we please, consistent with the laws of *God*, and the laws of the land, notwithstanding the Association entered into by the Continental Congress to the contrary.

Lastly. That we will endeavour to promote, encourage, and, when called upon, enforce obedience to the rightful authority of our most gracious Sovereign King *George* the Third, and the laws which can, do, or may constitutionally extend to, or in the *British Colonies in America*.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this eighteenth day of *January*, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord *George* the Third, by the grace of *God* of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith &c., and in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

Signed by a number of Inhabitants of DUTCHESS County.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1164.

[Ridgefield, Conn., January 30, 1775]

Ridgefield (Connecticut) Resolutions.

Whereas, application hath been made to the Selectmen of the Town of *Ridgefield*, in *Connecticut* Colony, by several of the Inhabitants of said Town, to call a special Town Meeting, in order to take into consideration the Resolutions entered into by the Continental Congress; and the Inhabitants being accordingly met on the 30th day of *January*, 1775,

NATHAN OLMSTEAD was chosen *Moderator*.

The meeting then proceeded to take into consideration the said Resolutions; and, after mature deliberation, the question was put, “whether this Town will adopt and conform to the Resolves contained in the Association of the Continental Congress or not?”

Resolved in the negative (nine dissenters only).

2d. *Resolved nem. con.*, That we do acknowledge his most sacred Majesty, King *George* the Third, to be our rightful Sovereign; and do hereby publicly avow our allegiance to him and his legal successors; and that we will, to the utmost of our power, support his throne and dignity against every combination in the universe.

3d. *Resolved, nem. con.*, That we acknowledge that the three branches of Legislation, to wit: the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, concurring and acting together, have a constitutional right of government over the whole and every part of the *British* Empire.

4th *Resolved, nem. con.*, That the Governour, Council, and representatives of this Colony, being indulged with, and having an established right of legislation (though restricted) in and over this Colony, and do hereby acknowledge and avow their right of Government and legislation in and over this Colony, and are confident that they are the rightful and constitutional rulers, directors, and guardians of our persons, properties, rights, liberties, and privileges; and we desire no other political guides or guardians than said Assembly, and the Officers constitutionally appointed by them to keep the peace and order of the Colony, and to superintend the execution of the Colony Laws.

5th. *Resolved, nem. con.*, That it would be dangerous and hurtful to the inhabitants of this Town to adopt said Congress’s measures; and we hereby publicly disapprove of, and protest against said Congress, and the measures by them directed, as unconstitutional, as subversive of our real liberties, and as countenancing licentiousness.

6th. *Resolved, nem. con.*, That the Town Clerk be desired to make out a true copy of the aforesaid Resolves, and transmit them to one or more of the Printers in *New-York*, that they may be published to the world.

STEPHEN SMITH, *Town Clerk*.

P.S. There were present in said meeting about two hundred voters; and the said Resolutions are entered on the Town Records.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1202-1203.

[Ridgefield, Conn., February 2, 1775]

Ridgefield, Connecticut, February 2, 1775.

Whereas, in a Meeting of the Town of *Ridgefield*, held on the 30th of *January* last, the question was put, whether the Town would adopt and conform to the Resolves contained in the Association of the Continental Congress, or not; which Question was resolved in the negative. We, subscribers, inhabitants of the society of *Ridgebury*, within the said Town, do hereby declare, that we were not on the negative side of the above question, and are very sorry that the Town did not adopt the abovesaid Association, as we think it of importance to the cause of *American* freedom that it should be faithfully observed, and do accordingly purpose to observe it ourselves, as far as we can, under our present circumstances, and stand ready to concur with the Town, if a majority could be obtained for that purpose in appointing a Committee of Observation.

[Signed by 29 persons]

A considerable number of other subscribers to the above paper are expected to be sent in.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1210.

[Ridgebury, Conn., February 1775]
RIDGEBURY LIBERTY-MEN

Whereas the Delegates from all the Towns in this County (except two) met in Congress, at *Fairfield*, on the 14th day of *February* last, being deeply affected to hear of the defection of the Towns of *Ridgefield* and *Newtown* from the Association of the Continental Congress, yet finding some who heartily adopt the peaceable measures recommended by the Congress, did strongly recommend it to the inhabitants of each of the aforesaid Towns who are warmly attached to the rights of their country, to notify a meeting of said inhabitants, and proceed to choose a Chairman and Clerk, and fully adopt the doings of the Continental Congress, and publish and transmit the same, with their names thereunto affixed, to the several Towns in this County: We the subscribers, inhabitants of the Town of *Ridgefield*, being, in consequence of publick notification, assembled for the purposes aforesaid, at the Meeting-House in the Parish of *Ridgebury*, within the said Town, on the 20th of *March*, A. D. 1775, and having chosen Captain *Jonah Foster*, our Chairman, and Mr. *William Forrester* our Clerk, do hereby declare,

First, That we approve of the Association of the late Continental Congress, and should rejoice to have an opportunity of adopting it fully in union with the Town as a body; and that, even under our present circumstances, we will pay all due regard to it,

and observe the articles of it, as far we can, without involving ourselves in such peculiar difficulties as our brethren of other Towns are not exposed to, when the Town as a body adopt it.

Secondly, That we wholly disapprove and protest against every thing contained in the Resolves passed by this Town on the 30th day of *January* last which is contrary, or in anywise repugnant to the rights of the *American* Colonies, as stated by the late Continental Congress, or that is anywise calculated to cast an odium upon that reputable body, or to discountenance the measures by them adopted and recommended; and those of us who were active in passing said Resolves do sincerely retract whatever in them comes within the limits of the above disapprobation and protest.

Thirdly, In case it shall appear to our Chairman and Clerk to be necessary or expedient for us to meet again on any future day, we desire and authorize them to notify a meeting of us, the following Associators, and of all others within this Town who may be disposed to join with us, at such time and place as they shall think proper. And we further authorize them to admit, at any time, all such inhabitants of this Town as may be heartily disposed to join with us, to enter their names with us as subscribers to the forgoing declaration and protest. We also desire the Chairman and Clerk to meet for that purpose in a month, and as many others as may choose to attend with them, at such time and place as they shall appoint.

Fourthly. We gratefully acknowledge the respect shewn us by the worthy Delegates in the late County Congress at *Fairfield*, in taking notice of us under our present unhappy situation , and pointing out the method proper for us to take in order to be known and treated as brethren and friends in the common cause.

Fifthly, We desire the Clerk to make out true copies of the foregoing, and transmit the same, with our names thereunto affixed, to the several Towns in this County, or to their Committees of Inspection.

Jonah Foster, *Chairman*.

[Signed by 54 persons]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1238-1239.

[Reading, Conn., February 1775]

Reading (Connecticut) Association

MR. RIVINGTON: In the present critical situation of publick affairs, we the subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading*, and the adjoining parts, in the County of *Fairfield*, and Colony of *Connecticut*, think it necessary (through the channel of your Paper) to assure the publick that we are open enemies to any change

in the present happy Constitution; and highly disapprove of all measures in any degree calculated to promote confusion and disorder; for which purpose, and in order to avoid the general censure incurred by a great part of this Colony from the mode of conduct her adopted for the purpose of opposing the *British* Government, we have entered into the following Resolves and Agreements, viz:

First. *Resolved*, That whilst me [sic!] enjoy the privileges and immunities of the *English* Constitution, we will render all due obedience to his most gracious Majesty King *George* the Third; and that a firm dependence on the mother country is essential to our political safety and happiness.

Second. *Resolved*, That the privileges and immunities of this Constitution are yet (in a good degree) continued to all his Majesty's American subjects, except those who, we conceive, have justly forfeited their title thereto.

Third. *Resolved*, That we suppose the Continental Congress was constituted for the purpose of restoring harmony between *Great Britain* and her Colonies, and removing the displeasure of his Majesty towards his *American* subjects; whereas, on the contrary, some of their Resolutions appear to us immediately calculated to widen the present unhappy breach; counteract the first principles of civil society, and in a great degree abridge the privileges of their constituents.

Fourth. *Resolved*, That notwithstanding we will, in all circumstances, conduct with prudence and moderation, we consider it an indispensable duty we owe to our King, our Constitution, our country, and posterity, to defend, maintain, and preserve, at the risk of our lives and properties, the prerogative of the Crown, and the privileges of the subject from all attacks by any rebellious body of men, any Committees of Inspection, Correspondence, &c.

Signed by one hundred and forty-one Inhabitants, whose names are to be seen at the Printer's.

READING (CONNECTICUT) COMMITTEE

Whereas, there was a certain number of Resolves published in *James Rivington's Gazetteer*, of the 23d of *February*, 1775, and said by said *Rivington* to be signed by one hundred and forty-one Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading*, and the adjoining parts, in the County of *Fairfield*, and Colony of *Connecticut*; and whereas said Resolves are injurious to the rights of this Colony, and breathe a spirit of enmity and opposition to the rights and liberties of all *America*, and are in direct opposition to the Association of the Continental Congress; and notwithstanding said Resolutions were come into with a (seeming) view to secure to the said signers some extraordinary privi-

leges and immunities, yet either through negligence in the Printer, or upon design of the subscribers, said signers' names are not made publick: And now, if there be any advantage in adopting those principles, we are willing they should be entitled thereto; and for which end, and for the more effectual carrying into execution said Association, we have taken some pains, and by the assistance of him who carried said Resolves to said Printer, we have obtained the whole of said names. But as we mean not to publish the names of any except, those that belong to said *Reading*, their names are as follows, viz:

[74 names]

N. B. There are only forty-two Freeholders in the above number; there are several minors, &c., to make the above number of seventy-four, that belong to said *Reading*; and we hereby hold them up to publick view, as opposers to the Association of said Congress.

Signed by order of the Committee of Observation for said Town of Reading.
Ebenezer Couch, Chairman.

MR. RIVINGTON: You are desired by many staunch friends to the King and the Constitution, in this Colony, to insert the names of the subscribers to the *Reading* Association, as published in the *Gazetteer*, on the 23d of *February*.

John Lyon.

[142 names]

N. B. *Obadiab Platt* having been proscribed in Mr. *Gaine's* Paper, on a suspicion of subscribing the Association, the publick may be assured the above is the very list delivered to the Printer; and that *Obadiab Platt's* name was not inserted in it.

There are no signers of this piece under twenty-one years of age.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1258-1260.

[Eastham, Mass., February 24, 1775]

Eastham, February 24, 1775.

Whereas it appears to us that a number of men in this Town have been, and still are using their influence and power in opposition to the measures adopted by the *Americans* to recover, preserve and maintain those rights and privileges which our illus-

trious ancestors so nobly contended for, and have handed down to us as a fair inheritance: Now, in order to free ourselves as much as possible from the embarrassments of those men, and to convince the world that we are determined to persevere in joining our *American* brethren in their noble efforts to throw off the yoke of tyranny, we think it highly expedient to form ourselves into an Association. Therefore we, the subscribers, mutually agree and associate ourselves under the name and title of Freeholders and Freemen of the Association of the Town of *Eastham*, and do hereby pledge our faith to each other that we will abide by the Association resolves, and recommendations of the Continental, our Provincial and this County Congresses, (so far as they are made publick,) to the utmost of our power; and also, that we will abide by the regulations and regular votes, resolves, and agreements that shall be hereafter made by this Association for the purposes before mentioned, of recovering, securing, and maintaining our just rights and privileges.

Witness our hands:

[approximately 90 names]

A true copy, examined:

ISAAC SPARROW, Association Clerk.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 1052.

[New-Milford, Conn., February 27, 1775]

New-Milford (Connecticut) Resolutions.

A great number of Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of *New-Milford*, in *Litchfield* County, being highly sensible of the blessings of good order and government, and much alarmed at the horrible prospect of anarchy and confusion, did, on *Monday*, the 27th instant, unanimously enter into the following Resolutions:

1. That we think it a point of duty, in this day of trouble and confusion, to make it known to the world, that we have signed a Protest against the Town of *New-Milford's* adopting the Resolves of the Continental Congress.

2. That we do acknowledge his most sacred Majesty, King *George* the Third, to be our rightful Sovereign; and do hereby publicly avow our allegiance to him and his legal successors.

3. That we acknowledge that the King and Parliament have a constitutional right of Government over every part of the *British* Empire; and that we look upon ourselves as not bound by any unconstitutional assemblies of men whatever, such as are not warranted by the laws of the land.

The above is signed by one hundred and twenty inhabitants of the Town of *New-Milford* in *Litchfield* County.

February 27, 1775.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 1, p. 1270.

[Portsmouth, N.H., spring 1775]

PORTSMOUTH (NEW-HAMPSHIRE) ASSOCIATION

We, the subscribers, considering the disorderly state of the times, and being deeply impressed with a sense of the inestimable value of constitutional liberty, think ourselves under an absolute necessity of associating together for the support of the wholesome laws of the land, and also for the preservation and protection of our persons and properties, which we find, at least as to many, have been threatened of late, and we do therefore solemnly engage to and with each other:

1st. That we will maintain the laws of the land to the utmost of our power.

2d. That we will also defend and protect each other from mobs, riots, or any other unlawful attack whatsoever, and upon the first notice of any attempt upon either of the subscribers, each and everyone of us will immediately repair to the person attacked, and him defend to the last extremity.

January 17, 1775.

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE ABOVE ASSOCIATION

Portsmouth, March 31, 1775.

GENTLEMEN: Take this Association under your mature consideration, as I hope some of you to be gentlemen of penetration and knowledge; and after a serious examination of the above Association, you will find, instead of supporting and maintaining the laws of the land, you are acting in direct violation thereof. As you say you will support and maintain the laws of the land, and as you have not made any distinction between the Province Law and the late unconstitutional Acts, established by the King and Parliament, we must suppose you mean to support and maintain both. Permit me, gentlemen, to tell you, that your zeal overbalances your knowledge. Pray examine the Province law throughout, and all other law authorities that ever were held in repute by the *English* Nation, and you will not find one instance wherein they justify a number of men in combining together in any league whatsoever to support the law, but quite the reverse; for the law is supported in another manner; it is maintained by Magistrates and Officers, that are legally appointed as the laws direct, and not by a number of men

combining together. You say you “will also defend and protect each other from mobs, riots, or any unlawful attack whatsoever; and that on the first notice of any attempt upon either of the subscribers, each and every one of you will immediately repair to the person attacked, and him defend to the last extremity.”

Is this law, gentlemen? In what book and page will you find it? or what legislative body ever established such measures to support laws? Was it ever known in the King’s Dominions for a number of men to assemble together in order to suppress any mob without authority; for so doing they are themselves a mob in the eyes of the law; to all intents and purposes; though I am convinced, if you had been prudent enough to have examined into the law of the Province, by which our lives and properties are protected, before you undertook to support it by mobs, as you have solemnly agreed to do, you would have been ashamed ever to have subscribed your names to such unlawful combination.

Gentlemen, I beg leave to ask you what it is you are afraid of? Is it because you have honest hearts and act upon well-grounded principles? Is it because you stand strong for the Colonies and her liberties? Or is it because you strike against *American* freedom, and because you are trying to enforce the late unconstitutional Acts, and to plunge *America* into a state of slavery? Surely it must be guilt and remorse of conscience, and from thence springs fear; ah! fear, indeed, and reason enough for fear, for any person to sell his Country and the liberties thereof, for the sake of false honour and the poor pittance of sordid gain; he will live in fear and die in fear, and will run the greatest risk of being tormented hereafter.

SPECTATOR

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 251-252.

[Connecticut, April 1775]

Agreement subscribed by Captain ARNOLD and his Company of fifty persons, when they set out from CONNECTICUT as Volunteers to assist the Provincials at CAMBRIDGE.

To all Christian people believing in and relying on that GOD, to whom our enemies have at last forced us to appeal:

Be it known that we, the subscribers, having taken up arms for the relief of our brethren, and defence of their as well as our just rights and privileges, declare to the world that we, from the heart, disavow every thought of rebellion to His Majesty as supreme head of the *British* Empire, or opposition to legal authority, and shall, on

every occasion, manifest to the world, by our conduct, this to be our fixed principle. Driven to the last necessity, and obliged to have recourse to arms in defence of our lives and liberties, and, from the suddenness of the occasion, deprived of that legal authority, the dictates of which we ever with pleasure obey, find it necessary, for preventing disorders, irregularities, and misunderstandings in the course of our march and service, solemnly to agree to and with each other on the following regulations and orders, binding ourselves by all that is dear and sacred carefully and constantly to observe and keep them.

In the first place we will conduct ourselves decently and inoffensively as we march, both to our countrymen and one another, paying that regard to the advice, admonition, and reproof of our Officers, which their station justly entitles them to expect, ever considering the dignity of our own character, and that we are not mercenaries, whose views extend no farther than pay and plunder, whose principles are such, that every path that leads to the obtaining these is agreeable, though wading through the blood of their countrymen; but men acquainted with, and feeling the most generous fondness for the liberties and unalienable rights of mankind, and who are, in the course of Divine Providence, called to the honourable service of hazarding our lives in their defence.

Secondly. Drunkenness, gaming, profaneness, and every vice of that nature shall be avoided by ourselves, and discountenanced by us in others.

Thirdly. So long as we continue in our present situation of a voluntary independent Company, we engage to submit on all occasions to such decisions as shall be made and given by the majority of the Officers we have chosen; and when any difference arises between man and man, it shall be laid before the Officers aforesaid, and their decision shall be final. We mean by Officers, the Captain, Lieutenants, Ensign, Sergeants, Clerk, and Corporals; the Captain, or in his absence the Commanding Officer, to be the Moderator, and have a turning or casting voice in all debates, from whom all order shall from time to time issue. Scorning all ignoble motives, and superiour to the low and slavish practice of enforcing on men their duty by blows, it is agreed that when private admonition for any offence by any of our body committed will not reform, publick shall be made; and if that should not have the desired effect, after proper pains taken, and the same repeated, such incorrigible person shall be turned out of the Company, as totally unworthy of serving in so great and glorious a cause, and be delivered over to suffer the contempt of his countrymen.

As to particular orders, it shall from time to time be in the power of the officers to make and vary them as occasion may require, as to delivering our provisions, ammunition, rules, and orders for marching, &c. The annexed order for the present we think pertinent, and agreeable to our mind. To which, with the additions or variations that

may be made by our said Officers, we bind ourselves by the ties above mentioned to submit.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, this 24th of *April*, 1775.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2 ,p. 383-384.

[Newtown, Fairfield County, Conn., April 12, 1775]

Newtown, Fairfield County, Colony of Connecticut, April 12, 1775.

Whereas, a considerable number of the inhabitants of this Town have, in a publick meeting, passed certain Resolves in opposition to the Resolves of the Continental Congress, (which have since been published in Mr. *Rivington's* Paper,) we have thought it expedient in some suitable way to make known our minds also respecting those matters; and therefore having subscribed the following Resolves, desire they may be printed, with the several names affixed:

We, the subscribers, do sincerely profess ourselves to be liege subjects of King *George* the Third. But from the best acquaintance with publick affairs that we have been able to attain, cannot but be deeply apprehensive that several Acts passed by the late *British* Parliament relative to *North-America* are of a very unconstitutional and oppressive nature in their tendency, directly subversive of those precious rights and privileges to which the Colonies have an indubitable claim, which Acts, therefore, are of a very alarming nature; and not being able to conceive but that the measures come into, and recommended by the late Continental Congress at *Philadelphia*, are very consistent with our sworn loyalty to our King, and in the main wisely calculated to obtain redress of said publick grievances: we do, therefore, herby signify our willingness and purpose to be compliant in our several stations with the Resolves of said Congress.

Newtown, Fairfield County, *February* 13, 1775.

[Signed by 70 persons]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 1135.

[Philadelphia, Pa., April 25, 1775]

PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION

Whereas, it appears from authentick accounts received from *England*, that it is the design of the present Ministry to enforce the late cruel and unjust Acts of Parliament complained of in the most legal and dutiful manner by the Congress: And whereas, an additional number of Troops, with a Fleet, have been ordered for *America*, to assist the Troops now in Boston in the execution of the said Acts: We, the subscribers, agree that we will associate for the purpose of learning the Military Exercise, and for defending our property and lives against all attempts to deprive us of them.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 399-400.

[New York Association, April 29, 1775]

General Association adopted by Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the City and County of NEW-YORK, on SATURDAY, the 29th of April, 1775, and transmitted for signing to all the Counties in the Province.

Persuaded that the salvation of the rights and liberties of *America* depends, under *God*, on the firm union of its inhabitants in a vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety, and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend the dissolution of the powers of Government, we, the Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants [*of the City and County of New-York,*] being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the Ministry to raise a revenue in *America*, and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, do, in the most solemn manner, resolve never to become slaves; and do associate under all the ties of religion, honour, and love to our Country, to adopt and endeavour to carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention, for the purpose of preserving our Constitution, and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive Acts of the *British* Parliament, until a reconciliation between *Great Britain* and *America*, on constitutional principles, (which we most ardently desire,) can be obtained; and that we will in all things follow the advice of our General Committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.

Members of the Provincial Congress who signed the Association.

[...]

Signers of the Association in the Town and neighbourhood of New-Paltz, in Ulster County.

[...]

The following is a list of the names of those who refused or neglected to subscribe the General Association: [...]

Signers in Kingston, Ulster County, May and June, 1775

[...]

In pursuance of a Resolve of the Provincial Congress of the Colony of New-York, dated the 29th day of May, 1775, we, the Committee of the Corporation of Kingston, in the County of Ulster, do hereby certify that the above List or Roll contains all the persons' names who have signed the General Association, within the Corporation of Kingston; also, annexed List, returned to us, containing the names of a Company of Troop of Horse, who reside in different parts of the said County; and, also, a List on the back hereof, of the persons' names who have refused to sign the said Association. All which, with humble submission, we herewith return to the Provincial Congress aforesaid.

Dated at Kingston, this 1st day of July, 1775. By order of the committee:

Johannes Sleght, Chairman

Signers in the Troop of Horse in Ulster County, dated in Kingston, June 9, 1775.

[...]

Names of persons in Kingston who refused to sign

[...]

Signers in Marbletown, Ulster County, June, 1775

[...]

In pursuance of a Resolve of the Provincial Congress of the Colony of *New-York*, dated 29th day of *May*, 1775, we, the Committee of the Township of *Marbletown*, in the County of Ulster, do hereby certify that the above List or Roll contains all the persons' names who have signed the General Association within the Township of *Marbletown*, and also *William Wood*, on the back hereof, who refuses signing the same; all which, with humble submission, we herewith return to the Provincial Congress aforesaid.

Levi Pawling, Chairman.

Signers in Mamacoting, Ulster County.

[...]

Ulster County:

Hurley

Rochester

New-Marlborough

Weathersfield

Orange County:

Goshen

Cornwall

Haverstraw Precinct

Newburgh

Minisink

Newburgh, Orange County:

Whereas we, the subscribers, have refused to sign the Association within the time limited by the Provincial Congress; and whereas our troubles with the Mother Country continue to increase, and we are now convinced that we have no other alternative left but to repel force by force, or submit to be slaves. Sensible that this is our deplorable situation, and in order to continue to link our chain of friendship still more firm, and to convince our friends, and the friends of *American* liberty in general, we do hereby solemnly and sincerely swear, on the Holy Evangelists, that we will from hence heartily agree and consent to whatsoever our Continental and Provincial Congresses have or may do, direct, ordain, and appoint, for the preservation of our constitutional liberties, and that we will, as much as in us lies, discourage the spirit of opposition that has too unhappily prevailed in some parts of this Country; that we will, from time to time, bear and pay our quota of all expenses, with the rest of our brethren in *America*, that have already or hereafter may accrue, in defending our liberties aforesaid. And we do hereby further swear, that we make this declaration and oath of our own free will and voluntary consent; and in testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands this 14th day of *July*, A. D. 1775

[...]

Dutchess County:

Beekman's Precinct

Poughkeepsie

Northeast Precinct

Amenia Precinct

Rhinebeck Precinct

Suffolk County:

Huntington

Islip Precinct

Brookhaven

Easthampton

Smithtown

Southold

Shelter-Island

Charlotte County

Cumberland County:

Springfield

Townshend

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 3, p. 581-620.

[New York, May 4, 1775]

Association of New-York

New York, May 4, 1775.

The following Association was set on foot here last *Saturday, April 29*, and has been transmitted, for signing, to all the Counties in the Province, and signed by most of the men of this City:

“Persuaded that the salvation of the rights and liberties of *America* depend under *God*, on the firm union of its inhabitants, in a vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety, and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend a dissolution of the powers of Government: We, the Free-men, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the City and County of *New-York*, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the Ministry to raise a revenue in *America*, and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, do, in the most solemn manner, resolve never to become slaves; and do associate, under all the ties of religion, honour, and love to our Country, to adopt and endeavour to carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention, for the purpose of preserving our Constitution and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive Acts of the *British* Parliament, until a reconciliation between *Great Britain* and *America*, on con-

stitutional principles, (which we most ardently desire,) can be obtained; and that we will, in all things, follow the advice of our General Committee respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.”

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 471.

[Newark, N.J., May 4, 1775]

Town-Meeting, Newark, New-Jersey

Newark, New-Jersey, May 4, 1775.

At a meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Township of *Newark*, in *New-Jersey*, on *Thursday*, the 4th day of *May*, A. D. 1775:

Doctor WILLIAM BURNETT in the Chair.

An Association having been entered into and subscribed by the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of said Town, a motion was made and agreed to, that the same be read. The same was accordingly read, and is as follows:

“We, the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Township of *Newark*, having deliberately considered the openly avowed design of the Ministry of *Great Britain* to raise a revenue in America; being affected with horror at the bloody scene now acting in the *Massachusetts-Bay* for carrying that arbitrary design into execution; firmly convinced that the very existence of the rights and liberties of *America* can, under *God*, subsist on no other basis than the most animated and perfect union of its inhabitants; and being sensible of the necessity, in the present exigency, of preserving good order, and a due regulation in all publick measures, with hearts perfectly abhorrent of slavery, do solemnly, under all the sacred ties of religion, honour, and love to our Country, associate and resolve, that we will, personally, and as far as our influence can extend, endeavour to support and carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or agreed upon by the proposed Convention of Deputies of this Province, for the purposes of preserving and fixing our Constitution on a permanent basis, and opposing the execution of the several despotick and oppressive Acts of the *British* Parliament, until the wished-for reconciliation between *Great Britain* and *America*, on constitutional principles, can be obtained.

“That a General Committee be chosen by this Town for the purposes aforesaid, and that we will be directed by, and support them in all things respecting the “common cause, the preservation of peace, good order, the safety of individuals, and private property.”

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 505.

[Westmoreland, Pa., May 16, 1775]

Meeting of The Inhabitants of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania

At a general meeting of the inhabitants of the County of *Westmoreland*, held at *Hanna's Town* the 16th day of *May*, 1775, for taking into consideration the very alarming situation of this country, occasioned by the dispute with *Great Britain*:

Resolved unanimously, That the Parliament of *Great Britain*, by several late Acts, have declared the inhabitants of the *Massachusetts-Bay* to be in rebellion, and the Ministry, by endeavouring to enforce those Acts, have attempted to reduce the said inhabitants to a more wretched state of slavery than ever before existed in any state or country. Not content with violating their constitutional and chartered privileges, they would strip them of the rights of humanity, exposing lives to the wanton and unpunishable sport of a licentious soldiery, and depriving them of the very means of subsistence.

Resolved unanimously, That there is no reason to doubt but the same system of tyranny and oppression will (should it meet with success in the *Massachusetts-Bay*) be extended to every other part of *America*: it is therefore become the indispensable duty of every *American*, of every man who has any publick virtue or love for his Country, or any bowels for posterity, by every means which *God* has put in his power, to resist and oppose the execution of it; that for us we will be ready to oppose it with our lives and fortunes. And the better to enable us to accomplish it, we will immediately form ourselves into a military body, to consist of Companies to be made up out of the several Townships under the following Association, which is declared to be the Association of *Westmoreland County*:

Possessed with the most unshaken loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty, King *George* the Third, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful and rightful King, and who we wish may long be the beloved Sovereign of a free and happy people throughout the whole *British* Empire; we declare to the world, that we do not mean by this Association to deviate from that loyalty which we hold it our bounden duty to observe; but, animated with the love of liberty, it is no less our duty to maintain and defend our just rights (which, with sorrow, we have seen of late wantonly violated in many instances by a wicked Ministry and a corrupted Parliament) and transmit them entire to our posterity, for which purpose we do agree and associate together:

1st. To arm and form ourselves into a Regiment or Regiments, and choose officers to command us in such proportion as shall be thought necessary.

2d. We will, with alacrity, endeavour to make ourselves masters of the manual exercise, and such evolutions as may be necessary to enable us to act in a body with concert; and to that end we will meet at such times and places as shall be appointed either for the Companies or the Regiment, by the officers commanding each when chosen.

3d. That should our Country be invaded by a foreign enemy, or should Troops be sent from *Great Britain* to enforce the late arbitrary Acts of its Parliament, we will cheerfully submit to military discipline, and to the utmost of our power resist and oppose them, or either of them, and will coincide with any plan that may be formed for the defence of *America* in general, or *Pennsylvania* in particular.

4th. That we do not wish or desire any innovation, but only that things may be restored to, and go on in the same way as before the era of the Stamp Act, when *Boston* grew great, and *America* was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrate in carrying the same into execution.

5th. That when the *British* Parliament shall have repealed their late obnoxious Statutes, and shall recede from their claim to tax us, and make laws for us in every instance, or when some general plan of union and reconciliation has been formed and accepted by *America*, this our Association shall be dissolved; but till then it shall remain in full force; and to the observation of it, we bind ourselves by every thing dear and sacred amongst men.

No licensed murder! no famine introduced by law!

Resolved, That on *Wednesday*, the twenty-fourth instant, the Township meet to accede to the said Association, and choose their officers.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 615-616.

[New-Jersey Provincial Congress, May 31, 1775]

Afternoon.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the form of an Association, which was reported in the morning; and, after certain amendments, approved the same, and ordered it to be entered, which is in the words following:

“We, the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of the Township of ..., in the County of ..., and Province of *New-Jersey*, having long viewed with concern the avowed design of the Ministry of *Great Britain* to raise a revenue in *America*; being deeply affected with the cruel hostilities already commenced in the *Massachusetts-Bay*

for carrying that arbitrary design into execution; convinced that the preservation of the rights and privileges of *America* depends, under *God*, on the firm union of its inhabitants, do, with hearts abhorring slavery, and ardently wishing for a reconciliation with our Parent State, on constitutional principles, solemnly associate and resolve, under the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and love to our Country, that we will personally, and as far as our influence extends, endeavour to support and carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental and our Provincial Congresses, for defending our Constitution, and preserving the same inviolate.

“We do also further associate and agree, as far as shall be consistent with the measures adopted for the preservation of *American* freedom, to support the Magistrates and other civil officers in the execution of their duty, agreeable to the laws of this Colony; and to observe the directions of our Committee, acting according to the Resolutions of the aforesaid Continental and Provincial Congresses; firmly determined, by all means in our power, to guard against those disorders and confusions to which the peculiar circumstances of the times may expose us.”

Resolved, That copies of the above Association be immediately sent to the Committees of Observation or Correspondence in the several Counties in this Province, which have not already associated in a similar manner, in order that the same may be signed by the several inhabitants, accompanied with the following Letter, to be signed by the President:

GENTLEMEN: Anxiously desirous to promote, as far as possible, an union among the inhabitants of this Colony, we have thought proper to recommend to them the enclosed Association, which we desire may be immediately signed by the good people of your Township; that at a time when our most valuable privileges are invaded, we may, in a uniform manner, make our defence, and prevent the evils to which our unhappy situation exposes us.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 690.

[Chester County, Pa., May 31, 1775]

Chester County (Pennsylvania) Committee

In Committee, Chester, May 31, 1775.

Whereas it appears very necessary, in order to avert the evils and calamities which threaten our devoted Country, to embody ourselves and make all the military preparations in our power; and it appears absolutely impossible to carry this laudable design

into execution, without observing the greatest order, harmony, and concord, not only under the laws of civil Government, but also while under arms and on actual duty. We, therefore, unanimously recommend the following Association to be entered into by the good people of this County:

“We, the subscribers, do most solemnly resolve, promise, and engage, under the sacred ties of honour, virtue and love to our Country, that we will use our utmost endeavours to learn the military exercise, and promote harmony and unanimity in our respective Companies; that we will strictly adhere to the rules of decency during duty; that we will pay a due regard to our Officers; that we will, when called upon, support with our utmost abilities the civil Magistrate in the execution of the laws for the good of our Country; and that we will at all times be in readiness to defend the lives, liberties, and properties of ourselves and fellow-countrymen against all attempts to deprive us of them.”

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 859-860.

[South Carolina, June 3, 1775]

ASSOCIATION

Unanimously agreed to in the Provincial Congress of SOUTH-CAROLINA, on SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1775.

The actual commencement of hostilities against this Continent, by the *British* Troops, in the bloody scene on the 19th of *April* last, near *Boston*; the increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotick Ministry; and the dread of instigated insurrections in the Colonies, are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms. We, therefore, the subscribers, inhabitants of *South-Carolina*, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations – the duty of good citizens towards and injured Country; and thoroughly convinced that, under our present distressed circumstances, we shall be justified before *God* and man in resisting force by force, do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honour, and associate as a band in her defence, against every foe; hereby solemnly engaging, that whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between *Great Britain* and *America*, upon constitutional principles; an event which we most ardently desire. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberty of the Colonies, who shall refuse to subscribe to this Association.

Subscribed by every member present, on the fourth day of *June*, 1775.

Certified by

HENRY LAURENS, *President*.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 897.

[New Hanover County, N.C., June 19, 1775]

ASSOCIATION.

Unanimously agreed to, by the inhabitants of New Hanover County, in. North Carolina, 19th June, 1775.

The actual commencement of Hostilities against this Continent by the British Troops, in the bloody scene, on the 19th April last, near Boston: The increase of arbitrary impositions from a wicked and despotic ministry; and the dread of instigated insurrections in the colonies, are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed people to the use of arms. We, therefore, the subscribers, inhabitants of New Hanover County, having ourselves bound by the most sacred of all obligations, the duty of good citizens towards an injured country; and, thoroughly convinced that, under our present distressed circumstances, we shall be justified, before God and Man, in resisting force by force: Do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honor and associate as a band in her defence against every foe; hereby solemnly engaging that whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America, upon constitutional principles, an event we most ardently desire and we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberties of the Colonies, who shall refuse to subscribe this Association. And we will in all things, follow the advice of our Committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.

The Committee appointed to answer the Governor's Proclamation, of the 16th inst., returned the following answer, which was read and ordered to be printed in the public papers and in hand bills.

At a General meeting of the several committees of the District of Wilmington, held at the Court-house, in Wilmington, Tuesday, 20th June, 1775.

Whereas, his Excellency, Josiah Martin, Esq., hath by Proclamation, dated at Fort Johnston, the 16th day of June, 1775, and read this day in the committee, endeavoured

to persuade, seduce, and intimidate the good people of the province, from taking measures to preserve those rights, and that liberty, to which, as the subjects of a British King, they have the most undoubted claim, without which, life would be but futile considerations, and which therefore, it is a duty they owe to themselves, their Country, and posterity, by every effort, and at every risk, to maintain, support, and defend against any invasion or encroachment whatsoever.

And whereas, many unconstitutional and oppressive acts of Parliament, invasive of every right and privilege, and dangerous to the freedom of America, have laid the people of this colony under the fatal necessity of appointing committees for the several Districts, Towns, and Counties of this province, who were instructed, carefully to guard against every encroachment upon their invaluable rights, and steadily oppose the operation of those unconstitutional acts, framed by a wicked administration entirely to destroy the freedom of America: and as among other measures, those committees found it absolutely necessary, either by themselves, or by persons appointed under them, to visit the people and fully to explain to them the nature and dangerous tendency of those acts, which the Tools of administration, were by every base art, endeavouring to prevail upon them to submit to: and as his Excellency has endeavored by his Proclamation, to weaken the influence, and prejudice the characters of those Committees, and the persons appointed under them, by wantonly, cruelly, and unjustly, representing them as ill-disposed people, propagating false and scandalous reports, derogatory to the honor and justice of the King: and also, by other illiberal and scandalous imputations expressed in the said Proclamation: We, then, the Committees of the counties of New Hanover, Brunswick, Bladen, Duplin and Onslow, in order to prevent the pernicious influence of the said Proclamation, do, unanimously, resolve, that in our opinion, his Excellency Josiah Martin, Esq, hath by the said Proclamation, and by the whole tenor of his conduct, since the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, discovered himself to be an enemy to the happiness of this colony in particular, and to the freedom, rights and privileges of America in general.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That the said proclamation contains many things asserted to be facts, which are entirely without foundation; particularly the methods said to have been made use of, in order to compel the people to sign an Association against any invasion, intestine insurrection, or unjust encroachments upon their rights and privileges; no person having signed such Association but from the fullest conviction that it was essentially necessary to their freedom and safety; and that if his Excellency founded such assertions upon information, it must have been derived from persons too weak or wicked to have any claim to his credit or attention.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That it is the opinion of this Committee, that America owes much of its present sufferings to the information given by Governors and men in

office, to administration, who having themselves adopted belief from improper informants, or, in order to sacrifice to the pleasure of the ministry, have falsely represented, that His Majesty's American subjects were not generally averse from the arbitrary proceedings of a wicked administration, but that the opposition, made to such unconstitutional measures, arose from the influence of a few individuals upon the minds of the people, whom they have not failed to represent as "false, seditious, and abandoned men;" by these means, inducing the ministry to believe, that the Americans would be easily brought to submit to the cruel impositions so wickedly intended for them; that his Excellency's proclamation is evidently calculated for this purpose, and is also replete with the most illiberal abuse and scandalous imputations, tending to defame the characters of many respectable persons, who zealously attached to the liberty of their country, were pursuing every laudable method to support it.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That the resolution respecting America, introduced by Lord North, into the British House of Parliament, which his Excellency in his proclamation, alludes to, is such a glaring affront to the common sense of the Americans, that it added insult to the injury it intended them: That Lord North, himself, when he introduced it, declared to the House, that he did not believe America would accept of it, but that it might possibly tend to divide them, and if it broke one link in their chain of Union, it would render the enforcing his truly detestable acts the more easy; therefore,

Resolved, That this was a low, base, flagitious, wicked attempt to entrap America into Slavery, and which they ought to reject with the contempt it deserves; that the uncandid and insidious manner in which his Excellency has mentioned the said resolution, is a poor artifice to seduce, mislead, and betray the ignorant and incautious into ruin and destruction, by inducing them to forfeit the inestimable blessings of freedom, with which nature and the British Constitution have so happily invested them; and also, indisputably proves, that his Excellency is ready to become an instrument in the hands of administration to rivet those chains so wickedly forged for America.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That at this alarming crisis, when the dearest rights, and privileges of America are at stake, no confidence ought to be reposed in those, whose interest is to carry into execution every measure of administration, however profligate and abandoned; and who though they are conscious those measures will not bear the test of enquiry and examination, will and endeavour to gloss over the most palpable violation of truth with plausibility, hoping, thereby, to blind, mislead and delude the people; that this Committee therefore, earnestly recommend it to the other committees of this province, and likewise to all our Brethren and suffering fellow subjects thereof, cautiously to guard against all those endeavours, which have been, or shall be made to deceive them, and to treat such attempts as wicked efforts of the Tools of Government calculated to throw this Country into confusion, and by dividing to enslave it.

The committee adjourned till a meeting occasionally.

Saunders, William L. (ed.): Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 10, p. 27-29.

[Wilmington District, N.C., June 20, 1775]

Committees of Wilmington District, North-Carolina

At a general meeting of the several Committees of the District of *Wilmington*, held at the Court-House in *Wilmington*, *Tuesday*, the 20th *June*, 1775:

Resolved, That the following Association stand as the Association of this Committee, and that it be recommended to the inhabitants of this District to sign the same as speedily as possible.

THE ASSOCIATION

The actual commencement of hostilities against the Continent by the *British* Troops, in the bloody scene on the nineteenth of *April* last, near *Boston*; the increase of arbitrary impositions, from a wicked and despotick Ministry; and the dread of instigated insurrections in the Colonies, are causes sufficient to drive an oppressed People to the use of arms: We, therefore, the subscribers of *Cumberland* County, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all obligations, the duty of good citizens towards an injured Country, and thoroughly convinced that under our distressed circumstances we shall be justified before you in resisting force by force, do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honour, and associate as a band in her defence against every foe; hereby solemnly engaging, that whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between *Great Britain* and *America*, upon constitutional principles, an event we most ardently desire. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberty of the Colonies who shall refuse to subscribe to this Association; and we will in all things follow the advice of our General Committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individual and private property.

[Signed by 54 persons]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 1030.

[Pitt County, N.C., July 1, 1775]

Proceedings of the Safely Committee in Pitt County.

MARTINBOROUGH 1st July 1775.

The Committee of the County met according to order as before mentioned and has entered into the following association:

We the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Pitt and town of Martin, being deeply affected with the present and alarming state of this Province and of all America — .Do Resolve that we will pay all due allegiance to His majesty King George the third and endeavor to continue the succession of his crown in the Illustrious house of Hanover as by law established, against the present or any future wicked ministry, or arbitrary set of men whatsoever, at the same time we are *determined* to assert our rights as men and sensible that by the late acts of Parliament the most valuable Liberties and privileges of America are invaded and endeavor to be violated and destroyed and that under God the preservation of them Depends on a firm *union* of the Inhabitants and sturdy spirited observation of the Resolutions of the General Congress, being shocked at the cruel scenes now acting in the Massachusetts Bay and determined never to become slaves to any power upon earth, we do hereby agree and associate under all ties of Religion, Honour, and regard for Posterity that we will adopt and endeavour to execute the measures which the General Congress now sitting at Philadelphia conclude on for preserving our constitution and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary Illegale acts of the British Parliament and that we will readily observe The Directions of our General Committee for the purpose aforesaid, the Preservation of Peace and Good Order and .Security of Individuals and private property.

John Simpson, Ch'n.

[Signed by 87 persons]

Saunders, William L. (ed.): Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. 10, p. 61sq.

[Georgia Provincial Congress, July 13, 1775]

Thursday, July 13, 1775.

Resolved, That this Congress do approve of, and adopt the Association entered into at *Savannah*, on the fifth day of *June* last past, viz:

Association unanimously entered into by the Provincial Congress, at *SAVANNAH*, in *GEORGIA*, on *THURSDAY*, the thirteenth of *JULY*, 1775.

GEORGIA

Being persuaded that the salvation of the rights and liberties of *America* depend, under *God*, on the firm union of the inhabitants in its vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety; and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend the dissolution of the powers of the Government, we, the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the Province of *Georgia*, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the Ministry to raise a revenue in *America*, and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, do, in the most solemn manner, resolve never to become slaves; and do associate, under all the ties of religion, honour, and love to our Country, to adopt, and endeavour to carry into execution, whatever may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention, appointed for the purpose of preserving our Constitution, and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive Acts of the *British* Parliament, until a reconciliation between *Great Britain* and *America*, on constitutional principles, which we most ardently desire, can be obtained; and that we will in all things follow the advice of our General Committee, appointed respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 1551-1552.

[Newburgh, Ulster County, N.Y., July 14, 1775]

Newburgh, Ulster County, New-York, July 14, 1775.

Whereas we, the subscribers, have refused to sign the Association within the time limited by the Provincial Congress; and whereas our troubles with the Mother Country continue to increase, and we are now convinced that we have no other alternative left but to repel force by force, or submit to be slaves: Sensible that this is our deplorable situation, and in order to continue to link our chain of friendship still more firm, and to convince our friends and the friends of *American* liberty in general, we do hereby solemnly and sincerely swear on the holy evangelists, that we will, from henceforth, heartily agree and consent to whatsoever our Continental and Provincial Congresses have, or may do, direct, ordain, and appoint, for the preservation of our con-

stitutional liberties; and that we will, as much as in us lies, discourage the spirit of opposition that has too unhappily prevailed in some parts of this Country. That we will, from time to time, bear and pay our quota of all expenses with the rest of our brethren in *America*, that has already or hereafter may accrue, in defending our liberties aforesaid. And we do hereby further swear, that we make this declaration and oath of our own free will and voluntarily consent; and in testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands this 14th day of *July, Anno Domini*, 1775.

[21 names]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 2, p. 1659.

[Maryland Convention, July 26, 1775]

Association of the Freemen of MARYLAND, JULY 26, 1775.

The long premeditated, and now avowed design of the *British* Government to raise a revenue from the property of the Colonists, without their consent, on the gift, grant, and disposition of the Commons of *Great Britain*; the arbitrary and vindictive statutes passed under colour of punishing a riot, to subdue by military force and by famine the *Massachusetts-Bay*; the unlimited power assumed by Parliament to alter the Charter of that Province, and the Constitutions of all the Colonies, thereby destroying the essential securities of the lives, liberties and properties of the Colonists; the commencement of hostilities by the Ministerial forces, and the cruel prosecution of the war against the people of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, followed by General *Gage's* Proclamation, declaring almost the whole of the inhabitants of the United Colonies, by name or description, rebels and traitors; are sufficient causes to arm a free People in defence of their liberty, and to justify resistance, no longer dictated by prudence merely, but by necessity, and leave no alternative but base submission, or manly opposition to uncontrollable tyranny. The Congress chose the latter; and for the express purpose of securing and defending the United Colonies, and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the above mentioned Acts into execution by force of arms, resolved that the said Colonies be immediately put into a state of defence; and now support, at the joint expense, an Army to restrain the further violence, and repel the future attacks, of a disappointed and exasperated enemy.

We, therefore, inhabitants of the Province of *Maryland*, firmly persuaded that it is necessary and justifiable to repel force by force, do approve of the opposition by arms to the *British* Troops employed to enforce obedience to the late acts and statutes of the *British* Parliament, for raising a revenue in *America*, and altering and changing the Charter and Constitution of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, and for destroying the essential securities for the lives, liberties and properties of the subjects in the United Colonies.

And we do unite and associate as one band, and firmly and solemnly engage and pledge ourselves to each other, and to *America*, that we will, to the utmost of our power, promote and support the present opposition carrying on, as well by arms, as by the Continental Association, restraining our commerce.

And as in these times of publick danger, and until a reconciliation with *Great Britain* on constitutional principles is effected, (an event we most ardently wish may soon take place,) the energy of Government may be greatly impaired, so that even zeal unrestrained may be productive of anarchy and confusion; we do, in like manner, unite, associate and solemnly engage in maintenance of good order and the publick peace, to support the civil power in the due execution of the laws, so far as may be consistent with the present plan of opposition, and to defend with our utmost power all persons from every species of outrage to themselves of their property, and to prevent any punishment from being inflicted on any offenders, other than such as shall be adjudged by the Civil Magistrate, the Continental Congress, our Convention, Council of Safety, or Committees of Observation.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 3, p. 107-108.

[Tryon County, N.C., August 14, 1775]

Tryon County (North Carolina) Association.
August 14, 1775.

The unprecedented, barbarous, and bloody actions committed by the *British* Troops on our *American* brethren, near *Boston*, on the 19th of *April* and 20th of *May* last, together with the hostile operations and treacherous designs now carrying on by the tools of Ministerial vengeance and despotism, for the subjugating all *British America*, suggest to us the painful necessity of having recourse to arms, for the preservation of those rights and liberties which the principles of our Constitution and the laws of God, nature, and Nations, have made it our duty to defend. We, therefore, the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of *Tyon* County, do hereby faithfully unite ourselves under most sacred ties of religion, honour, and love to our Country, firmly to resist force by force, in defence of our natural freedom and constitutional rights, against all invasions; and at the same time do solemnly engage to take up arms, and risk our lives and fortunes, in maintaining the freedom of our Country, whenever the wisdom and counsel of the Continental Congress, or our Provincial Convention, shall declare it necessary; and this engagement we will continue in and hold sacred, till a reconciliation shall take place between *Great Britain* and *America* on constitutional prin-

ciples, which we most ardently desire; and we do firmly agree to hold all such persons inimical to the liberties of *America* who shall refuse to subscribe to this Association.

[Signed by 48 persons]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 3 ,p. 99-100.

[Fairfield, Conn., August 15, 1775]

FAIRFIELD (CONNECTICUT) COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of the Committee of Inspection for the Town of *Fairfield*, held in the Court-House on the 15th day of *August*, A. D. 1775:

It was voted and agreed, that the Committee of Inspection in each Society be desired to notify the inhabitants in each Society in this Town, to meet in Society meeting on *Monday* next, in order to subscribe an Association, to show that they are friends to the liberties and privileges of their Country, and that the enemies of it may be known. And that said Committee do, after said meeting, apply to all such persons as shall not attend, in order to give them an opportunity to subscribe; and that they also take down in writing the names of all those enemies of their Country that are of age, who refuse to subscribe; and that said Committee make report of their doings to this Committee, at their meeting to be held at the Court-House on the last *Monday* of *August*.

The following Association being prepared, was ordered to be sent into the different parts of the Town to be subscribed by the inhabitants, viz:

“Whereas, the *British* Administration have long been plotting against the liberties of *America*, and finally stepped forth and openly avowed their wicked system, and are now pursuing measures, which, if successful, will terminate in the total destruction of *American* liberty: And whereas, the United *English* Colonies, by their honourable Delegates in Congress, have entered into an Association which, if strictly and faithfully observed, will, in our opinion, have a happy tendency to awaken the attention of our fellow-subjects in *Great Britain*, and other parts of the *British* Empire, and convince them of the ill policy and injustice of those measures: And whereas, by a blind infatuation, the *British* Government have been persuaded to lend their aid to our misinformed Sovereign, and his wicked Ministers, to send Troops and Armies into our once happy land, for the purpose of enforcing certain oppressive and unconstitutional acts of Parliament: The United Colonies, firmly persuaded of the justice of their cause, and that resistance is indispensable, committing their cause to Heaven, have opposed force to force, and are determined to die or be free. We, whose names are underwrit-

ten, being alarmed at the present state of publick affairs, and finding no alternative but to resist with force or submit, and are determined to make a bold struggle, and use every manly effort to defend those rights which we claim as men, Christians, and freemen. In the first place, we do hereby declare our hearty approbation of the Continental Association, and our fixed resolution faithfully to observe and comply with the same, according to the true spirit and meaning thereof, without any equivocation or mental reservation. And we do further declare, that we are fully persuaded of the necessity and perfect justice of the forcible resistance that has already been made to the Ministerial Troops sent into this Country to dragoon us into slavery; and do gratefully acknowledge and notice the smiles of Divine Providence on all our means of defence, in crowning all our warlike enterprises with unparalleled success; and being determined to pursue the same line of conduct that has already been pursued, we do now unanimously agree and associate with each other, and with all the friends of liberty throughout this land, to exert ourselves in every manly, prudent, and effectual measure in concert with our brethren throughout this Continent, in opposition to every lawless attempt that may be made by our unnatural enemies to deprive us of our liberties, and subject us to a state of slavery, choosing rather to die freemen than live in a state of servile subjection to any man or body of people on the face of the earth.”

Which, agreeable to order, was offered to the inhabitants of the Town of *Fairfield*, and subscribed by eight hundred and fifty-five male persons of the age of sixteen years and upwards; and there were seventy in number that refused to subscribe the same, whose names are as follow, viz:

[names of the non-associators]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 3, p. 141-143.

[North Carolina Provincial Congress, August 1775]

Wednesday, August 23, 1775.

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Association entered into by the General Congress at *Philadelphia*, on the 20th day of *October*, 1774, and signed by the Members thereof, was read:

Resolved, That this Congress do highly approve of the said Association, and do for themselves firmly agree and promise to adhere thereto, and do recommend it to their constituents that they likewise adhere firmly thereto.

The Committee directed to prepare and bring in a Test for the Members of the Congress to sign, reported that they had prepared a Test, which they begged leave to lay before the Congress for approbation.

Ordered, The same to be read; which was accordingly read, approved of, and ordered to be entered on the Journals and signed:

We, the subscribers, professing our allegiance to the King, and acknowledging the constitutional executive power of Government, do solemnly profess, testify and declare, that we do absolutely believe that neither the Parliament of *Great Britain*, nor any member or constituent branch thereof, have a right to impose Taxes upon these Colonies to regulate the internal police thereof; and that all attempts by fraud or force to establish and exercise such claims and powers are violations of the peace and security of the people, and ought to be resisted to the utmost: And that the people of this Province, singly and collectively, are bound by the Acts and Resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses; because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves; and we do solemnly and sincerely promise and engage, under the sanction of virtue, honour, and the sacred love of liberty and our country, to maintain and support all and every Act, Resolutions and Regulations of the said Continental and Provincial Congresses, to the utmost of our power and abilities. In testimony whereof we have hereto set our hands, this 23d of *August*, 1775:

[Signed by 185 persons]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 3, p. 186-187.

[Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, August 1775]

Articles of Association in Pennsylvania.

We, the Officers and Soldiers engaged in the present Association for the defence of *American* liberty, being fully sensible that the strength and security of any body of men, acting together, consists in just regularity, due subordination, and exact obedience to command, without which no individual can have that confidence, in the support of those about him, that is so necessary to give firmness and resolution to the whole, do voluntarily and freely, after consideration of the following Articles, adopt the same as the Rules by which we agree and resolve to be governed, in all our military concerns and operations, until the same, or any of them, shall be changed or dissolved by the Assembly or Provincial Convention, or in their recess by the Committee of

Safety, or a happy reconciliation shall take place between *Great Britain* and the Colonies:

ARTICLE I. If any Officer make use of any profane oath or execration, when on duty, he shall forfeit and pay, for each and every such offence, the sum of five Shillings; and if a Non-Commissioned Officer or Soldier be thus guilty of cursing or swearing, he shall forfeit and pay, for each and every such offence, the sum of one shilling.

[...]

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 3, p. 502-504.

[Connecticut Assembly, October 1775]

Be it enacted by the Governour, Council, and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That all the male persons, inhabitants of this Colony, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, shall have tendered to them the following Association, to wit:

Whereas the *British* Parliament have of late claimed a power and authority to bind the people of *America* in all cases whatsoever, and in pursuance of such claim, have passed divers Acts of Parliament subversive of the natural and constitutional rights and liberties of the *Americans*; and whereas the *British* Ministry have attempted to carry said Acts of Parliament into execution by military force, with an express intention to subjugate the *Americans*, and in a time of peace have wantonly and unprovoked shed the blood of many of their inhabitants, and all reasonable measures for obtaining redress of their said grievances which have been taken proving ineffectual, we are at last reduced to the unhappy necessity of taking up arms in defence of their lives and liberties, in obedience to the first law of nature, self-preservation, and to make their solemn appeal to the Supreme Governour of the Universe and All-Wise Disposer of every event; and that much depends, under *God*, upon the unanimity and joint efforts of a brave and free people for their preservation and defence:

We, the subscribers, do each for ourselves claim, demand, and insist upon our constitutional rights and privileges, and do solemnly covenant, agree, and promise, to and with each other, that we will always maintain and defend the same, to the utmost of our power, against every attempt that shall be made to wrest them from us, and especially against the measures that have been or may be taken by the *British* Ministry and Parliament for that purpose. And we likewise promise and agree that we will not aid, assist, or help the Fleet and Army, or any other person or persons employed by the said Ministry or Parliament, by furnishing them with Provisions, warlike stores, or other necessities, or by giving or conveying any intelligence to them, or in any other

way whatever, while they shall be thus employed against this or the other Colonies in *America*; but will be faithful and true to the Government, as established by charter in this Colony, and to the United *American* Colonies, and will to the utmost of our power, in our several places, assist in carrying into execution every measure of our General Assembly, and also the measures of the said United Colonies, that have or shall be formed and come into for their common safety, and shall be approved of by the General Assembly of this Colony, and that we will use our utmost influence to discountenance and prevent all riotous assemblies and mobs within this Colony.

Witness our hands, at ----, this ----- day, A. D. -----

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the civil authority and Selectmen, or any or either of them, of every Town within this Colony, do, as soon as may be, offer and tender the aforesaid Association to every male inhabitant of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, in their several Towns, to be by them signed; and the said civil authority or Selectmen are further directed to make return of the names of all and every person or persons, in their respective Towns, who shall neglect or refuse to sign the same, to the General Assembly, at their next session; and that the said civil authority do lodge the said Association, after the said inhabitants shall have signed it, with the Town Clerk of their respective Towns.

In the Lower House, the consideration of the above Bill is referred to the next session of this Assembly.

Test: Richard Law, Clerk.

Concurred in the Upper House.

Test: George Willys, Sec'y.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 3, p. 1026-1027.

[Boston, Mass., October 1775]

An Association proposed to the loyal Citizens, agreeable to the Proclamation issued by his Excellency the Honourable Major-General *WILLIAM HOWE*, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces, &c., &c., &c.

We, His Majesty's loyal subjects of the Town of Boston, being sensible of the duty incumbent on us, "to do every thing in our power to support order and good government, as well as to contribute our aid to the internal security of the Town," now take this opportunity to profess our firm allegiance to His Majesty, and entire obedience to his Government and laws. From a disposition to continue quiet and obedient subjects, we have generally neglected the use of arms, while those of different characters and sentiments have been diligently endeavouring to improve themselves in that

art. Upon these principles, we have remained in or fled to this Town; neither do we wish or design to leave it.

We consider it as our strongest duty to contribute our aid in promoting the peace, order, and security of the Town, and are willing to be employed to these good purposes, in the ways and means suited to our capacities. To that end, we cheerfully accept the offers of his Excellency, and now voluntarily associate for the purposes mentioned in his Proclamation; hereby promising, that such of us as he shall think proper or able to perform the duties therein required will be formed into Companies, as therein mentioned, and will, to the utmost of our power, faithfully perform those services, and punctually discharge the trust reposed in us; and that such as are not able to go through those duties will freely contribute our proportions, according to our abilities, to raise a sum of money for promoting this salutary purpose, to be applied to the use of those who are able, in such manner as the General, or those he may appoint, may think proper.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 3, p. 1247-1248.

[Pennsylvania Assembly, November 1775]

Rules and Regulations for the better government of the Military Association in PENNSYLVANIA.

First...

[...]

Twenty-First. All national distinctions in dress or name to be avoided, it being proper that we should now be united, in this General Association for defending our liberties and properties, under the sole denomination of Americans.

[...]

Thirty-Eighth...

Lastly. This House having drawn up the following Articles of Agreement for all the Associators in the Province, they do earnestly recommend the same to be adopted, signed and agreed to by all the said Associators, in order that one general system may prevail in Pennsylvania.

Articles of Association in PENNSYLVANIA.

We, the Officers and Soldiers engaged in the present Association for the defence of American liberty, being fully sensible that the strength and security of any body of men acting together consists in just regularity, due subordination, and exact obedience to command, without which no individual can have that confidence in the support of those about him that is so necessary to give firmness and resolution to the whole, do voluntarily and freely, after consideration of the following articles, adopt the same as the rules and regulations by which we agree and resolve to be governed in all our military concerns and operations, until the same, or any of them, shall be changed or dissolved by the Assembly of this Province, or a happy reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and the Colonies.

[...] (First to Thirty-Second)

Resolutions directing the mode of levying Taxes on Non-Associators in PENNSYLVANIA.

[...]

American Archives, vol. 3, p. 1802-1810.

[Queen's County, N.Y., January 19, 1776]

Whereas, we, the subscribers, inhabitants of *Queen's County*, on *Long-Island*, in the Province of *New-York*, have given great uneasiness to the good people of the neighbouring Provinces and the Continent in general, by our not choosing a Committee agreeable to the orders of the Continental Congress, by our not paying that attention to the directions of our Provincial Congress, which we ought to have done, and by our opposing the General Instructions of the Continental Congress in almost all our conduct and actions. Therefore, (in order to relieve the minds of the virtuous inhabitants of *America*, and those of this County in particular, engaged in the common cause,) we, the subscribers, do most solemnly and sincerely promise, that we will, hereafter, in all cases, implicitly obey all orders and instructions enjoined on us by our Provincial and Continental Congresses, that we will act in conjunction with the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring Provinces, in the defence of *American* liberty, that we never will take up arms against the *Americans*, and that we will not, directly or indirectly, countenance, aid, assist, or by any means join with, any of His Majesty's troops in the present contest between *Great Britain* and *America*. Given under our hands, this 19th day of *January*, 1776.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 4, p. 858-59.

[New-York Committee of Safety, March 1776]

In Committee of Safety, New-York, March 27, 1776.

[refers to the resolution of the Continental Congress of March 14, 1776 (disarming of non-associators)]

Therefore, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Committees of the several Cities, Counties, Manors, Townships, Precincts, and Districts in this Colony, forthwith to cause to be disarmed all persons within their respective Districts who are known to be disaffected to the cause of *America*: and, also, all such persons as shall refuse to sign the following Association, to wit:

“We, the subscribers, inhabitants of in the County of and Colony of *New-York*, do voluntarily and solemnly engage and associate, under all the ties held sacred among mankind, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, to defend, by arms, the United *American* Colonies against the hostile attempts of the *British* Fleets and Armies, until the present unhappy controversy between the two countries shall be settled.”

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 5, p. 1410.

[Colony of New Hampshire, Committee of Safety, April 1776]

Declaration by the Inhabitants of New-Hampshire

Colony of New-Hampshire, in Committee of Safety, April 12, 1776.

To the Selectmen of

In order to carry the underwritten Resolves of the honourable Continental Congress into execution, you are requested to desire all Males, above twenty-one years of age, (Lunaticks, Idiots, and Negroes excepted,) to sign the Declaration on this paper; and when so done, to make return thereof, together with the name, or names, of all who shall refuse to sign the same, to the General Assembly, or Committee of Safety, of this Colony.

M. WEARE, *Chairman*.

“In Congress, March 14, 1776.

“Resolved, That it be recommended to the several Assemblies, Conventions, and Councils, or Committees of Safety, of the United Colonies, immediately to cause all

persons to be disarmed, within their respective Colonies, who are notoriously disaffected to the cause of *America*, or who have not associated, and refuse to associate, to defend, by Arms, the United Colonies, against the hostile attempts of the *British* Fleet and Armies.

Extract from the Minutes:

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary*.”

In consequence of the above Resolution of the Continental Congress, and to show our determination in joining our *American* brethren in defending the lives, liberties, and properties of the United Colonies:

We, the subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage, and promise, that we will, to the utmost of our power, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, with arms, oppose the hostile proceedings of the *British* Fleets and Armies against the United American Colonies.

American Archives, 4th Ser., vol. 5, p. 873-912.