

Patriots or Traitors: A Revolutionary Debate

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Most accounts of debates during the 1760s and 1770s between Britain and North America that students encounter were written from the “patriot” perspective. As a result, they often portray those who chose to back the crown as timid or misguided at best and traitors at worst.

In reality, however, the number of colonists that sided with the king increased as tempers flared. For these colonists, the radicalism of Americans’ protest—the dumping of tea in Boston harbor, harassment of government officials, and destruction of property—was far worse than the taxes Britain proposed. Moreover, while British governance was not perfect, no viable replacement had been suggested.

This activity asks students to reconstruct some of the arguments circulating on both sides of the debate. What reasons did loyalists use to defend staying within the British Empire? What benefits did they think such membership afforded? By contrast, what aspects of independence—political, economic, or social—did revolutionaries offer to persuade others to join their cause? The end result of this exercise is not to decide who was right or wrong, but to encourage students to think about the range of ideas expressed at the time and be able to explain why these arguments might or might not have been persuasive.

THEMES: political protest, mass demonstration, popular culture, patriotism, and loyalism

OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- 1) Describe what various groups thought about the role of government in the North American colonies.
- 2) Recognize and define the terms “rights” and “citizenship.”
- 3) Practice reconstructing historical arguments and presenting findings orally.

MATERIALS (printed and copied, one set for each group of either loyalists or patriots)

For the Patriot perspective:

Resolutions of the Stamp Act Crisis, October, 19, 1765

Letter Reprinted by the Printers of the Pennsylvania Gazette, May 15, 1766

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

For the Loyalist perspective:

Letter from Americanus, September 25, 1766

Plan of Union, written by Joseph Galloway, September 28, 1774

A Proclamation by the King for Repressing Rebellion and Sedition, August 23, 1775

Index cards labeled “MOTION #1” and “MOTION #2”

ACTIVITY: REVOLUTIONARY DEBATE

Part I: Defining Sides (20-25 minutes)

Divide the class into five (5) groups: 2 groups of loyalists; 2 groups of patriots, and 1 group of judges (or arbitrators). Give the 3 loyalist documents to the 2 loyalist groups and the 3 patriot documents to the 2 patriot groups. Copies of all 6 documents should be given to the judges.

Have students read through all of documents in their set and compile a list of reasons why people might have supported or argued against independence from Britain. To help think through their reasons, they might wish to rank their arguments from strongest to weakest—with a brief analysis of why they think some arguments are more persuasive than others.

Let them know that the second part of this activity is a class debate, so they should be prepared to articulate their arguments as comprehensively—and as concisely—as they can. The debate will be timed!

Part 2: The Debate (35-40 minutes)

All four groups take turns presenting their arguments to the class, which should be based on information from their primary document sets, as well as from their textbooks, other readings, and class discussions. To make these presentations more interactive you may opt to allow the groups not presenting to raise an objection, or a “motion” (for example, during the first Loyalist presentation, members from either Patriot group can interrupt the presentation).

It helps to limit both the number of motions and the time each motion can take. Limiting the number of motions—for example, no more than two from both opposing groups—encourages debaters to be active listeners, but careful in choosing when to exercise their right to interject.

Motions themselves should be limited as well to no more than 2 minutes (no long-winded filibustering allowed!), as motions should—either as objections or questions—serve to engage the current group of presenters, rather than overwhelm them.

To raise a motion, a member from the opposing side should raise the card stating either “MOTION #1” or “MOTION #2,” and wait to be acknowledged by the judging panel, who moderates both the time of the group presentations and the motions to make sure the activity stays on schedule.

The timetable for the debates is as follows:

5 minutes: The first Loyalist group presents their case against a war for independence, using the documents provided to back-up their arguments (2 motions allowed from Patriot teams).

5 minutes: The first Patriot group presents their case for independence, also based on documents provided (2 motions allowed from Loyalist teams).

5 minutes: Both Loyalist groups meet together compare notes. Were any arguments left out of the first Loyalist presentation? How can Loyalists respond to the questions and concerns the first group of Patriots raised?

5 minutes: The second Loyalist group presents any additional arguments against independence not raised by the first group, and responds to the first set of Patriot arguments (2 motions allowed from Patriot teams).

5 minutes: Both Patriot groups meet together to compare notes. Where any arguments left out of the first Patriot presentation? How can Patriots respond to the questions and concerns the two groups of Loyalists raised (2 motions allowed from opposing teams)?

5-10 minutes: Judges confer and vote on which arguments—both for and against a revolution—they found most convincing (and why!)

Credit and Resources:

This activity is based on the educational materials of Cliveden, a historic property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. More information about Cliveden can be found at: <http://www.cliveden.org>.

PATRIOT DOCUMENT 1: Resolutions of the Stamp Act, 1765

Whereas the just rights of his majesty's subjects of this province, derived from the British constitution as well as the royal charter, have been lately drawn into question: In order to ascertain the same, this house do unanimously come to the following resolves.

I. Resolved—That there are certain essential rights of the British constitution of government, which are founded in the nature of God and law, and are the common rights of mankind; therefore,

II. Resolved—That the inhabitants of this province are inalienably entitled to those essential rights in common with all men: and that no law in society can, consistent with the law of God and nature, divest them of those rights.

III. Resolved—That no man can justly take the property of another without his consent; and that upon the original principle the right of representation in the same body, which exercises the power of making laws for levying taxes, which is one of the main pillars of the British constitution, is evidently founded.

IV. Resolved—That this inherent right, together with all other essential rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities of the people of Great Britain, have been fully confirmed by them by the Magna Carta, and by former and later acts of Parliament.

V. Resolved—That his majesty's subjects in America are, in reason and common sense, entitled to the same extent of liberty with his majesty's subjects in Britain.

VI. Resolved—That by the declaration of the royal charter of this province, the inhabitants are entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural subjects of Great Britain, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, whatever.

VII. Resolved—That the inhabitants of this province appear to be entitled to all the rights aforementioned, by an act of parliament, 13th of George II.

VIII. Resolved—That those rights do belong to the inhabitants of this province, upon principles of common justice; their ancestors having settled this country at their sole expense, and their posterity having approved themselves most loyal and faithful subjects of Great Britain.

IX. Resolved—That every individual in the colonies is as advantageous to Great Britain, as if he were in Great Britain, and held to pay his full proportion of taxes there; and as the inhabitants of this province pay their full proportion of taxes for the support of his majesty's government here, it is unreasonable for them to be called upon to pay any part of the charges of the government there.

X. Resolved—That the inhabitants of this province are not, and never have been, represented in the parliament of Great Britain; and that such a representation there as the subjects in Britain do actually and rightfully enjoy, is impracticable for the subjects of America; and further, that in the

opinion of this house, the several subordinate powers of legislation in American were constituted upon the apprehensions of this impracticability.

XI. Resolved—That the only methods whereby the constitutional rights of the subjects of this province can be secure, consistent with a subordination to the supreme power of Great Britain, is by the continued exercise of such powers of government as are granted in the royal charter, and firm adherence to the privileges of the same.

XII. Resolved—As a just conclusion from some of the foregoing resolves, that all acts made by any power whatever other than the general assembly of this province, imposing taxes on the inhabitants, are infringements of our inherent and unalienable rights, as men and British subjects, and render void the most valuable declarations of our charter.

XIII. Resolved—That the extension of the powers of the court of admiralty within this province is a most violent infraction of the right of trials by juries—a right which this house, upon the principles of their British ancestors, hold most dear and sacred; it being the only security of the lives, liberties, and properties of his majesty's subjects here.

XIV. Resolved—That this house owes the strictest allegiance to his most sacred majesty King George the Third; that they have the greatest veneration for the parliament; and that they will, after the example of all their predecessors, from the settlement of the country, exert themselves to their utmost in supporting his majesty's authority in the province, in promoting the true happiness of his subjects, and in enlarging the extent of his dominion.

Ordered, that all the foregoing resolves be kept in the records of this house, that a just sense of liberty and the firm sentiments of loyalty, may be transmitted to posterity.

PATRIOT DOCUMENT 2: Letter reprinted by the Printers of the Pennsylvania Gazette, May 15, 1766

In matters of general concern to the People, and especially where burdens are to be laid upon them, it is of use to consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think. I shall, therefore, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occasion.

First they will say, and perhaps with justice, that the body of the People of the Colonies are as loyal and as firmly attached to the present Constitution, and reigning family, as any subjects of the King's Dominions.

That there is no reason to doubt the readiness and willingness of the Representatives they may choose, to grant from time to time such supplies for the defense of the Country, as shall be judged necessary, so far as their abilities allow.

That the People of the Colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained, forts to be built and supported, and of their own abilities to bear the expense, than the Parliament of England, at so great a distance.

That Governors often come to the Colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain, are not always men of the best abilities or integrity, have many of them no estates here, nor any natural connections with us, that should make them heartily concerned with our welfare, and might possibly be fond of raising and keeping up more forces than necessary, from the profits according to themselves, and to make provisions for their friends and dependents.

That the Councillors in most of the Colonies being appointed by the Crown, on the recommendation of the Governors, are often of small estates frequently dependant on the Governors for offices and therefore too much under influence.

That there is therefore great reason to be jealous of a power in such Governors and Councils, to raise such sums as they shall judge necessary, by draft on the Lords of the Treasury, to be afterwards laid on the Colonies by Act of Parliament, and paid by the People here, since they might abuse it, by their projecting useless expenditures, harassing the People, and taking them from their labour to execute such projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependents, and divide profits.

That the Parliament of England is at a great distance, subject to be misinformed and misled by such Governors and Councils, whose united interests might probably secure them against the effect of any complaint from hence.

That it is supposed to be an undoubted right of Englishmen not to be taxed but by their own consent, given through their Representatives.

That the Colonists have no Representatives in Parliament.

That to propose taxing them by Parliament, and refuse them the liberty of choosing a representative Council to meet in the Colonies and consider and judge the necessity of any general tax, and the quantum, shows a suspicion of their loyalty to the Crown, or of their regard for their country, or of their common sense and understanding, which they have not deserved.

That compelling the Colonists to pay money without their consent, would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit.

That it would be treating them like conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

PATRIOT DOCUMENT 3: Declaration of Independence, 1776

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.--Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

- For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:
- For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:
- For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:
- For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:
- For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:
- For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences
- For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:
- For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:
- For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

LOYALIST DOCUMENT 1: Letter from Americanus, printed in the Pennsylvania Gazette, September 25, 1766 (excerpt)

1. At a time when ALMOST EVERY AMERICAN is employed in placing the transactions of the parliament of our mother country IN THE MOST ODIIOUS LIGHT and IN ALIENATING AFFECTIONS of a numerous and loyal people from the royal person of the best of Sovereigns, permit me, however unpopular the task, through the impartial channel of your paper, to point out the imprudence and folly of such conduct, and to give a brief and true state of the facts included in the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies. The highest degree of vanity certainly cannot prompt us to imagine that our Sovereign and his parliament will be intimidated by the IRREVERENT CENSURES and DISLOYAL MENACES of the Americans in their present DISUNITED and DEFENSELESS condition. It is a proof of the greatest infatuation to conceive that we can BULLY the British nation, now at peace with the whole world, and possessed of strength which the united powers of France and Spain could not subdue.

2. The PROTECTION OF AMERICA has, in no small degree, contributed to this burden of the mother country. If then it be contestably just, that America should contribute towards the means of HER OWN SAFETY and the Americans have now acquired a considerable share of property, though it must be confessed, by no means so much as the folly and extravagance of a few have taught our superiors to believe, in proportion to this property, the most plain and evident principle of justice pronounces the equity of their being taxed in order to defray the expense which THEIR OWN SAFETY requires. The power of making war, of protecting and defending British subjects, in every part of the world, and of forming, directing, and executing that protection, is constitutionally vested in the Crown alone. The subject has a right to demand it, whenever he is in danger. This right is purchased by his allegiance which is the reciprocal consideration daily paid for it. America, consisting of a number of colonies in their infant state, and independent of each other, IS IN A PARTICULAR MANNER DEPENDENT on this power, and has a right to demand an exertion of it, TO INSURE ITS SAFETY.

3. The next enquiry that presents itself is BY WHOM is this contribution to be enforced? This seems to be the grant question between Britain and the Colonies. In their present state, this can be done but by one of two modes; their by PARLIAMENT, OR BY THE SEVERAL LEGISLATURES OF AMERICA. The LAST METHOD, no doubt, would be most eligible and agreeable to the Colonies; and we have reason to believe it would be also most agreeable to his Majesty and his Parliament, COULD IT WITH CERTAINTY AND SECURITY TO BOTH BE RELIED UPON. If can be of LITTLE MOMENT to the GENERAL WELFARE, and of course to the King and People of England, WHETHER THESE AIDS ARE GRANTED BY A BRITISH PARLIAMENT, OR THE SEVERAL AMERICAN LEGISLATURES, provided they be really granted.

4. If then it be reasonable that AMERICA should be taxed for HER OWN SAFETY, and her safety depends on her enabling the crown to secure it, if without this she be lost to her mother country, and deprived of her civil as well as religious rights, if SHE HAS BEEN NEGLIGENT OF HER DUTY, AND PERVERSELY OBSTINATE, when those rights, and HER OWN PRESERVATION required a contrary behavior, if SHE has, notwithstanding, been preserved, in a great measure at the expense of her mother country, and IF UNDER HER PRESENT

CIRCUMSTANCES AND DISUNION, IT APPEARS FROM EXPERIENCE THAT THE CROWN CAN HAVE NO DEPENDENCE that SHE will act differently on future occasions, does it not then become the INDESPENSIBLE DUTY OF A BRITISH PARLIAMENT TO INTERFERE AND COMPEL HER TO DO what is so reasonable and necessary FOR HER PRESERVATION?

As America has life, liberty and property to be protected it was thought but just, that she should unite in the measures concerted FOR HER OWN PRESERVATION. The parliament had it then, as well as now, in its power to compel her, without the assent of her legislatures. But instead of making use of that power to levy taxes on us, the most moderate and tender requisitions were sent over to our several legislatures, requiring our proportional aide for this necessary service, attended with the warmest assurances that a considerable part of such aids would be repaid; thus tenderly and affectionately LURING us to the discharge of our duty. Hence it seems manifest, that the administration would have been content with, and even preferred this mode of that of having recourse to an act of Parliament, HAD THE COLONIES AT THAT TIME FULLY COMPLIED WITH ROYAL DEMANDS. Had this been done the suspicion would have been unreasonable, that the present duties and impositions would ever have been laid on America or even thought of.

However, the experiment was made and how did it prove, with respect of the INTEREST, the HONOUR, and DUTY OF AMERICA? Some of our legislatures granted their proportion in time; others late. TOO LATE TO BE OF REAL SERVICE, and SOME NEVER COMPLIED AT ALL, though his Majesty's subjects committed to their care were massacred before their eyes, and British America was in the most imminent danger. And it is worthy of further observation, that such was the TENDERNESS and FORBEARANCE of our mother country, THUS JUSTLY PROVOKED, by the PERVERSE DISOBEDIENCE of SOME OF THE COLONIES at the time, when nothing less that the interest and honor of the whole British dominions were at stake, THAT THEY DID NOT INSTANTLY ENFORCE AN OBEDIENCE BY THE METHODS THEY HAVE NOT TAKEN, which gives us so much uneasiness, but proceeding, year after year, to make trial after trial, in hopes that our legislatures would comply with requisitions so reasonable, and essential to our welfare.

BUT ALL THEIR EXPERIMENTS WERE INEFFECTUAL. The sums of money, granted to parliament FOR OUR PROTECTION WERE OFTEN WASTED, for want of the full and timely aids of the colonies. The failure of several military expeditions was occasioned by this cause alone. And had more of the American provinces been equally regardless of their immediate defense, and our mother country failed in exerting herself on the occasion, we might at this day, be the subjects of the French government, robbed of our liberty, and deprived of the exercise and enjoyment of our inestimable religion.

5. After what has been offered, will any man of candor deny, that the BRITISH GOVERNMENT (in what is constitutionally vested the power of protecting us) OUGHT TO HAVE SOME SECURITY that SUFFICIENT AIDS will be granted by us, not only in any future war, but at THIS TIME, IN ORDER TO PUT AMERICA IN A MORE DEFENSIBLE SITUATION. It is not an improbable conjecture, that in another war she will become the scene of action, and the principal object of the contending powers. Her value, and infinite importance to the possessor,

justifies the thought; should she remain IN HER PRESENT DEFENSELESS STATE, how easily would she become the prey of a foreign invader? And HOW PRECARIOUS HER PROTECTION, SHOULD IT DEPEND ON THE AIDS TO BE GRANTED BY THE COLONIES, in their present disunited state, subject to the various CAPRICES AND HUMORS OF OUR DIFFERENT LEGISLATURES? Shall the colonies be lost to the British Dominions through their own obstinacy, caprice, and folly; and shall not Great Britain, whose interest is inseparably united with theirs, ENDEAVOR TO PREVENT IT?

LOYALIST DOCUMENT 2: Plan of Union, written by Joseph Galloway, September 28, 1774

First order of business for the First Continental Congress, rejected by a six to five vote.

Resolved, that this Congress will apply to His Majesty for a redress of grievances under which his faithful subjects in America labor; and assure him that the colonies hold in abhorrence the idea of being considered independent communities on the British government, and most ardently desire the establishment of a political union, not only among themselves but with the mother state, upon those principles of safety and freedom which are essential in the constitution of all free governments, and particularly that of the British legislature. And as the colonies from their local circumstances cannot be represented in the Parliament of Great Britain, they will humbly propose to His Majesty and his two houses of Parliament the following plan, under which the strength of the whole empire may be drawn together on any emergency, the interest of both countries advanced, and the rights and liberties of America secured: A Plan for a Proposed Union between Great Britain and the Colonies of New Hampshire, the Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Three Lower Counties on the Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

That a British and American legislature, for regulating the administration of the general affairs of America, be proposed and established in America, including all the said colonies; within and under which government each colony shall retain its present constitution and powers of regulating and governing its own internal police, in all cases whatever.

That the said government be administered by a president general, to be appointed by the King, and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, in their respective assemblies, once in every three years.

That the several assemblies shall choose members for the Grand Council in the following proportions, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware Counties, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, who shall meet at the city for the first time, being called by the president general as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

That there shall be a new election of members for the Grand Council every three years; and on the death, removal, or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of assembly of the colony he represented.

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year if they shall think it necessary, and oftener if occasions shall require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the president general on any emergency.

That the Grand Council shall have power to choose their speaker, and shall hold and exercise all the like rights, liberties, and privileges as are held and exercised by and in the House of Commons of Great Britain.

That the president general shall hold his office during the pleasure of the King and his assent shall be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and it shall be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

That the president general, by and with the advice and consent of the Grand Council, hold and exercise all the legislative rights, powers, and authorities necessary for regulating and administering all the general police and affairs of the colonies in which Great Britain and the colonies, or any of them, the colonies in general, or more than one colony, are in any manner concerned, as well civil and criminal as commercial.

That the said president general and the Grand Council be an inferior and distinct branch of the British legislature, united and incorporated with it for the aforesaid general purposes; and that any of the said general regulations may originate and be formed and digested, either in the Parliament of Great Britain or in the said Grand Council, and being prepared, transmitted to the other for their approbation or dissent; and that the assent of both shall be requisite to the validity of all such general acts and statutes.

That in time of war, all bills for granting aid to the Crown, prepared by the Grand Council and approved by the president general, shall be valid and passed into a law, without the assent of the British Parliament.

LOYALIST DOCUMENT 3: A Proclamation of the King, for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition, August 23, 1775

Whereas many of our subjects in divers parts of our Colonies and Plantations in North America, misled by dangerous and ill designing men, and forgetting the allegiance which they owe to the power that has protected and supported them; after various disorderly acts committed in disturbance of the publick peace, to the obstruction of lawful commerce, and to the oppression of our loyal subjects carrying on the same; have at length proceeded to open and avowed rebellion, by arraying themselves in a hostile manner, to withstand the execution of the law, and traitorously preparing, ordering and levying war against us:

And whereas, there is reason to apprehend that such rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous correspondence, counsels and comfort of divers wicked and desperate persons within this Realm:

To the end therefore, that none of our subjects may neglect or violate their duty through ignorance thereof, or through any doubt of the protection which the law will afford to their loyalty and zeal, we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring, that not only all our Officers, civil and military, are obliged to exert their utmost endeavours to suppress such rebellion, and to bring the traitors to justice, but that all our subjects of this Realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging, are bound by law to be aiding and assisting in the suppression of such rebellion, and to disclose and make known all traitorous conspiracies and attempts against us, our crown and dignity; and we do accordingly strictly charge and command all our Officers, as well civil as military, and all others our obedient and loyal subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to withstand and suppress such rebellion, and to disclose and make known all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which they shall know to be against us, our crown and dignity; and for that purpose, that they transmit to one of our principal Secretaries of State, or other proper officer, due and full information of all persons who shall be found carrying on correspondence with, or in any manner or degree aiding or abetting the persons now in open arms and rebellion against our Government, within any of our Colonies and Plantations in North America, in order to bring to condign punishment the authors, perpetrators, and abettors of such traitorous designs.

Given at our Court at St. James's the twenty-third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, in the fifteenth year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.