

# Who are they?

In what way did the pamphleteers of Great Britain identify the colonists living in America during the American Revolution and Revolutionary War (1765-1783)?

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Image front-page: 'The Grand Union flag' (online image)  
<<http://www.usflag.org/history/grandunion1775.html>> Last consulted March 2017.

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## Introduction

One of the most famous revolutions was the American Revolution near the end of the eighteenth century. This revolution resulted in the secession of the British thirteen colonies in America from Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> It is generally accepted that many colonists, as they will be referred to throughout this thesis, viewed the British as alien, from the old world, old-fashioned, and oppressive. They even viewed them as being from a different country or “nationality”<sup>2</sup>, as far as that term can be applied to the events predating the French Revolution of 1789, as it is hotly debated by historians whether the concept of nationality existed before that time.<sup>3</sup> However, there is not such a generally accepted view regarding the way the British people viewed the colonists and colonies. Did they view these colonists as having a different identity: different for instance in terms of culture, heritage, ideology or even race? The question this thesis seeks to answer is thus: In what way did the pamphleteers of Great Britain identify the colonists living in America during the American Revolution and Revolutionary War (1765-1783)?

While little has been written about the identification of the colonists by the British pamphlet and book writers during the era, it is not an untouched subject. Sometimes the issue is part of a chapter in a book, and sometimes it is raised more implicitly, most likely by an historian’s unconscious assumption. Historians who have touched upon the topic include G. Tabatabai, G. Wood, J. Chaplin, J. Black, R. Hyam, J. Clark, and E. Nellis.

Gordon Wood, who argues in his 1992 book *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* that the revolution was very radical in “the long sweep of world history up to that time”, implies that the British might have viewed it as such at that time.<sup>4</sup> Jeremy Black does not say how the British viewed the colonists during the Revolutionary War; he simply mentions that the British in 1781 were tired of fighting.<sup>5</sup>

Since the second half of the twentieth century, the British historiography on the British Empire has undergone a transformation. The new picture that has emerged showed the British Empire to have been economically and ideologically dynamic and well-governed. The loss of the North American colonies is presumed to have been a setback, but far more significant at the time was the empire’s consolidation of British control in India and the war against Napoleonic France later on. This new form of imperial history took a broader view and a

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<sup>1</sup> J. Mckay, B. Hill, J. Buckler, etc. *A history of western society* (Boston, 2011), 618-629.

<sup>2</sup> J. Morton, *The American Revolution* (Westport, 2003), 29-39.

<sup>3</sup> A. Gat, *Nations* (Cambridge, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> G. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1991), IX.

<sup>5</sup> J. Black, *A History of the British Isles* (Hampshire, 2012), 193.

global one at that. The practitioners of this “new imperial history” have been less preoccupied with the American Revolution than the imperial school of the early twentieth century has been. The work of both schools reminds us that the events that led to the creation of the United States were part of British, as well as American, history.

As historian Joyce Chaplin has observed, since the late 1980s “nearly all of the best studies on the significance of the American Revolution have been done by historians of Britain who look at the Revolution’s importance to, well, Britain.”<sup>6</sup> Moreover, in his book *Understanding the Empire* R. Hyam quotes Johnathan Clark, a Professor and researcher of British History, who wrote, “A new pattern is beginning to emerge (in historiography) which will soon demand a reconsideration of the nature of imperialism and identity.”<sup>7</sup> Hyam himself seems to agree in his book with Sir John Seeley (living in the late nineteenth century), who said that Britain’s loss of the colonies had left behind permanent doubt, misgivings, and despair for those British people who were more politically active than the majority of the people from Great Britain. However, mutual influence and close contact between the former colonies and Great Britain remained, and the “whole future of the planet depended on it.”<sup>8</sup> Others whose interest lay within the colonies were the British investors, traders, businessmen, adventurers, army officers, and missionaries.<sup>9</sup> However, according to Hyam, American independence would not have greatly affected most ordinary British people. To them, the patriotic feelings for the British Empire were more banal and unconscious than “hot”. The loss of the colonies most likely did not matter to most of the politically disengaged “ordinary people”.<sup>10</sup>

According to Hyam, only a broad distinction can be made regarding historians who focus on the British Empire. While there are those who think the empire was good and those who think otherwise, there is, however, not a national and “nationalist” divide. Not all British nostalgically idolize the long gone British Empire (and not all Indians, for example, despise it).<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, he states that it is “not in dispute” that the British Empire was founded in trade and that its colonies were valued for their contributions to it. To extract materials from these colonies, the British thought it necessary to impose some formal rule or plant settlers in

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<sup>6</sup> E. Chaplin, ‘Expansion and Exceptionalism in Early American History’, *Journal of American History*, 89 (2003) 1440.

<sup>7</sup> R. Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge 2010) XIII-XIV.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, 78.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, 47.

these colonies, which they had to defend against rivals. By this process, the British started to value the colonies for their own sakes, “irrespective of the original intention.”<sup>12</sup>

E. Nellis agrees with R. Hayem that the original motivation for the creation of the colonies was trade.<sup>13</sup> However, many colonists differed from the British people; around 1766, the crown, according to Nellis, saw them as alike by subjugation or allegiance.<sup>14</sup> G. Tabatabai states that the American Revolution, seen from the perspective of other large empires within South Asia, might be seen as a simple trade dispute.

Thus, it seems that most of the historians considered for this thesis thought of the relationship between the British and their colonies (whether in North America or elsewhere) as based on trade, at least when the British people felt a connection with the colonies at all. However, while they do not raise the issue of nationality and nationalism, a few of their colleagues do. This research about the British pamphleteers’ identification of those living in the colonies within America relates to the current debate about nationalism in Europe, which has been garnering increasing attention from scholars in recent years.<sup>15</sup> However, British nationalism is a term that might sound strange because of the lack of a British nation. After all, Great Britain consists of multiple nations. However, I agree with Linda Colley who wrote in her book *Britons: forging the nation* about, what else, the forging of the British nation. She wrote this book, as she herself states, about the processes in British history from between 1707 until 1837 with two goals in mind, one of which was to show that it was during that period, which starts well before the French Revolution, that a sense of British national identity was forged.<sup>16</sup> Great Britain is a difficult case when it comes to the studying of its nationalism, patriotism or any related historical questions because Great Britain consists of multiple nations. However, Colley states in her book that she will define a region such as Great Britain as a nation when there is a geopolitical entity consisting of an imagined political unity. She further states that nations have always been culturally and ethnically diverse and artificial constructs that can take shape as quickly as they can decompose, and that Great Britain can plausibly be regarded as an invented nation superimposed on older alignments and loyalties.<sup>17</sup> The invention of this “nation” of Great Britain, Colley states, is forged above all by war. War with France, for example, brought Britons together, “Whether they hailed from Wales or

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<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, 74-75.

<sup>13</sup> E. Nellis, *An empire of regions* (Toronto 2010) 300.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, 316.

<sup>15</sup> T. Baycroft, *Nationalism in Europe* (Cambridge, 2007) 1.

<sup>16</sup> Colley, *Britons: forging the nation* 1.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem 5.

Scotland or England, into confrontation with an obviously hostile other and encouraged them to define themselves collectively against it.”<sup>18</sup> When confronted against an alien “them”, a diverse community can become an “us” by self-identification.<sup>19</sup>

Later in her book Colley also writes that the American colonists were very much like those in Great Britain, purchased British manufactured goods, read books printed in London and spoke English. They were, according to Colley, as their brethren on the British mainland, but also very different due to their migrant experiences. “For mainland Britons, then, Americans were (and perhaps still are) mysterious and paradoxical people, physically distant but culturally close, engagingly similar yet irritatingly different.”<sup>20</sup>

The debate regarding nationalism could, according to Azar Gat, be seen as a debate between two schools. The first of these schools consists of the modernists who state that the nation, and therefore nationalism, emerged in Europe during the nineteenth century or since the French Revolution of 1789. On the other side of the debate stand the traditionalists, who believe that nationhood and nationalism are older than modernity, as did Colley, and existed perhaps as far back as antiquity.<sup>21</sup>

One of those who take the modernists’ side in this discussion is Elie Kedourie. According to Kedouri, nationalism is invented in Europe at the start of the nineteenth century. He states that “Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.” These ideas came to be seen as self-evident and firmly naturalized in the political rhetoric of “the West”.<sup>22</sup> The idea that “The principle of sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; no body of men, no individual can exercise authority that does not emanate expressly from it”, as written in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, is one prerequisite without which nationalism could not exist, states Kedouri.<sup>23</sup>

Hans Köhn agrees with the idea of nationalism being invented at the start of the nineteenth century and Köhn states that one of the most important factors to creating a nation and nationality is an active corporate will; “nationality is formed by the decision to form a nationality.” The foundations of the English and American nationalities were constituted by

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<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem 6.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem 134.

<sup>21</sup> Gat, *Nations*, 1.

<sup>22</sup> E. Kedourie, *Nationalism* (Oxford, 1960) 1.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, 4-5.

free acts of will. Nationalities are furthermore created out of ethnographic and political elements when nationalism breathes life into the form built by preceding centuries. It is a state of mind shared by the large majority of the people. But, states Köhn, such a state of mind has been in existence before the age of nationalism as well. Sometimes sentiments were professed by individuals towards something akin to nationalism, but these sentiments were always confined to individuals, the masses never felt that their own life was culturally, politically or economically dependent upon the fate of the national groups. Sometimes, during war, sentiments which looked like nationalism came to existence, but these faded quickly and before the French Revolution, wars did not arouse deep national sentiments for during religious and dynastic wars, countrymen fought amongst one another as well. Since the French revolution the masses were no longer in the nation, but of the nation, identified themselves with nation, and saw their life and survival as dependent upon the survival of the nation.<sup>24</sup>

In his book *Nationalism in Europe*, Baycroft states that he will not deal with the question of whether nationalism existed prior to 1789.<sup>25</sup> However neutral he seems to be on this issue, he does say,

The emergence of nations or nation-states is arguably the most influential development in Europe during the nineteenth century. The accompanying ideology of nationalism [...].<sup>26</sup>

This segment shows he did think of nationalism as a phenomenon only existing since the French Revolution. He later stated the history of Europe from 1789 to 1945 could be seen as synonymous with the history of the growth and development of modern nations.<sup>27</sup> Further, he states that “This [...] form of nationalism did not exist prior to the French revolution.”<sup>28</sup> He further exclaims that he thinks that “nationalism is a belief that the shared characteristics of the nation are valuable and need to be preserved.”<sup>29</sup> These characteristics could be language, a common history, religion, culture, historical traditions and shared values.<sup>30</sup> He also states that “nationalism is more than patriotism, which is a sentiment of loyalty to the nation to

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<sup>24</sup> H. Köhn, *The idea of nationalism* (New York, 1944) Chapter 1.

<sup>25</sup> Baycroft, *Nationalism in Europe*, 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, 8.

<sup>29</sup> Baycroft, *Nationalism in Europe*, 4.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem* 1.



which one belongs because it includes the beliefs that one's own nation has a higher calling and greater value than other nations, and that the nation is the only legitimate source of power. Nationalism supports the belief that perceived threats or enemies to the nation need to be eliminated."<sup>31</sup>

To create nationalism, often to protect it and its aforementioned characteristics from either internal or external threats, a nation (most likely the nationalists within a nation) can choose to select which historical national events will be remembered, and which are best forgotten by the nation's inhabitants. Glorious unifying moments in history will often be remembered and celebrated, while times of civil war are often decided upon to be forgotten. When such historical events are promoted, it is often useful for a nationalist agenda to associate them with symbols which do not come directly out of these events but are in many ways impartial. Symbols such as national animals, a national flag or national landscapes can be used to promote the nation.<sup>32</sup>

Gellner wrote the book *Nations and Nationalism*, and in this book from 1983 the first chapter starts with him stating that "Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent."<sup>33</sup> This means that the entire nation should consist of a single national political governmental unit, and vice versa. He follows up this statement with "Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind."<sup>34</sup> A violation of the national principle would be something like an invasion or suppression by another nation. Gellner also states that a violation of the national principle to which national sentiment is extra sensitive would be "if the rulers of the political unit belong to a nation other than that of the majority of the ruled, this, for nationalists, constitutes a quite outstandingly intolerable breach of political propriety." This situation occurs when a national territory would be part of a larger empire.

In brief, nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and, in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state- a contingency already formally excluded by the

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<sup>31</sup> Ibidem 4.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem 26.

<sup>33</sup> Gellner, *Nations and nationalism*, 1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem.

principles in its general formulation- should not separate the power-holders from the rest.<sup>35</sup>

This segment shows very clearly what Gellner thinks nationalism is. He does, however, not view nationalism as the awakening of an old force. But he rather thinks of it as a consequence of a new form of social organization based on mainly “internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state.” Pre-existent cultures are factors in determining what would fall within the same nation, but not all of these cultures can be a nation of course, for there are simply too many of them. “A viable higher culture-sustaining modern state cannot fall below a certain minimal size.”<sup>36</sup>

Even if nationalism and nations are not considered by Gellner as being natural phenomena,<sup>37</sup> he does not wish to deny that mankind has always lived in groups. The persistence of these groups was for a large part dependent upon the loyalty men felt for their group, and their identification with it. Gellner states that if this is to be identified as patriotism, the patriotism would indeed be a part of human nature. Nationalism then, is a very distinct kind of patriotism, and different from a general form of patriotism because it favors cultural homogeneity based on a culture striving to be a high (literate) one. Populations are anonymous, fluid and mobile. An individual is seen to belong to the nation directly, and not to a sub-culture or group which then in turn belongs to a nation.<sup>38</sup>

Anderson proposes the following definition of the nation: “It is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.” By this he means that it is a community of which most members will never meet all of their fellow members, or even hear of them. Yet they are part of the same community, a nation.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, a nation is limited because even the largest of them has boundaries: there is an “other”. A nation is sovereign because its concept was born in an age when Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the idea of divine legitimacy of hierarchical dynastic realms. Finally, Anderson states, it is a community regarded as horizontal, a fraternity for which people will kill and die.<sup>40</sup> The eighteenth century marks the dawn of nationalism according to Anderson.<sup>41</sup> The first bases for national consciousness were laid down by print-language. Print-language

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<sup>35</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, 46-47.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, 47.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, 132.

<sup>39</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined communities* (London 1983), 5-6.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, 7.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem.

unified the fields of communication below Latin and above vernaculars, and made people aware of the hundreds, thousands or even millions of others with whom they shared this same language. But, at the same time, print-language also made these people aware of the fact that they did not share this language with more than those others. This was, states Anderson, the embryo of the nationally imagined community.<sup>42</sup> The cultural products of nationalism within such forms as poetry, music and books show that nationalism not only causes hatred of the “others” but also love for the fellow countrymen. For this, of course, print is indeed necessary.<sup>43</sup> Anderson further states that the political love for one’s own nation can be discovered by deciphering some particular words of kinship, home, or affection an author uses (perhaps unawares) when speaking of his own country. Examples of such words would be “motherland”, “fatherland”, “homeland”, etc.<sup>44</sup>

There are also those who state nationalism was present before the French Revolution of 1789, but no more than a century. One of these historians is Carlton J. Hayes, who in 1926 published *Nationalism as a religion*. Hayes writes in his book *Nationalism as a religion* that there have been many historical processes and philosophical beliefs which caused a popular response, just as nationalism might do. But the masses have never fought or died for any of those philosophies, Hayes states, and thus there must be something more than a philosophy, doctrine, or historical process about modern nationalism. This would be an emotion: emotional loyalty to the idea of the national state, a loyalty so intensely emotional that it causes people to subordinate all other loyalties to the national one. Loyalties have always existed, but with modern nationalism an individual might sacrifice all of his loyalties, be they to persons, places, ideas or family, for loyalty to the national state. This, Hayes states, is nationalism.<sup>45</sup>

Nationalism has furthermore been like a religion since the French Revolution whose symbols were the tricolor flag, the declaration of rights and the constitution. Those who refused to swear to the Constitution of 1791 were cut off from the French community by civil excommunication, states Hayes, and foreigners who proclaimed their loyalty to it were accepted among the ranks of this “religion”.<sup>46</sup>

Traditionalist writers, such as Anthony Smith, argue that nationalism could not have emerged ex nihilo and state that nationalism mobilized earlier proto-national sentiments, such

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<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, 44.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, 140-141.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, 143.

<sup>45</sup> C. Hayes, *Nationalism as a religion* (New York, 1926) 2.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, 3.

as those of a shared religion, language, or ethnicity.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, Kohn states there was a weaker kind of national sentiment before modernity.<sup>48</sup> The same thoughts are shared by Smith.<sup>49</sup> Azar Gat can be considered a traditionalist in a more extreme form for he argues that national states existed around the world for millennia.<sup>50</sup> Although he might be speaking of a form of ethnic nationalism rather than civic nationalism, of which the former is based on a shared culture and descent and the latter on state territory, it would be a form of nationalism nonetheless.<sup>51</sup>

In this debate about the existence of nationalism and national identity prior to 1789, the sources used for this study suggest that some form of national identity, sentiment, and the unifying power of the nation existed before that date. Some of the pamphlets studied for this thesis, the sources from 1764 to 1783 analyzed here, speak of a phenomenon that would now be defined as an imagined community, relationships based upon descent, language, and nationality. As this thesis will argue, a form of nationalism thus existed prior to 1789.

The primary sources that are usable for this research are vast. Just the archive used for this thesis, The British Online Archives, consists of around 93,000 pages. It is impossible to research all of them for a thesis consisting of a maximum of 24,000 words.<sup>52</sup> To resolve this issue, I decided to research a “randomly” selected pamphlet for each of the years involved within the research question for this thesis. The selection process was, of course, not totally random. Rather, I looked through the links to pamphlets on the website, and I selected the first pamphlet that consisted of fewer than 500 pages (since I would characterize a pamphlet consisting of more than 500 pages as a book.), revolved around a subject related to the identification of the colonists, and was readable (in that it was not partially destroyed). The British Online Archives collection consists of 77 categories of pamphlets, papers, books, and other digitally achievable primary sources.<sup>53</sup> The category selected for the research for this thesis is called “British pamphlets relating to the American Revolution, 1764-1783.” The archivists in charge of this archive described this section as a whole and made it clear that this collection includes items written by the Founding Fathers of the United States of America,

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<sup>47</sup> Gat, *Nations*, 8.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, 9.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, 132.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, 7.

<sup>52</sup> British Online Archives, <<https://www.britishonlinearchives.co.uk/>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>53</sup> British Online Archives, *Categories* <<https://www.britishonlinearchives.co.uk/browse.php?keywords=&cmd=search&cat=&sid=&oid=&page=1>> Last consulted March 2017.

records of British Parliamentary debates, and “every available British and Irish pamphlet relating to the American Revolution that was printed in Great Britain between January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1764, and December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1783.”<sup>54</sup>

To discuss the pamphlets, this thesis has been divided into four chapters. The first will analyze the pamphlets of the years 1764 to 1769, written by Thomas Pownall, G. Kearsley, John Almon, William Keith, Joshua Gee, John Wilkie, and Richard Phelps. The second chapter will deal with the pamphlets from the years 1770, when violence erupted between the Sons of Liberty and 40 British soldiers and the Battle of Golden Hill, to 1774, with authors W. Bingley, Obadiah Hulme, W. Strahan, T. Cadell, J. Wilkie, and J. Almon. In the third chapter, the years 1775, the start of the revolution and the mobilization of colonial troops by the colonial government, to 1780 will be discussed. Pamphlets researched for these years were written by J. Wilkie, William Barron, Keeble, White, Bew, Hogg, and J. Dixwell. The final chapter will discuss the pamphlets written in the years 1781, when calls to an end of the war were rising within the English parliament, to the official end of the war in 1783. These pamphlets were written by J. Almon, William Smith, T. Becket, and A. Milne. On this long list of authors, a few make multiple appearances and a few will appear just once. Within these chapters, it will be clearly shown to what year a pamphlet belongs; each pamphlet has its own section dedicated to it, in chronological order.

In the conclusion, an answer will be given to the research question. It is entirely possible that some sort of trend will be discovered within the pamphlets researched for this thesis. Perhaps the sources will show a continuing decline in familiarity with those residing within the colonies. However, if this, or any other trend for that matter, were to be discovered, it would only imply that this trend exists within the pamphlets researched for this thesis: it does not imply the trend does, or does not, exist within the broader collection of pamphlets present within the consulted archive. Likewise, regarding the way the pamphlets’ authors talk about the colonists, the authors’ perspectives might not represent the entirety of views written within those years. However, this thesis does seek to create a general impression of the ways several pamphleteers identified those living in America during the Revolutionary era.

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<sup>54</sup> British Online Archives, *British pamphlets relating to the American Revolution* <[https://www.britishonlinearchives.co.uk/collection.php?cid=9781851173174&pid=&did=&cat=&sid=&date\\_option=equal](https://www.britishonlinearchives.co.uk/collection.php?cid=9781851173174&pid=&did=&cat=&sid=&date_option=equal)> Last consulted March 2017.

## Chapter 1: 1764-1769

### 1764

1764 was the year after the official end of the French and Indian War (which was part of the Seven Year's War and fought in America over the colonies there).<sup>55</sup> The expenses Great Britain had during this war would, in the years to come, be a reason for the tax reforms in the colonies. One of these taxes would be the Sugar Act. This act increased the duties on imported sugar and other items, such as textiles, coffee, indigo dye, and wines. It furthermore doubled the duties on foreign goods reshipped from England to the colonies and forbade the import of foreign rum and French wines.<sup>56</sup> Later in this year, the English Parliament passed measures to better enforce British trade laws, including the establishment of a court in Halifax, Nova Scotia, that would have jurisdiction over all trade matters regarding the American colonies.<sup>57</sup> Another measure taken in this year by the British government was the Currency Act, which forbade the colonists from issuing legal tender paper money, which resulted in the unifying of the more industrial northern colonies and the agricultural south against this act.<sup>58</sup> In May, James Otis raised the issue of taxation without representation and urged a united response against these acts. In July, he published a pamphlet, titled "The rights of the British colonies Asserted and Proved", resulting in a boycott of British luxury goods by Boston merchants.<sup>59</sup>

This was also the year that Thomas Pownall wrote his pamphlet titled *The administration of the colonies*.<sup>60</sup> This pamphlet has been analyzed for clues as to how Pownall identified the colonists. Pownall himself was a politician whose main interest since his return from a five year stay in the colonies was American affairs. One of his more noticeable works was the one researched for this thesis, in which he argued for the need of a special department to deal with "American affairs" and defended the principle of "no taxation without representation". He would later go on to criticize the Quartering Acts, speaking of them as

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<sup>55</sup> S. Bullitt and D. Bullitt, *United States history timeline* <[http://faculty.washington.edu/qtaylor/a\\_us\\_history/1700\\_1800\\_timeline.htm](http://faculty.washington.edu/qtaylor/a_us_history/1700_1800_timeline.htm)> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>57</sup> The History Place, *American Revolution* <<http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/revolution/rev-prel.htm>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>58</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline* .

<sup>59</sup> The History Place, *American Revolution*.

<sup>60</sup> J. Wilkie, *The administration of the colonies* (London 1764) 517.

“exceptionable and alarming”. He would also advocate for the repeal of the Charles Townshend’s duties and the Declaratory Act.<sup>61</sup>

How did he identify the colonists and colonies themselves? Apart from someone whose rights were worthy of defending, according to his actions, he did call them in his pamphlet “colonies of the European world”,<sup>62</sup> referring to them not only as being in the possession of this “European world”, but also as equal to colonies belonging to, for example, Spain or France. He later categorized the colonies of Great Britain again in the same category as those of other countries when he spoke of them as “dependencies” and of their people as “subjects.”<sup>63</sup> This further empowers the idea that Pownall thought of the colonies as not equal to the country they were dependent upon. However, Pownall later wrote the following passage:

It is now the duty of those who govern us, to carry forward this state of things (...) that our kingdom may be no more considered as the mere kingdom of this isle, with many appendages of provinces, colonies, settlements, and other extraneous parts; but as a grand marine dominion, consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic and in America united into one interest in one center where the seat of government is [...] As the rising of this crisis above described forms precisely the object on which government should be employed, so the taking leading measures towards the forming all these Atlantic and American possessions into a one dominion, of which Great-Britain should be the commercial center.<sup>64</sup>

Note how Pownall spoke of “those who govern us”; this implies he saw himself as equal to those who were governed by the British government. He also spoke of “our possessions” when referring to the colonies within America and Asia. Clearly, he saw those living in Great Britain as equal to the colonists and viewed the colonies as being unequal to Great Britain. Later, he spoke of Great Britain as the “mother country” of the colonies within America, under which the colonists labored.<sup>65</sup> However, how he identified those living in these colonies

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<sup>61</sup> The history of parliament, *Pownall Thomas*  
<<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/pownall-thomas-1722-1805>>  
Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>62</sup> Wilkie, *The administration of the colonies*, 1.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, 4.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, 6.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, 23.

within America is yet to be clarified. This question is answered later in the pamphlet when Pownall wrote the following passage:

For until a practical and efficient administration be formed, whatever the people of this country may think, the people of the colonies, who know their business much better than we do, will never believe government is in earnest about them, or their interest or even about governing them.<sup>66</sup>

Those living in the colonies were thus considered by Pownall as different from those living in Great Britain for he spoke of “the people of the colonies” deserving of the same rights and privileges as the Englishmen. For as far as the law was concerned, wrote Pownall, they were to be considered Englishmen themselves, no matter where they were.<sup>67</sup> Thus, according to Pownall, the colonists were different, but equal. They were “British Americans”.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, 21.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem, 28.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, 124.



## 1765

In 1765, the Stamp Act was passed by the English parliament. This act imposed a direct tax on the American colonies, a method of taxation which was not present in the previous 150 years since the colonists payed tax to their local legislatures, not to England directly. This tax was implemented so that the colonists would pay a share of the cost of the English military actions during the Seven Years' War. It was this Stamp Act that stated all printed materials were to be taxed, including items such as pamphlets, post stamps, legal documents, and playing cards. This act was supposed to go into effect in November of that same year. However, the Stamp Act met with fierce opposition. In July, the organization called "the Sons of Liberty" was formed. This group fiercely opposed the Stamp Act, and its members used violence and intimidation to eventually force the British Stamp Act agents to resign, and furthermore, they stopped many colonial merchants from ordering British goods. It was in October that, in New York City, representatives from nine of the thirteen American colonies met and prepared a resolution to be sent to the English king, George III, and his Parliament requesting the repeal of this Stamp Act, as well as other acts originating from 1764. Stated in this appeal was that only colonial legislatures could tax colonial residents and that taxation without representation violated the colonists' basic rights.<sup>69</sup> The tax was indeed repealed by March 1766, perhaps not solely due to the resolution but also because the Stamp Act actually diminished the revenue received from the colonies for they would refuse to import goods from Great Britain or conduct other trade with them.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, also in March, the Quartering Act was implemented by Great Britain, resulting in the obligation for the colonists, or at least their local authorities, to house British troops and supply them with food.<sup>71</sup> This act was mostly resented in New York where most of the troops were stationed. However, the act was only repealed in 1770.<sup>72</sup>

It was in 1765 that *A vindication of the rights of the Americans* was published in London.<sup>73</sup> This pamphlet was relatively short, only 25 pages long, of which the first four were not present in the archive consulted for this thesis. The author (or authors) of this pamphlet is

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<sup>69</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline*.

<sup>70</sup> StampAct, *Stamp Act Facts* <<http://www.stamp-act-history.com/stamp-act/stamp-act-of-1765/>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>71</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline*.

<sup>72</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, *Quartering Acts* <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Quartering-Act>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>73</sup> Anonymous, *A vindication of the rights of the Americans* (London 1765).

unknown (as he likely purposely stayed).<sup>74</sup> In this pamphlet, the author points out that the British constitution focuses very much on the rights and liberties of the people of Great Britain and her colonies. The people of England had their representatives, as did the Scotch, Welsh, Irish, and American people. All had assemblies and parliaments that represented the bulk of the people.<sup>75</sup> The author asked, why were they not consulted when England wanted to implement the Stamp Act, and why would this be considered a great violation in the case of the people within England? Noticeably, the author stated that this type of government, in which each part of the empire has its own representatives, was “the wisest as well as most equitable plan that man can invent.”<sup>76</sup> According to the author, the colonists would likely willingly pay their part in expenses when asked kindly instead of being forcefully made to pay a tax.<sup>77</sup> They would be as loyal as all the other subjects of the crown. He added,

If contrary to my expectations, they should show any reluctance, or unwillingness to raise money in any method, however constitutional, let their charters be taken from them, by which they will be thrown into that chaos and confusion that stubborn disobedience deserves.<sup>78</sup>

This does not apply to customs, which were to be imposed wherever the king’s dominions extended.<sup>79</sup> The author stated:

If it should turn out, that one mistake in England has occasioned all the mistakes in America, what man will not pity the poor Americans, and heartily forgive them their misdeeds, upon a promise that they will forever hereafter faithfully observe the laws relating to the poor of England, in this particular, which is that whenever a mother is unable to maintain herself, her children being of sufficient ability must contribute towards her support.<sup>80</sup>

This quote, with which the author ended the pamphlet, shows that the author believed the English people to be able to forgive the colonies for the misdeeds they had committed in

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<sup>74</sup> J. Shields, *Nation and migration* (Oxford 2016) 21.

<sup>75</sup> Anonymous, *A vindication of the rights of the Americans*, 10.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, 11.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, 13.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, 15.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, 25.

response to those of England herself. The author of this pamphlet, titled “A vindication of the rights of the Americans”, tried to explain the point of view held by the colonists and searched for a way to resolve the struggles between the colonies and England. He saw the two as having a relationship similar to a family, in which England was the mother and the colonies were the children who had to support their mother when needed. He believed the inhabitants of both deserved the same rights, as his surprise regarding the act of England taxing the colonists without appealing to their representatives shows: such an act would be deemed a great violation of rights were it to be applied to the English people themselves. Furthermore, the author considered the colonies to be property of Great Britain (most likely just England) as he spoke of “Great Britain and her colonies” multiple times.

Apparently, the anonymous author of this article published in London in 1765 thought of the colonies as being a possession of England, or Great Britain. The colonies were the children of England and England was their mother, yet the people of the colonies deserved the same rights as those living within Great Britain and were, thought the author, sure to be loyal and pay their due if asked to do so. It is not known to whom the pamphlet was directed: this information may have been part of one of the missing pages. I assume that this pamphlet was directed to the British Parliament, however, due to the way the author spoke about taking away the rights of the colonists, a power which only lies within the British Parliament and the king of England himself. However, if the king was addressed it would likely be very obvious and explicit, which it is not.

## 1766

In January 1766, the New York assembly refused to completely comply with the aforementioned Quartering Act<sup>81</sup>, which stated that the colonial authorities should provide food, drink, shelter, fuel, and transportation to British forces stationed in their towns or villages.<sup>82</sup> The year thus started with unease between England and the colonies. Furthermore, in March, King George III of England repealed the Stamp Act when warned about more possible resistance or even a revolution in the colonies if it was enforced. The news of this repeal caused celebrations in the colonies and a relaxation of the boycotts of English imports. Celebrations were probably short lived since, in August of that same year, violence broke out in New York between armed colonists and British soldiers because the colonists did not comply with the Quartering Act.<sup>83</sup>

It was in this year that G. Kearsley published his pamphlet, titled *The true interest of Great Britain, with respect to her American colonies*.<sup>84</sup> Not much is known about Kearsley, apart from one clue to his identity on the front-page of this pamphlet, where is written “By a merchant of London.”<sup>85</sup> This suggests that Kearsley was indeed a resident of London.

Kearsley made a case in this pamphlet to not tax the colonists too heavily because they might resist as, Kearsley noted, they had already done. Resistance would, in the end, cause more damage for the inhabitants of the colonies and the economy of Great Britain than it would do good.<sup>86</sup> On the first page of the pamphlet, Kearsley spoke of the colonists’ response to the Stamp Act as being extraordinary in nature, but not justified.<sup>87</sup> However, shortly after this statement he went on to state the following:

The importance of the American colonies to Great Britain seems to be so well understood, [...] the trade of the island is absolutely necessary on account of their connection with the continent; their interest in respect to the mother-country having already been pointed out.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline*.

<sup>82</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, *Quartering Acts*.

<sup>83</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline*.

<sup>84</sup> G. Kearsley, *The true interest of Great Britain, with respect to her American colonies* (1766 London).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, Frontpage.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*, 38-40.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, 1.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, 2.

Kearsley basically stated that the interest of Great Britain regarding the colonies was trade-based. He also spoke of Great Britain as being the mother country in the relationship between Great Britain and the colonies. Regardless, Kearsley proposed dividing “North America” into three parts: north, midland, and south.<sup>89</sup> Kearsley’s division was based on the idea that the midland parts would produce tobacco, corn, grain, live cattle, iron, and copper; the north would produce timber and furs; and the southern division would produce silk, coffee, cacao, indigo, cotton, rice, olives, fruits, and wine. It is apparent that Kearsley himself made this division based on produce. Thus, whether or not it is true that Great Britain’s interest in the colonies was in their produce and trade, it seems that Kearsley thought it was.<sup>90</sup> Further, Kearsley stated it was due to these exports from the colonies to Europe that the colonies in return received, from Great Britain, not only the necessities needed to live but also incredible luxuries.<sup>91</sup> This relationship based on trade seemed, for Kearsley at least, to support the idea of Great Britain raising taxes within the colonies, which allowed the British, as well as the colonists, to remain free and on a “respectable footing” in Europe and further allowed Great Britain to protect her colonies and grant them liberties.<sup>92</sup> Important to note here is that Kearsley indeed spoke of the colonies as “our colonies” and thus saw them as being possessions of Great Britain, placing Great Britain as a state above the colonies. However, when it came to the inhabitants, they were not that different, according to Kearsley, who spoke of the colonists as being fellow subjects of those living in England as they all were subject to the same monarchy.<sup>93</sup> Kearsley spoke of how he had

Too great a regard for the islanders, as fellow subjects, to wish North America any advantages at their expense [islanders in this case being non-American colonists]. But I have also the same regard for the inhabitants of North America; and cannot without concern, see laws made to the prejudice of the latter, which are not only of no advantage to the islands but manifestly prejudicial to the interest both of North America and Great Britain.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ibidem, 3.

<sup>90</sup> Ibidem, 3-4.

<sup>91</sup> Ibidem, 5-6.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem, 6-7.

<sup>93</sup> Ibidem, 8.

<sup>94</sup> Ibidem, 11-12.

Thus, he saw all of the colonists, residing in North America or any other place, as equal to each other and to those living in Great Britain as they were considered by Kearsley to be equal as subjects of the king of Great Britain. However, perhaps they were of a different “country” since he called them “North Americans”<sup>95</sup> instead of colonists or “British living in North America”. Their geographical location had thus affected the way Kearsley identified them, at least to some extent, for in this same pamphlet he called them “British subjects in North America”. This is quite confusing since in this instance it seemed that their geographical position did not affect the colonists’ identity as much as in the previously mentioned example.<sup>96</sup> However, irrespective of the exact impact, according to Kearsley, their location affected the colonists’ identity. Kearsley also explicitly saw (North) America as a country when he spoke about smuggling and trade routes. He wrote, “What chance is there then [when it is impossible to prevent smuggling] of collecting so heavy a duty in a country like America”.<sup>97</sup>

Therefore, Kearsley showed in his pamphlet, titled *The true interest of Great Britain with respect to her American colonies*, he thought of the colonists as being quite equal to the inhabitants of Great Britain itself. At the same time, he considered the colonies to be the possession of Great Britain, therefore ranking them lower. Interestingly, in Kearsley’s vision, a country and its inhabitants are not inseparable in physical or theoretical terms, such as identity.

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<sup>95</sup> Kearsley, *The true interest of Great Britain, with respect to her American colonies*, 25.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem*, 20.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, 26.

## 1767

While in March of 1766 the colonies lessened the boycott of English goods, in October of 1767, the boycott was strengthened again. This was mainly due to the English Parliament passing the Townshend Revenue Acts.<sup>98</sup> These acts dictated that there was to be a duty on paper, paint, glass, and other goods imported from Great Britain. These duties were external in nature as, unlike the Stamp Act, they only involved imported goods.<sup>99</sup> This was one of the Townshend Revenue Acts. One of the other three was called The Suspending Act, which forbade the New York Assembly from conducting any further business until it complied with the earlier mentioned Quartering Act from 1765. A second act mainly involved a strict and complicated machinery of customs collection in the American colonies. The final acts lifted commercial duties on tea so that it could be exported to the colonies free of British taxes. Both physically and verbally, the colonists fiercely resisted these Townshend Revenue Acts.<sup>100</sup>

It was in this year that John Almon published a pamphlet titled *Two papers on the subject of taxing the British colonies in America*. The first of these papers consisted of seven pages and was titled *Some Remarks on the most rational and effectual means that can be used in the present conjuncture for the future security and preservation of the trade of Great Britain, by protecting and advancing her settlements on the north continent of America*. The second paper, which starts on page thirteen and consists of nine pages, was called *Proposal for establishing by act of parliament on the duties upon stamped paper and parchment in all the British American colonies*.<sup>101</sup> These papers were not actually written by John Almon but by a club of American merchants at the head of which were William Keith, the governor of Pennsylvania, and Joshua Gee.<sup>102</sup> The papers were originally published in 1739, nearly 30 years before John Almon decided to re-publish them in London. John Almon most likely used the papers of these “greatest friends to America, and of those who were best acquainted with the rights of commercial interest of the colonies” to enforce his own arguments which

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<sup>98</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline*.

<sup>99</sup> Library of Congress, *The American Revolution*

<<http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/amrev/brittwo/brittwo.html>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>100</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, *Townshend Acts* <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Townshend-Acts>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>101</sup> J. Almon, *Two papers on the subject of taxing the British colonies in America* (1767).

<sup>102</sup> *Ibidem*, 3.

supported the Stamp Act and disapproved of its repeal.<sup>103</sup> It should be noted that although these papers were not written during the time period with which this thesis is concerned, the pamphlet consisting of these two papers and the introduction by Almon were indeed re-published by Almon during the time period in which I am interested. The pamphlet also represents a British pamphlet writer's opinion on the matters regarding the relationship between Great Britain and her American colonies and their identity. Although short, the pamphlet's introduction did show Almon naming the colonies both "America" and "the colonies".

The first paper argued that something needed to be done to strengthen the colonies so that they could protect themselves against other nations and enemies in times of war. The authors asked for a small body of regular troops to be raised for this purpose within the colonies.<sup>104</sup> However, taxes would need to be paid by the colonists to sustain this army. The authors argued in this respect:

There is good reason to expect the British subjects in America, for whose immediate advantage and particular service this scheme is chiefly designed, would on that account cheerfully comply with any moderate and easy tax that would be laid on them for so good and necessary a purpose; on condition however that all the money to be so levied amongst them should be punctually and strictly applied to this service, and no other.<sup>105</sup>

Noticeably, the authors saw the colonies' inhabitants as British subjects just like those living in Great Britain. However, according to the authors, the colonies were in the possession of Great Britain: this aspect made the colonies as a geographical entity and Great Britain unequal but did not engender inequality between the people.<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, the authors saw these colonies as being very valuable, most likely in economic terms; they respected them and had a clear sense of their (economic value) for Great Britain.<sup>107</sup>

On the first page of the second paper, the authors spoke of the "British colonies", thus exhibiting an awareness of the unequal relationship between Great Britain and its North

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<sup>103</sup> *Ibidem*, 3-4.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibidem*, 6-9.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*, 10.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, 8.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*, 6.



American possessions.<sup>108</sup> These colonies were mainly a great economic advantage to Great Britain, as well as in terms of population. The colonies of Great Britain had more people than those of France or Spain who could fight for the protection of the colonies.<sup>109</sup> These people had the same “liberties” as those who were subjects of Great Britain, according to the authors, rendering the people of the colonies equal to those of Great Britain.<sup>110</sup> They even saw the people of the colonies and Great Britain as “Brethren”.<sup>111</sup> Thus, they identified the colonists as equals (with similar rights as the “British”) yet living in an inferior area. In both of these papers, the authors viewed the colonists and colonies as worthy of protection, if only for economic gain. The will to protect the colonies showed the colonies’ value. By calling the inhabitants of the colonies and Britain “brethren,” the authors portrayed the relationship between Great Britain and its colonies as mostly an economic and political relationship and not a familial one. Also, they did not use the term mother country.

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibidem*, 13.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibidem*, 13.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibidem*, 14.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibidem*, 17.

## 1768

In 1768, Samuel Adams wrote a letter opposing taxation without representation and asked the colonists to stand together against the British government. Furthermore, in this letter, Adams instructed the readers on methods to oppose the Townshend Acts. This letter was sent to assemblies throughout the colonies.<sup>112</sup> Adams would become one of the Founding Fathers of the United States, helped organize the Boston Tea Party, and signed the American Declaration of Independence.<sup>113</sup> In April, England's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Hillsborough, ordered the colonial governors to stop their assemblies from endorsing this letter, to no avail.<sup>114</sup> Later that year, when the boycott of English goods intensified, British warships sailed into Boston after custom commissioners who were being harassed by the city's inhabitants requested their assistance. The city's residents started to arm themselves, and duties on certain goods were avoided by illegally unloading them in the harbor.<sup>115</sup>

In this year, John Wilkie wrote his 71 page long pamphlet, titled *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the present disputes between the British colonies in America and their Mother-Country; and their reciprocal claims and just rights impartially examined and fairly stated*.<sup>116</sup> The long title offers clues about the way Wilkie identified the colonies. His reference to "British colonies in America" makes clear that the colonies belonged to Great Britain. Had Wilkie referred to these colonies as "The American colonies" instead of "British colonies in America", he would perhaps have acknowledged a certain separation between the colonists and Britain. Furthermore, in the title, Wilkie called Great Britain the "mother country", creating a familial relationship between the colonies and Great Britain in which Great Britain was the mother and the colonies most likely the children. However, these two statements said nothing of whether the colonies' inhabitants were considered British. Irrespective of the title, on the pamphlet's first page Wilkie states the colonies belonged to Great Britain, the parent and authority figure in this relationship, as Wilkie refers to "the disputes at present subsisting between our colonies in America and their mother country".<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The History Place, *American Revolution*.

<sup>113</sup> Bio, *Samuel Adams Biography*

<http://www.biography.com/people/samuel-adams-9176129#political-career> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>114</sup> The History Place, *American Revolution*.

<sup>115</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>116</sup> J. Wilkie, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the present disputes between the British colonies in America and their Mother-country* (1768).

<sup>117</sup> Ibidem, 1.

The “children” in this relationship were to be considered infants, not capable of making their own decisions, not even on the same level as children of a higher age.

In this pamphlet, Wilkie answered three questions. Firstly, “Should the colonies be allowed to enjoy the same political privileges and advantages as the mother country?” Secondly, “Is the model of the British constitution practical in the case of America?” Finally, “in case that the constitution would be impractical, would not establishing such a form of government like the one in Great Britain secure the colonies their rights and liberties?”<sup>118</sup> Wilkie determined the following answer to the first question:

This, upon the foot of nature, is undeniable. For why should not the Americans, though born in another part of the globe, be entitled while subject to the same government, to all the privileges, indulgences and advantages, which are considered as the birth right of those who first breathe the air in great Britain? To dispute or deny this would be equally ridiculous and absurd.<sup>119</sup>

It seems that Wilkie saw the colonists as different people from the British. Although he clearly stated that both deserved the same rights and liberties, he still referred to them in different ways. Later, he also used “us and them” terminology.<sup>120</sup> This terminology can be seen when he referred to “us and the American” or “Americans, no less than the English”.<sup>121</sup> This distinction could also be made due to them not having the same rights, even though it should be so according to Wilkie. Further, Wilkie clearly indicated he considered the colonies to be like England for he spoke of “different parts [...] of the same kingdom” engaging in peaceful relations.<sup>122</sup> Kingdoms, he stated, were like a natural human body of which every part or member should be connected to form one, unified entity.<sup>123</sup>

Regarding his vision of England, clearly, Wilkie thought of England as the best country in the world. Not only did he compare the English state to those of ancient Rome and ancient Greece, which he considered the best and most complete states of their time,<sup>124</sup> but he also stated more directly that the English constitution was brilliant and the most complete and perfect of any in the world (yet, it was not entirely perfect, for Wilkie wished for the colonists

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<sup>118</sup> *Ibidem*, 5.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibidem*, 9-10.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, 22.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem*, 30.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibidem*, 2.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibidem*, 7.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibidem*, 11-12.

to be represented by a member of the British House of Lords<sup>125</sup>). Wilkie also made clear that he thought the colonists' complaints were rather narrowly based<sup>126</sup> and that they should "no less than the English" contribute a due portion to support the government, that is, pay taxes.<sup>127</sup> A final quote taken from this pamphlet suggests the following:

That every government should support itself is a truth too obvious to be contested. And that England has an undeniable right to consider America as part of her dominions is a fact I presume, which can never be questioned for few empires can produce as just a claim to half their provinces as that of England to hers in America.<sup>128</sup>

This segment shows Wilkie thought of the colonies as the rightful possession of England and indicates he viewed the colonies as being hierarchically lower than England. This seems to be a logical conclusion due to Wilkie's mindset (that is to say, perhaps not in reality) in which he assumed that the constitution of England was the best and most perfect in the world. However, the people of the colonies were not unequal to the English, for he stated earlier that those born in the colonies deserved the same rights and liberties (and had the same duties) as those born in England.

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<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*, 23.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibidem*, 28.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, 55.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*, 30.

## 1769

In 1769, the boycott of British imports intensified as more colonial territories joined in on the boycotting effort.<sup>129</sup> It seems not much happened this year in relation to the annoyances between Great Britain and the colonies. However, in 1769, Richard Phelps published his pamphlet, called *The Rights of the Colonies and the extent of the legislative authority of Great Britain briefly stated and considered*.<sup>130</sup> Unfortunately, no further information is available regarding Phelps himself.

In this twenty page pamphlet, Phelps examined the extent of Great Britain's authority and colonial rights. Phelps was clearly in favor of the current laws at the time for he stated it was necessary that those who required obedience from others and those who desired liberty shared a fixed standard or law.<sup>131</sup> The law was, for him, the ultimate authority all people must obey. The power of enacting and repealing laws was vested in the crown and the two houses of parliament, and them alone. For Phelps, it was only logical that this "unlimited power", which was essential to the very existence of every state, must lay in the hands of the state, in this case in the hands of Parliament, the two houses, and the crown.<sup>132</sup> He continued:

History does not furnish us with an instance, where liberty has claimed a right to supersede or dispense with laws: neither, indeed, can it; for liberty implies restriction, as a sense against licentiousness; licentiousness is tyranny in its most formidable shape.<sup>133</sup>

Most likely by licentiousness he meant the "lacking (of) moral restraint"<sup>134</sup> as is the definition of the word today as it was 250 years ago.<sup>135</sup> Phelps thus believed that without law, or without law as an institution one must obey, liberties would disperse and, to put it in modern terms, the "rule of the jungle" would apply. For this reason, it was illegal to dispense the power of the crown and "whatever is enacted by the concurrent authority of the three (the Houses of

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<sup>129</sup> The History Place, *American Revolution*.

<sup>130</sup> R. Phelps, *The Rights of the Colonies and the extent of the legislative authority of Great Britain briefly stated and considered* (1769).

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, 5-6.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibidem*, 6.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibidem*, 7.

<sup>134</sup> The free dictionary, *Licentiousness* <<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/licentiousness>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>135</sup> Dictionary.com, *Licentiousness* <<http://www.dictionary.com/browse/licentiousness>> Last consulted September 2017.

Lords, House of Commons, and the crown) cannot be legally opposed or questioned.”<sup>136</sup> How much power did these three authorities have? According to Phelps, Great Britain allowed the emigration of the first colonists and settlers: emigration not demanded but granted by Great Britain.<sup>137</sup> Thus, it was Great Britain that made the creation of the colonies it was now having trouble with possible. The colonists were thus dependent “upon the supreme power of Great Britain” and were now, according to Phelps, perhaps even more dependent upon Great Britain than in the past.<sup>138</sup> He further stated:

It is the British that granted them all, even persons, they could take with them to the colonies. They can have no possession of inherent right of representation in their own country because an inherent right implies an independency, which is consistent with the permitted power of emigration.<sup>139</sup>

In the end, it is clear what Phelps thought regarding the struggle between the colonies and Great Britain. However, how did he characterize the colonies and colonists? Firstly, Phelps clearly thought the colonists had to thank Great Britain for everything it had done for them, including the opportunity to settle in North America. Secondly, Phelps kept referring to Great Britain as the colonists’ mother country, which shows he thought of Great Britain as the source of life in the colonies. Although he did not explicitly express his feeling about the colonists’ complaints about the tax acts Great Britain had created in the years before 1769, he presumably thought of these complaints as based upon illogical reasoning. Clearly, Phelps thought the colonists should be thankful for what Great Britain had done for them; he would most likely despise the fact that the colonists were far from grateful.

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<sup>136</sup> Phelps, *The Rights of the Colonies and the extent of the legislative authority of Great Britain briefly stated and considered*, 8.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibidem*, 9.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibidem*, 12.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibidem*, 13-14.

## Conclusion

It seems from the six pamphlets researched for 1764 to 1769 that the authors unanimously thought of the colonies as being unequal to Great Britain; they belonged to Great Britain and, therefore, should have obeyed the English Parliament and the king himself. The writers did not view the colonies as equal to England.

Though unanimously emphasizing the inequality between England and its colonies, the authors expressed different opinions regarding the value, status, and rights of the colonists. Half of the writers, namely Kearsley, Almon, and one anonymous writer, thought of the colonists as equal in identity to those living in Great Britain, two of the writers, Pownall and Wilkie, perceived the colonists and British as unequal, and one author, Phelps, did not provide his stance regarding this comparison. This distinction made by the authors between the colonists and colonies is an unexpected find, which will be taken into account. Seeing a difference between the people living in a colony and the colony itself does make sense however, especially since the people living in this colony have only been doing so for a few generations at most. The colonists might not have been colonists long enough for them to lose their “Britishness”, but the colonies themselves have not been an entity long enough for it to establish a political system as rooted as the British one was. This could be the way the authors might have justified this unexpected distinction. Furthermore, this “Britishness” the colonists possessed according to those who do not see them as different, implies an imagined community because for some reason, these people who an author might never meet or even see in person is seen as equal to the author, by the author, purely due to their “nationality” if one could call it that. This imagined community is according to Anderson, as described in the introduction of this thesis, one of, if not the, biggest factor of nationalism.

The colonies were most of the time identified, by five of the six authors, as “children” of England, the “mother-country”, thus creating a familial bond between England and its colonies and increasing the likeability of my suggested assumption regarding the age of both the colonies as colonists to have influenced the creation of the distinction. The colonies were viewed as children, mostly of an age in which children rebel against their parents and speak of independency, but are not yet ready to be independent nor even fully able to conceive what it would mean to be independent. Anderson mentions this type of speaking of a “fatherland” or “motherland” etc. as something not uncommon for those who are affected by a phenomenon like nationalism. Five of the six pamphlets referred to the colonies as being a different country; the sixth, written by Wilkie neither confirmed nor denied this statement. Saying that

the colonies are another country means that they are not part of England as the limbs are part of a person, but rather they are like the glasses one wears; useful, aiding the person.

The research for this chapter seems to indicate that, in this time period, the colonists were viewed by most British writers as equals when the pamphlets used for this chapter are viewed as representative for other pamphlets written in this time, yet by some British writers as unequal. However, the area the colonists lived in was identified as a different country, dependent upon Great Britain and therefore unequal to Great Britain itself.

As for the case of nationalism, in the pamphlets researched for these years there was often clearly talk of those living in the colonies as different from those living in Great Britain, yet deserving the same rights as Englishmen. This combined with feelings of brotherhood; sometimes an author literally spoke of brethren as did the pamphlets published by John Almon, and family is something Colley speaks about when she states that the colonists were, for mainland Britons, physically distant, culturally close and irritatingly different. This, combined with her stating that nations have always been culturally and ethnically diverse, and that Great Britain can be regarded as an invented nation superimposed on older alignments and loyalties, shows that what is going on here is indeed a form of nationalism according to Colley's criteria. The reason mainland Britons see the colonists as culturally close and like brethren is because, not that long ago, they were living on the same isles of Britain. Anderson also refers to a nation that, in a nationalist perspective seems like a fraternity, horizontal, for which people kill and die. Although British pamphleteers refer to Great Britain and the colonies as if their inhabitants are part of a fraternity in which all deserve equal rights, they do not refer to a fraternity for which people will kill and die.

Although not British nationalism, a case could be made that some form of nationalism was present within the colonies themselves. Gellner states that a form of violation of the national principle, to which national sentiment is extra sensitive occurs when the rulers of the political unit belonged to another nation. The case for "no taxation without representation" could be seen as a case against the situation mentioned by Gellner, in which the colonists wanted their people to be represented by people from their geopolitical segment of the globe. They wanted their political unit to be more congruent with their national one. However, this is a topic I shall not go into much further for this thesis is about the identification of the colonists by the British, and not the other way around.

That the shared characteristics of Great Britain need to be preserved, and defended wherever they are present, is something Wilkie agreed with. Great Britain had, according to him, the best constitution of the world and it should rightfully apply to the colonies because



“England has an undeniable right to consider America as part of her dominions.” Remarks like these can be regarded as signs of nationalism according to Baycroft, whose view I mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. Köhn’s perspective, the idea that the survival and wellbeing of the individual is dependent upon the survival and wellbeing of the nation, can likewise be used to refer to the presence of nationalism in the pamphlets. Yet a statement resembling this idea occurred only once in this chapter: it was Kearsley who implied that if Great Britain was to remain free and on a respectable footing in Europe, its people would benefit from this status as well.

## Chapter 2: 1770-1774

### 1770

In January of 1770, violence erupted between members of the Sons of Liberty in New York and approximately 40 British soldiers.<sup>140</sup> This violence resulted in several men being seriously, but not fatally, wounded. This was the Battle of Golden Hill and was won by the British because the colonists retreated. This battle is mainly thought of as the first significant encounter between armed British soldiers and colonists.<sup>141</sup> A more famous “battle” occurred less than two months later, on March 5th. This battle is known as The Boston Massacre in which British soldiers, taunted by a colonial mob, fired their muskets into the crowd.<sup>142</sup> The “firing into the crowd” was a result of the colonists’ throwing rocks at the British soldiers, which resulted in one soldier firing his musket. Other soldiers followed suit. This “massacre” resulted in six fatalities of the sixty people in the mob.<sup>143</sup> Later in this year, in April, the British repealed the Townshend Acts and all import duties were eliminated, save for those on tea. The Quartering Acts were also neither renewed nor continued.<sup>144</sup> Later in the year, in October, the trials began for some of the British soldiers arrested after the Boston Massacre. From the eight soldiers, two were found guilty of manslaughter and six were acquitted.<sup>145</sup> As is evident, tensions rose and erupted in this year. Also, in this year, W. Bingley, an English cleric and writer, wrote a pamphlet titled the following: *A short narrative of the horrid massacre in Boston, perpetrated in the evening of the fifth day of March 1770 by soldiers of the XXIXth regiment, which with the XIVth regiment were then quartered there: with some observations on the state of things prior to that catastrophe to which is added an appendix containing the several depositions referred to in the preceding narrative and also other depositions relative to the subject of it.*<sup>146</sup>

On the first page of the pamphlet appears a drawing, which pictures the Boston Massacre, accompanied by a poem beneath it. This poem makes very clear what side W. Bingley was on regarding the Boston Massacre. The poem is as follows:

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<sup>140</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline*.

<sup>141</sup> United States History, *Battle of Golden Hill* <<http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h1265.html>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>142</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline*.

<sup>143</sup> U.S. History *The Boston Massacre* <<http://www.ushistory.org/us/9e.asp>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>144</sup> The History Place, *American Revolution*.

<sup>145</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>146</sup> W. Bingley, *A short narrative of the horrid massacre in Boston* (London 1770).

Unhappy Boston, I see thy Sons deplore  
Thy Hallow'd walks (?) with guiltless gore,  
While Faithless Preston, and his savage Bands,  
(Preston was present as captain during the massacre)  
With Murderous rancor stretch their bloody hands,  
Like fierce Barbarians grinning over their prey,  
Approve the carnage and enjoy the day,  
If scalding drops, from rage, from anguish,  
If speechless sorrows (?) for a tongue,  
Or if a weeping world can aught appease,  
The plaintive ghost of victims such as these,  
The patriot's copious tear for each are shed,  
A glorious tribute which embalms the dead,  
But know, fate summons that awful goal,  
Where justice strips the murderer's soul,  
Should venal courts, the feudal of the land,  
Snatch the relentless villain from her hand  
Keen execrations on this (?) inscribed,  
Shall a judge who never can be bribed.<sup>147</sup>

This poem shows Bingley speaking of saddened sons of Boston leaving their town in sorrow, speechless, and the world weeping. By calling the massacred people victims and patriots, Bingley showed his feelings of sorrow and sadness for those killed. He further called the British soldiers savage, murderous, barbarians, etc. For Bingley, there was a clear line where one group was considered good and the other evil. Even more so, on the picture shown on the first page of his pamphlet, the British soldiers can be seen firing on the people of Boston. He did not show the people of Boston throwing stones, however. The story shown here is thus

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<sup>147</sup> Ibidem, 1.

one-sided. Later in this pamphlet, he called these troops “the king’s troops” instead of “British troops” as if to say this evil was not committed by men who represented Great Britain, but by men who represented the king himself.<sup>148</sup> These troops were, according to the author,

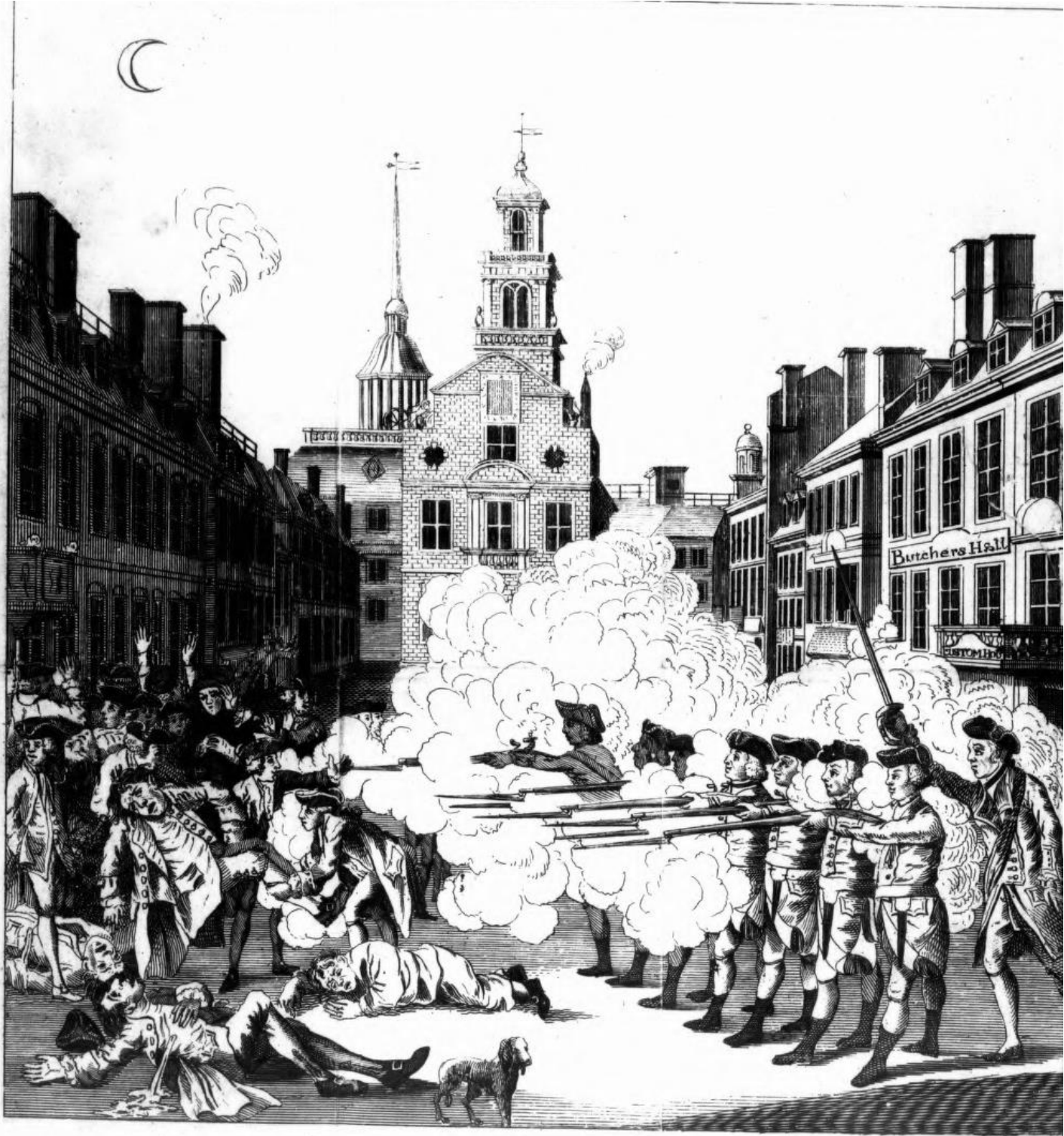


Figure 1. *The Boston Massacre*

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, 12.

alienating the “Americans” even further, which was the goal of the troops.<sup>149</sup> Again, Bingley suggested the troops were evil, in a very black-and-white way, stating that they committed this massacre for the sake of committing a massacre and alienated the colonists for the sake of alienating them. However much Bingley emphasized the troops, and perhaps the king, were the evil ones in this situation, he also expressed his wish of seeing the colonies and Great Britain stay together. He said the following:

It is humbly hoped his Majesty will not be influenced, by such representations (rebellion), to think unfavorably of his faithful subjects of this province: and that hope is grounded upon their innocence: of which they have the highest evidence in their own consciousness; and of which they have given their adversaries no other cause to doubt, than what arises from an opposition to their measures. Measures not only ruinous to the province, but hurtful to Great Britain, and destructive of the union and commercial intercourse, which ought always to subsist between her and her colonies.<sup>150</sup>

This text shows that Bingley hoped the union between Great Britain and the colonies would not disappear because of the rebellion. He hoped the king would show understanding toward the colonists who rebelled and would keep the colonies. Bingley further spoke of the colonies as belonging to Great Britain. He tried to convince the king by saying:

that America, from its different soils and climates, can raise perhaps all the productions of other countries in the same latitudes [...] What a fund of wealth and power will America be to her [Britain]! [...] Connected with her Colonies, she would then be a mighty empire: the greatest, consisting of people of one language that ever existed.<sup>151</sup>

In the end, it is very clear what Bingley thought of the relationship between the colonies and Great Britain and how he identified the colonies and colonists: as good-hearted, but misunderstood, and able to be a great economic asset to Great Britain.

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<sup>149</sup> *Ibidem*, 13.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibidem*, 15.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibidem*, 18.

## 1771

In 1771, Obadiah Hulme wrote “An historical essay on the English constitution”<sup>152</sup>. The subtitle read as follows: *An impartial inquiry into the elective power of the people, from the first establishment of the Saxons in this kingdom wherein the right of parliament to tax our distant provinces is explained and justified upon such constitutional principles as will afford an equal security to the colonists as to their brethren at home.*<sup>153</sup>

The subtitle hints at how Hulme identified the colonists. The colonists were, according to Hulme, brethren of those “at home”. By “home”, Hulme probably meant Great Britain or England. The first page of the preface states the motive for Hulme to write this pamphlet: it was to show the true cause of the discontent between Great Britain and its colonies. He aimed for reconciliation.<sup>154</sup> In his pamphlet, which looks more like a book since it consists of nearly 200 pages, only the last chapter discusses the events of the years shortly prior to the year of the book’s publication. In this chapter, Hulme spoke of Great Britain and its colonies, considering the colonies as Great Britain’s possessions.<sup>155</sup> He supports this view by saying the colonies were founded at the expense of England either by conquest, treaty, or purchase and became from that moment the property of England and fell under English rule.<sup>156</sup> The Englishmen who went to this country were subject to parliament in England, and would need to pay their share of taxes just as the rest of their brethren, said Hulme.<sup>157</sup> According to him, releasing these colonists from the authority of parliament regarding taxation in any degree would be a matter of great importance that would concern all of the British Empire at that time, as well as in the future. It would be an act of suicide, dissolving the community and raising a state within a state, causing the destruction of the British Empire.<sup>158</sup>

While united we may bid defiance to the whole world. But being divided we shall become subject to the insult of every petty state in Europe. In a world, the nature of government doth not admit of any other mode of union in one state, but by the equitable acts, and laws of one legislative authority.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> O. Hulme, *An historical essay on the English constitution* (1771).

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*, Frontpage.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibidem*, I.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibidem*, 179.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibidem*, 179-180.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibidem*, 180.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibidem*, 181.

This fragment of text clearly shows Hulme thought of the colonists rebelling against Great Britain's government as extremely foolish and unjust. He further stated that when the plan to colonize the lands in America was adopted, it was adopted for the general good of the whole community, not just for the colonists.<sup>160</sup> On occasion, he called these colonists English, showing he viewed them as barely or not different from the English within England, whom he sometimes also referred to as their brethren.<sup>161</sup> However, he considered the colonists and the colonies as still being in their infancy.<sup>162</sup> The colonies were to listen to the British parliament, as Hulme explained by saying the following:

It is surprising, that it could ever enter into the head of any man that these new lands (the American colonies) are not as much subject to the taxation laws of the parliament of Great Britain as the old lands. Or, in other words, that the people on the other side of the Atlantick, are not as much subject to pay taxes as the people on this side of the Atlantick: since they are equally protected, by the same fleets and armies, from the attack of all their enemies. It never was the intention of the government to establish a new state independent of the old one: which it must be, if our colonies are independent of the legislative authority of the old one, in any degree; especially in their taxation laws.<sup>163</sup>

Furthermore, Hulme said that the colonists realized they were secure in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights, and they could be taxed no more than what in justice they ought to pay<sup>164</sup>: justice according to the English parliament, the two houses, and the crown itself. Thus, it seems Hulme had strong feelings regarding the position of the colonies as subordinate to England, yet inhabited by colonists who were the same as the people living in Great Britain, a perspective shared by many of the other pamphlets researched for this thesis.

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<sup>160</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibidem*, 182.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibidem*, 183.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibidem*, 183-184.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibidem*, 197.

## 1772

In 1772, William Strahan and Thomas Cadelle wrote *Political essays concerning the present state of the empire*.<sup>165</sup> Strahan was an educated printer born in Scotland but who, early in his life, moved to London where he worked as a journeyman printer and eventually wrote this pamphlet together with Thomas Cadelle.<sup>166</sup> Thomas Cadelle was likely the leading bookseller in London until 1793 when he retired.<sup>167</sup> The pamphlet they wrote together consisted of six chapters (cumulating in approximately 600 pages) about the natural advantages and disadvantages, constitution, agriculture, manufacturers, colonies, and commerce of the empire. The chapter researched for this thesis is the second, titled *Of the constitution of the British Dominions*.<sup>168</sup>

The first sentences written shows how the authors both identified the colonists, as they spoke of brethren, and how liberty was the natural birthright of mankind. However, this natural birthright was enjoyed by only a select few, and the others most likely lived as slaves of despotic tyrants.<sup>169</sup> Only 33 million people of the 775 million alive at that time were considered “free”. Of these 33 million, 13 million were subjects of the British Empire.<sup>170</sup> The authors mentioned this most likely to praise the British Empire as the best state of the time. This is supported by the following sentence: “[Liberty] and in whatever other points the comparison is made, the superiority will be found to reside infinitely on the side of the mixed monarchy, or the British constitution.”<sup>171</sup> As for the representation of the colonies and the legislative power of Great Britain, the authors asserted:

To what degree does the legislative power of Great Britain extend over her colonies? [...] A part of their inhabitants came from foreign European countries, and another part transported themselves from the British islands; both are blended together and live under governments, delineated in charters granted by the crown. If the inhabitants of such settlements therefore are exempted from the unlimited control of the British Parliament, the exemption must indubitably result either from the terms of their

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<sup>165</sup> W. Strahan and T. Cadelle, *Political essays concerning the present state of the empire* (1772).

<sup>166</sup> ElectricScotland, *William Strahan* <[http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/strahan\\_william.htm](http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/strahan_william.htm)> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>167</sup> Harvard university library, *Cadelle, T.* <<http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou00249>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>168</sup> Strahan and Cadelle, *Political essays concerning the present state of the empire*, 19.

<sup>169</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>170</sup> Ibidem, 20.

<sup>171</sup> Ibidem, 22.



charters, or the want of being represented in the legislature [...] the other plea of a want of represent.<sup>172</sup>

Noticeably, the authors spoke of the colonies' inhabitants as being either formerly British or of other European descent who had blended together to become the inhabitants of the colonies and were all subjected to the British crown. Thus, all the colonies' inhabitants were equal, but what is not answered here is whether the colonists were equal to those living in Great Britain itself. Furthermore, the author's considered the legislative power of Great Britain unlimited.

Regarding the colonists' plea for representation, the authors argued: "It is necessary to establish a few incontrovertible maxims by which we may better judge". There were five of these maxims. The first simply stated that the subjects of the British dominions were not allowed to alienate themselves from their allegiance to Great Britain. The second said they did not alienate themselves from this allegiance when they moved to uninhabited lands; they would then still be in allegiance with Great Britain. According to the third maxim, all foreigners who settled in the British dominions enjoyed the British laws, government, grants of land, etc., and were considered the same as natural born subjects regarding their obedience, reinforcing the earlier assumption that these authors thought of the colonists as equal. The fourth maxim stated that the colonists could not make any laws, and the final maxim stated that most people were not represented in Parliament, and therefore, the colonies in America were not extraordinary in this regard.<sup>173</sup> On page 37 of this pamphlet, the authors expressed their views about the colonists in relation to the inhabitants of Great Britain. They stated: "it is necessary here to explain the imaginary distinction between the people of Great Britain here and the people of Great Britain there".<sup>174</sup> They asked the reader how it could be that they were represented less than the other 32 parts of Great Britain. It seemed unreasonable to the authors that the colonists would be thought of as any less merely because of their distance.<sup>175</sup> Although hardly any people of the British Empire were truly "represented", they said:

And yet we find all submit to be taxed by the representatives of those of whom they know no more than of the North American savages! Why do they yield this obedience? Not, in good truth, because they are virtually represented, but because they live under the protection of those representatives who vote the public money which is

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<sup>172</sup> *Ibidem*, 35-36.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibidem*, 36.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibidem*, 37.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibidem*, 38.

raised to defend them because they and their property are and must be Britons, let them spread over whatever [...] they may, because no subject of Britain can alienate his allegiance to British law.<sup>176</sup>

The authors thus stated that those living in the colonies were also Britons. The authors ended this chapter, or “section” as they called it, with an interesting paragraph, showing they thought the colonists were not asking for equality but rather for being represented more than those living in Great Britain:

The colonists think themselves very hardly used by the British parliament’s assuming a right to tax them. Their numbers are supposed to be above two millions, but why are these two millions to be so outrageous on a want of representatives, when there are above seven million in Britain that are no more represented than themselves! It has been proposed that members should be elected by the colonies. By all means the representation of the people cannot be too general, but in the name of common reason, let the latter seven have the indulgence as well as the former two. Let the farmers of Britain be represented equally with the planters of America. The inhabitants of Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester and twenty other most populous towns, remain upon a par with their brethren of Boston, Philadelphia, Charles-town, &c. Let the additional representation be extended- but let it be equal- the measure will then be one of the best that was ever adopted.<sup>177</sup>

So the authors evidently thought of the colonists as asking for too much, not because they wished to be equally represented, but overly. The authors thought of the colonists as equals to those living in Great Britain as it were, even if the same could not be said for the colonies as geographical units compared to Great Britain in hierarchical terms.

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<sup>176</sup> *Ibidem*, 39.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibidem*, 40.

## 1773

Although the following pamphlet does not mention the Boston Tea Party, probably because it was published before the Tea Party, it was written in the same year and will shed some light on the way the people of Great Britain identified the colonists. It was during the Boston Tea Party of the 16<sup>th</sup> of December in 1773 that colonists, angered by the taxes imposed on tea by Great Britain, stormed some tea carrying ships, dressed as Native Americans, and threw the shipment of tea overboard. This was an act of protest from the colonists forcing king George III of England to quarter more soldiers in Massachusetts, of which Boston is the capital.<sup>178</sup>

The pamphlet *Boston, The votes and proceedings of the Freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston... the whole containing a particular enumeration of those grievances that have given rise to the present alarming discontents in America*<sup>179</sup> was released by J. Wilkie in this same year. His pamphlet consists of 123 pages; from page 117 onward, Wilkie placed a letter in a pamphlet by an unknown author. All that is known about this letter's author is that the letter was written by "a gentleman highly respected in the literary world" and discussed the maintenance of the clergy and the project of appointing bishops in America.<sup>180</sup> It is only in this letter that the identification of the colonies by someone from Great Britain was shown. Regardless of who the letter's writer was, Wilkie decided to include this letter in his own pamphlet without making any notes or criticizing the letter. This shows Wilkie agreed with the unknown author when he published this pamphlet in London in 1773.

The letter's author identified the colonies as a different country for he spoke of churches in "that country", by which he meant the colonies (or America, as the author also named the colonies).<sup>181</sup> He also mentioned how the people living in the colonies went from England to establish a new country for themselves, where they wanted to enjoy the free exercise of religion. It was, according to the author, this which created Presbyterianism as the established religion "of that country."<sup>182</sup> The way the author spoke of the colonies shows that he thought of the colonies as a country of their own, different from the Great Britain and so from England. He also mentioned the following:

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<sup>178</sup> Historiek, *Boston Tea Party* <<http://historiek.net/boston-tea-party-1773/9530/>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>179</sup> J. Wilkie, *Boston, the votes and proceedings of the freeholders and other inhabitants of Boston* (1773).

<sup>180</sup> *Ibidem*, 117.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibidem*, 120-122.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibidem*, 118-119.

For many of the American laity of the church think of it as some advantage whether their own young men come to England for ordination; and improve themselves at the same time by conversation with the learned here, or the congregations are supplied by Englishman who have had the benefit of education in English universities.<sup>183</sup>

This statement shows that the author identified the relationship between England and the colonies as a network of knowledge, with England gravitational point. Therefore, according to this pamphlet, the author of this short letter, and Wilkie, who published the letter in his own pamphlet, identified the colonies and England as different countries, yet both were still connected through a network of knowledge.

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<sup>183</sup> *Ibidem*, 122.

## 1774

In 1774, the colonies' congress met for the first time, promoted the formation of local militia unit, and wrote *Declaration and Resolves*, which opposed the Coercive Acts, the Quebec Act, and other measures taken by Great Britain that undermined the self-rule of the colonies.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, this Congress adopted the Continental Association in which delegates agreed to boycott imports from Great Britain.<sup>185</sup> While friction increased, John Almon, a parliamentary reporter and political writer<sup>186</sup>, published *A plan to reconcile Great Britain and her Colonies, and preserve the dependency of America* in London.<sup>187</sup> This document was presumably written for someone within the government since he addressed the reader on page 21 as “my lord.”

The title shows how Almon identified the colonies. He identified the colonies as in the possession of Great Britain, which he expressed by calling the colonies “her colonies” in which case “her” referred to Great Britain. Later, he stated this pamphlet proposed a method to “preserve the dependency of America and the dignity of Great Britain” which would be, according to Almon, accomplished by granting the colonies the liberty of having their own manufactures on the principles of the “Americans” and consistent with the “true interest of the mother country”.<sup>188</sup> By naming the colonies “America”, Almon showed he viewed the colonies as a different country, one which had its own principles and was nearly independent if action was not taken. Almon stated the colonies must remain dependent upon Great Britain, which was their “mother country”, and serve her interests. This defined a bond such as that within a family, a reference which is reinforced later in this pamphlet when Almon described Great Britain and the colonies as “countries [...] like mother and daughter.”<sup>189</sup> He also stated that the mother in this, or any, situation, in both a natural and religious sense, deserved the affections, gratitude, and contributions of her daughters in return for their existence and support until they grew to be independent. However, although the mother may naturally expect this affection from her daughter, “who will say she can claim it as a right? Gratitude is

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<sup>184</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline*.

<sup>185</sup> S and D Bullitt, *United States history timeline (War of Independence)*.

[http://faculty.washington.edu/qtaylor/a\\_us\\_history/am\\_rev\\_timeline.htm](http://faculty.washington.edu/qtaylor/a_us_history/am_rev_timeline.htm) Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>186</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, *John Almon* <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Almon> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>187</sup> J. Almon, *A plan to reconcile Great Britain and her Colonies, and preserve the dependency of America* (London 1774).

<sup>188</sup> *Ibidem*, II.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibidem*, 5.

a merit, but it does not constitute an absolute right”.<sup>190</sup> He also stated it was not expected that the daughters in such a situation would give gratitude beyond their own capabilities, which could result in their own destruction and ruin.<sup>191</sup> In this sense, Almon stated he could not discover anything unnatural or unreasonable regarding the struggle of the colonies since they thought more of their own interests and needs than those of their “ancient mother”.<sup>192</sup>

The colonies were, according to Almon, subjected to, and property of, Great Britain despite England and America being different “countries”, as he explicitly stated. However, in the same paragraph, he called America “Britain’s American colonies”, which she has “unhappily lost” and must create a union with based upon sentiment and conduct so as to promote trade, manufactures, etc.<sup>193</sup> What were the colonies, then, according to Almon? Were they colonies or a different country? He seemed to be switching back and forth between these two ways of identifying the colonies, but he did stick to the thought that, whatever the colonies were, they belonged to Great Britain. This entity would soon attract the attention of the entire world, according to Almon,<sup>194</sup> because of the “unnatural” struggle between it and Great Britain.<sup>195</sup>

When Almon spoke of colonies’ inhabitants, he stated that if they were British subjects, which he presumed they were, they had an “undeniable right to every indulgence and privilege in the very same manner as if they resided in Great Britain for their distance made no difference in the nature of things”.<sup>196</sup> They deserved to have the rights to seek and promote their own interests and happiness, and there was no legal right in Great Britain’s possession to prevent the pursuing of these rights. Also, according to Almon, even if the colonists were not British, they still deserved these rights since they were natural rights.<sup>197</sup> However, they did belong to Great Britain, according to Almon, who stated that if they were colonies (which he had often called them and which implies a dependence) Great Britain had the power to tax the people of the colonies and every other authority and promote the interest of the people living in those colonies.<sup>198</sup> These taxes, customs, and other regulations needed to be equal in the colonies to what they were in England regarding the “due proportion to the

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<sup>190</sup> *Ibidem*, 7.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibidem*, 8.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibidem*, 8-9.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibidem*, V-VI.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibidem*, VII.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibidem*, XI.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibidem*, 2.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibidem*, 4.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibidem*, 27.

nature and true state of things in the colonies”.<sup>199</sup> A final segment within this pamphlet, which made clear exactly what Almon wished to happen regarding the struggle between Great Britain and the colonies, was the following:

From what I have said, my lord, I think it manifestly appears, that all we have to do is, to make the Americans dependent on the mother country legislatively; when that is done, upon natural and permanent principles, everything else will follow of course as the natural effects of one great and good cause. To compass this great point, I apprehend the Americans should be made sensible that the colonies are, though remote, a part of the British dominions.<sup>200</sup>

This passage proves the Almon’s intentions were making the colonies once more fully dependent on Great Britain. Further, Almon identified the colonies as being the daughters of Great Britain, who were expected to listen to and care for her mother. But however submissive Almon wished the colonies to be in their relationship with Great Britain, it is clear that Almon wished the colonies’ inhabitants to be treated as equals to the subjects within Great Britain itself.

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<sup>199</sup> *Ibidem*, 19.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibidem*, 21.

## Conclusion

The research conducted for this chapter shows how the pamphlet writers and those represented by them viewed and identified the colonies and colonists in America. From the five pamphlets researched for this chapter, those written by Bingley, Hulme, Strahan, Cadelle, and Almon described the colonies as being lower on the hierarchical ladder than Great Britain; the fifth pamphlet, written by Wilkie simply did not make any mention of this hierarchy nor showed enough clues as to what the author would have thought of the hierarchy. Even though it would be quite safe to assume that Wilkie thought of the colonies as lower in hierarchy as well, this shall not be assumed since it is not explicitly stated in the pamphlet itself. Three of the five pamphlets mentioned the colonies were in the possession of Great Britain (two make no mention of this nor do they say the colonies are in possession of Great Britain), which was referred to in just one pamphlet as the “mother country”. According to Anderson, this would hint toward the existence of some form of nationalism present in the mind of the author of this pamphlet.

However unequal the authors thought the colonies were in relation to Great Britain, the inhabitants were mostly considered as equal to those living in Great Britain since four of the five authors expressed this thought, the odd one out being Wilkie. This mention of equality between those living in the colonies and those within the British Isles themselves shows that there exists sort of feeling of fraternity according to which everyone deserved equal rights, Anderson, again, mentions this as a possible sign of nationalism. Two pamphlets mentioned that the colonies should be seen as a different country, while three pamphlets stated that Great Britain and the colonies belonged together. The desire to see the colonies as a different country indicates that the authors thought in some way that the colonies deserved some form of independence, even if not in its entirety. It is also, again, remarkable how the inhabitants of the colonies are separated from the colony they live in. Colonists and colonies are viewed as two different entities. The colonists have the same position as those living in Great Britain, making them, as Colley calls it, for the British like brethren, mysterious and paradoxical, physically distant, culturally close yet different.

In relation to the previous chapter, the only significant changes in the research results are those opinions viewing the colonies as being a different country, an opinion supported by none of the authors in the first chapter but expressed by 40% of the authors here. This might have been caused by the colonists’ distancing themselves from of Great Britain. Furthermore,



the branding of Great Britain in the years studied in this chapter as the mother country also shifted from 82.5% to 20%.

However, it is not yet possible to speak of a possible trend regarding these periods since just two have been researched. Only after studying a third period will it be possible to discover a possible trend that would represent the changes seen and discovered by our research.

Another point of interest is the way some of the writers refer to the colonists as brothers of people living in Great Britain itself. This happened in Hulme's, Strahan's, and Cadelle's writing. The use of this term suggests that the British and colonists were like family, even though they would most likely never meet and lived 3500 miles apart. This imaginary bond, or imagined community as Anderson would call it, was based on the heritage and history shared by those living in the colonies and those living in Great Britain. This reference to a bond created by the shared history of the "countries" appears to signal a form of nationalism. The same goes for the poem Bingley wrote in 1770, in which Bingley clearly shows how a hostile other, the British soldiers, encourages those who empathize with the "Massacred" to define themselves collectively against the act committed by the British soldiers, and the British, or king's troops, as Bingley identifies them. This effort to define one's self over and against a hostile other is what Colley would call a symptom of nationalism (although, needless to say, this effort to define one's self in such a way is not exclusively nationalist).

Baycroft defines nationalism as "A belief that the shared characteristics of the nation are valuable and need to be preserved," This is a belief shared quite clearly by Hulme, who stated that, united with her colonies, Great Britain would be the greatest country of the world; divided they would become subject to the insults of every petty European state. It was essential that Britain and the colonies shared the same government, and everything this entailed. Hulme also states that colonists trying to get rid of this government were suicidal, dissolving the community (of Great Britain and its colonies presumably), and would destroy the British Empire, something that according to Hulme, must be of great concern to all living within the British empire. The synchronicity between the lives of those living within the British Empire and the Empire itself is something that, as Köhn stated, could be seen as a symptom of nationalism.

## Chapter 3: 1775-1780

### 1775

The tensions of the previous years resulted in the start of the revolutionary war in 1775. This year, on April 19<sup>th</sup>, the Minutemen of the rebellion and the Redcoats of Great Britain clashed right after “the shot heard around the world” was fired.<sup>201</sup> By whom this first shot of the war was fired is unknown. What followed this shot was a year filled with conflict.<sup>202</sup> Four days after this shot, the colonies’ Provincial Congress ordered the mobilization of approximately 13,000 soldiers to lay siege to the city of Boston, at that time controlled by Great Britain.<sup>203</sup> There were more battles than just these in 1775, such as the Battle of Bunker Hill, which resulted in 1400 losses on both sides combined. It was in this year that the outspoken journalist and popular London politician, John Wilkie,<sup>204</sup> wrote *A brief extract, or summary of important arguments advanced by some late distinguished writers, in support of the supremacy of the British legislature and their right to tax the Americans*.<sup>205</sup> He had directed this pamphlet to the public as is evident on the third page, where is written: “Friends, countrymen, and fellow citizens [...] the unhappy dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies [...] alarming [... him] who wishes well to the prosperity of this country”.<sup>206</sup>

Noticeable is the love Wilkie felt for Great Britain. He referred to the national love of those in Great Britain for freedom which could only die with Great Britain itself. He mentioned how this freedom in Great Britain was the envy of “all the nations around us”.<sup>207</sup> He believed Great Britain to be an honorable nation and in possession of parliamentary rights the opposite of the “wild, chimerical claims of the Americans”.<sup>208</sup>

According to Wilkie, the origins of the struggles between the colonies and Great Britain were to be found in the question of “whether the supremacy of the British parliament,

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<sup>201</sup> Ushistory, *Timeline of the Revolutionary War* <<http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/revwartimeline.html>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>202</sup> History, *What was the shot heard round the world?* <<http://www.history.com/news/ask-history/what-was-the-shot-heard-round-the-world>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>203</sup> The History Place, *Conflict and revolution* <<http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/revolution/revwar-75.htm>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>204</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, *John Wilkies* <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Wilkes>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>205</sup> J. Wilkie, *A brief extract, or summary of important arguments advanced by some late distinguished writers, in support of the supremacy of the British legislature and their right to tax the Americans* (1775) .

<sup>206</sup> Ibidem, 3.

<sup>207</sup> Ibidem, 7-8.

<sup>208</sup> Ibidem, 12.

consisting of King, Lords and Commons, who by the constitutions of this country (Great Britain) constituted the supreme legislative power (in which the right of taxation is included) extended to all parts of the British Dominions, And whether parliament had the right to bind the Americans in all cases whatsoever”.<sup>209</sup> The answer to this question was clear for Wilkie, who stated that every decision respecting the colonists originated from the unity of the House of Commons, House of Lords, and the king himself, who were the constitutional supreme powers of the British state. It seemed to Wilkie that the colonists were fighting against these powers, which led him to conclude that this struggle was not between the colonists and individual British people but between the colonists and “the nation at large”.<sup>210</sup> Wilkie further stated that the colonists had always considered themselves British subjects, obeying Great Britain and its laws until 1765.<sup>211</sup>

According to Wilkie, the lands in the colonies were either discovered or conquered. Those conquered belonged to the countries that conquered them, which would be Great Britain in this case, for which Wilkie used the term “us”.<sup>212</sup> They belonged to the supreme legislative heads of Great Britain, which consisted of the king, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. Every other power of the state of Great Britain and its colonies was to be subordinate to these three powers.<sup>213</sup> Therefore, said Wilkie, it could not be disputed that the colonies were part of the crown’s dominions. However, he also stated that the colonists themselves were entitled by birth to all the rights and franchises the people born in Great Britain possessed as well. They received the same protection against foreign countries, the same advantages of treaties and alliances, and they and their property were protected by Great Britain. Wilkie stated, “no distinction of persons was ever made, the equality has been inviolably preserved: there are the same laws for both places: an American in England is an Englishman, and an Englishman in America is as a native there”.<sup>214</sup> Although the colonists might not have been fully represented in Parliament, neither were the inhabitants of Great Britain itself.<sup>215</sup> “If the British subjects in America continued to be a part of our community, it follows they were [...] equally bound by its laws,” stated Wilkie, who apparently thought of the colonists as the equals of the inhabitants of the British Isles, if they chose to obey Great

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<sup>209</sup> *Ibidem*, 4-5.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibidem*, 6.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibidem*, 19.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibidem*, 15.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibidem*, 13.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibidem*, 16.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibidem*, 28-29.

Britain and cease their rebellious activities.<sup>216</sup> This path would be better for the colonists since, if they were to be independent and parliament were to not have any authority over them, then there would be either an empire without government or a government without supreme power, according to the author an oddity for any political entity.<sup>217</sup>

Furthermore, Wilkie thought it was illogical for the colonists to no longer pay their taxes to Great Britain. He stated that a fleet and an army must be maintained for the defense of a state and its trade, both that of Great Britain and that of the colonies, which could not be accomplished without revenue. This revenue could not be raised by any means other than taxes. Wilkie said that only when the colonies were refused the protection of Great Britain's armies and fleets were they allowed to complain about being taxed.<sup>218</sup> However, this was not the case, for by the end of the Seven Years' War, which was begun by Great Britain for the protection of the colonies according to Wilkie, instead of demanding from the colonies their share of the debt created by this war, it was deemed sufficient to impose taxes upon them.

Thus, according to Wilkie in 1775, the colonists had no right to complain about any taxes imposed by Great Britain for, in return, they were protected by Great Britain and had received the same rights as those within Great Britain, and all this after a war (the Seven Years War) for which Great Britain had not asked the colonies to share in the costs. Despite this, the colonists started a rebellion that aimed to release them from the generosity of Great Britain.

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<sup>216</sup> *Ibidem*, 32.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibidem*, 20.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibidem*, 32-33.

## 1776

1776 was perhaps one of the most, if not the most, eventful years regarding the American Revolution. Apart from a few major battles between the colonists and the British soldiers at, for example, Dorchester Heights, Boston, and New York in March alone, the colonies' congress also authorized privateer raids on British ships and advised disarming all colonists loyal to Great Britain. The colonists also gained foreign support from King Louis XVI of France, who committed one million dollars in arms and munitions. It was also in March of this year that the colonies' Continental Congress authorized the thirteen colonies to form local governments. On June the 7th, a Virginia delegate presented a formal resolution calling for independence at this congress, which was written and presented on June 28<sup>th</sup> and signed on the 2nd of July by twelve of thirteen colonial delegations and accepted by the Continental Congress on the 4th of July. A peace conference was held on Staten Island between representatives of the colonies and Great Britain, which failed because the British representation demanded that the colonists revoke the Declaration of Independence. The fighting continued after the signing of the Declaration of Independence as in June and July a massive British fleet of 30 battleships with 1200 cannons and 30,000 soldiers arrived in the New York harbor and, in September, destroyed New York. At the end of the year, a naval base at Newport in Rhode Island was captured by the British.<sup>219</sup>

It was in this year that Wilkie, the same author who wrote the previously examined pamphlet in this thesis, wrote *An address to the people on the subject of the contest between Great Britain and America*.<sup>220</sup> Questions about the identity of "the people" he referred to were almost immediately answered when, on the first page of the pamphlet, he addressed the potential readers as "Friends, Countrymen and Britons",<sup>221</sup> making it apparent that this pamphlet was written for those who live in Great Britain and identified by that nationality. He started his pamphlet by speaking about how every other country acknowledged the superiority of the constitution of Great Britain and the wisdom found in the idea that within Great Britain only the House of Commons, House of Lords, and the king himself as a unity could create laws. He went on to say, "the goodness of this institution, gradually improving, has extended over a vast empire, and long did our fellow subjects on the other side of the Atlantic rejoice in

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<sup>219</sup> The History Place, *Conflict and revolution*.

<sup>220</sup> J. Wilkie, *An Address to the people on the subject of the contest between Great Britain and America* (1776).

<sup>221</sup> *Ibidem*, 1.

the protection of our laws”.<sup>222</sup> This fragment of his pamphlet made it very clear that Wilkie loved Great Britain and sided with it on the issue of the struggle between Britain and the colonists. Wilkie further expressed this idea when he shows not only his love for Great Britain, but also his disgust for the colonists who, according to him, as everybody knew, provided the French and Spaniards with military supplies during the Nine Years’ War,<sup>223</sup> most likely purely for economic gains, a most treacherous move it seemed to John Wilkie:

Did not Britain enter into the two last wars (including the Nine Year War) on account of America, and become immersed in an enormous debt to secure peace and prosperity to them? What has been the grateful return of America for the rivers of blood and heaps of treasure spent on her account, but the raising of the poniards, like true parricides, to stab the indulgent parent?<sup>224</sup>

An even stronger paragraph showing his opinion of the colonists is the following:

Yea, O Britons! These Americans will turn up their eyes, and dare to appeal to the God of Mercy. These monsters of cruelty, while they seem to speak peace and goodwill, draw the hostile sword, and compel numbers to appear in array with them, lest their property be destroyed, the persons of their wives and families insulted.<sup>225</sup>

It is clear that Wilkie did not see the colonists in America as equal to the people living in Great Britain; not only does he refer to “Britons” and “Americans” as different kinds of people with different characteristics, for one is kind and the other a traitor, but he also addresses the reader with “my countrymen” by which he did not mean the colonists. He found the colonists cruel and capable of horrible deeds while not obeying the crown of Great Britain. This is made clear when he spoke of British soldiers being scalped by the colonists while still breathing and of other soldiers whose eyes had been torn out of their sockets. The story he told is preceded by him stating that “every being, possessing of but one drop of the milk of human kindness in their nature, would wish it were possible to be false: but alas! ‘tis not”. These acts of violence were, according to Wilkie, evidence that the colonists were no

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<sup>222</sup> Ibidem, 2-3.

<sup>223</sup> Ibidem, 3-4.

<sup>224</sup> Ibidem, 5-6.

<sup>225</sup> Ibidem, 7-8.

longer human but merely savages.<sup>226</sup> The colonists were savages who had trampled the honor, dignity, and reputation of “their country under the feet of her rebellious subjects”; he confessed that they were capable of supporting a rebellion against their “mother country” but what was not understandable, according to Wilkie, was that this rebellion was justified by the mother country’s demand for bearing a part of their own future expenses.<sup>227</sup> According to Wilkie, it was a shame that Great Britain had spent money fighting wars to protect the inhabitants of the colonies and encourage their commerce, if this was their way of thanking Great Britain.<sup>228</sup> Wilkie, near the end of this pamphlet, made another plea to Great Britain’s inhabitants to fight for the honor of Great Britain:

Let the British Lion now be roused, or let him never roar again. If you will tamely bear this insult, pluck out his fangs, tear of his claws, cut off his lashing tail and shaggy mane, and lay them on the broad tail of the beaver, to gallop to his American hole, and leave your lion to become the contemptible laughing-stock of deriding nations, for the vile ass has dared to kick up his heels against him.<sup>229</sup>

It is clear that Wilkie thought of the colonists as unequal to those who lived in Great Britain; he did not even consider them human anymore. He devalued the life of those in the colonies even more than in the previous year’s pamphlet.

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<sup>226</sup> *Ibidem*, 10-11.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibidem*, 14-15.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibidem*, 16.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibidem*, 18.

## 1777

Many battles were fought between the British troops and the colonists' rebellion troops in 1777 as well. On the third day of the year, a victory was achieved by General Washington at Princeton, who drove the troops of Great Britain back. Washington's army consisted at that time of approximately one thousand men, which would increase to nine times that size by March 21<sup>st</sup>. Other battles this year were an attack by the British forces via Canada and the Battle of Brandywine Creek, where colonial forces were driven back. An important development in this year was the mandating of the flag by the colonies' Congress, which consisted of thirteen stars and thirteen stripes and the surrender of British troops to the rebellion on October 17<sup>th</sup>.

It was in this year that William Barron, about whom no information is to be found, wrote his *History of the colonization of the free states of Antiquity, applied to the present Contest between Great Britain and her American Colonies*.<sup>230</sup> In this 150-page pamphlet or book, text related to this research started on the 124<sup>th</sup> page, save for the title. The title clarifies one aspect of Barron's thoughts: the colonies were still the possession of Great Britain. Page 124 started the chapter called *Application of the preceding narrative (which was classical) to the present contest between Great Britain and her Colonies in America*.<sup>231</sup> Barron stated it was obvious the colonies of America acted similarly to rebellious colonies during antiquity in similar circumstances, demanding immunities since they judged themselves in a situation to assert them as well.<sup>232</sup> The colonies, according to Barron, waited until they were strong enough, had increased their population, and (long after they) were able to bear the imposed taxes of "their mother country", before they started their rebellion.<sup>233</sup> The use of the term "mother country" is noticeable and shows how Barron thought of their relationship. The practice of emancipating oneself from the dominion of the "parent state" also occurred in antiquity, in which "colonies in Africa rebelled against the Carthaginians, the Lesbians against the Athenians, and the refractory colonies in the second Punic war who refused obedience to the Romans".<sup>234</sup> The term "mother country" and later "parent state" was now used in the same paragraph, reinforcing Barron's earlier thought on the relationship between

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<sup>230</sup> W. Barron, *History of the colonization of the free states of Antiquity, applied to the present contest between Great Britain and her American colonies* (1777).

<sup>231</sup> *Ibidem*, 124.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibidem*, 126.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibidem*, 126-127.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibidem*, 127.



the colonies and Great Britain.<sup>235</sup> Barron did not just compare the American colonies to the colonies existing in antiquity, but he also compared, and saw similarities between, Great Britain and empires in antiquity such as the Roman Empire, and used this similarity to support his idea Great Britain had the right to impose taxes on her colonies.<sup>236</sup> The underlying thought here was that the empires in the past imposed taxes on colonies, and they were great, so it could not have been a bad practice and should be copied by Great Britain. However, Barron stated, references to ancient Greece's colonies and their just cause could not be employed in favor of the colonist rebellion because of the following:

The situations of the colonists are by no means similar [...] the reason of the conduct of the Greek states [toward their colonies] was not that they [the colonies] judged taxation illegal, unjust or tyrannical, but that no political connection subsisted between them [the Greek states] and their colonies, [...] their colonists where not settled like the Americans within the territories and under the jurisdiction of the parent states. They received from them no protection, no assistance, no privileges of any sort.<sup>237</sup>

Barron even stated Sparta, the only other state of Greece with the ability to levy contributions from its colonies, would have treated the American colonies in a manner nearly identical to how Great Britain did.<sup>238</sup> Thus, asked Barron, what justification do “the British colonists of America” have to be independent more so than those of Athens or Rome? “No colonists ever enjoyed greater advantages, or were subjected to fewer restriction”.<sup>239</sup> He mentioned that the members of Parliament were supposed to possess the right to impose taxes on every part of the British dominion,<sup>240</sup> and the colonists simply could not be equally represented in that parliament because of their distance and increasing population;<sup>241</sup> the colonists were simply not mistreated nor done any harm.

William Barron did not view the colonists as being inhuman like Wilkie did in 1776, but he did not support their cause either. He made it very clear he thought the colonists were exaggerating the harm done to them by Great Britain, for Great Britain did none. On the contrary, Great Britain treated her colonies better than city states and governments in

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<sup>235</sup> Ibidem, 128.

<sup>236</sup> Ibidem, 130-131.

<sup>237</sup> Ibidem, 133.

<sup>238</sup> Ibidem, 134.

<sup>239</sup> Ibidem, 142-143.

<sup>240</sup> Ibidem, 144.

<sup>241</sup> Ibidem, 148.

antiquity did their colonies. Barron used the past empires exclusively as examples to support his statement that the rebellion was unjust. However, using the empires of antiquity as political entities with which the situation of 1777 was almost identical shows his lack of historical knowledge for no historical events are nearly identical, especially when there is a 2000 to 3000 years gap between the two. But this comparison was the foundation of his reasoning regarding the way Great Britain treated the colonies and its inhabitants; according to Barron, they were still British subjects like himself, but disillusioned.

## 1778

The war expanded in 1778. Early in February 1778, representatives of the American colonies and French representatives signed two treaties, which resulted in France officially recognizing the United States. Soon, the French would become a major supplier of military materials to the colonists' army. Both countries pledged to fight until the colonies became independent, and neither would conclude any truce with Great Britain without the other's consent. Official war was declared between France and Great Britain after British vessels fired upon French ships. The following years, the war would expand even further with Spain and the Dutch Republic entering the war. In the first quarter of this year, Baron von Steuben of Prussia traveled to the colonies to train the American army, adding Prussia as a factor of the war in the process. On March 16<sup>th</sup>, a peace commission was created by the British parliament to negotiate with the colonists. However, this negotiation failed since representatives of Great Britain did not accept the independency of the colonies. The war raged on as, on May 30<sup>th</sup> of that year, the British instigated an attack by some 300 Indians, which would not be the last time they worked together with the Indians.<sup>242</sup>

It was in this year that Keeble, White, Bew, and Hogg in London wrote *the analysis of patriotism: or, an inquiry whether opposition to government, in the present state of affairs, is consistent with the principles of a Patriot*.<sup>243</sup> Unfortunately, no information could be found on these writers, either because they shared the same surname with too many people (their first names were not given) or because the data was simply not available.

In this pamphlet, the authors researched the question of “Whether opposition to government in the present state of affairs is consistent with the principles of a patriot”,<sup>244</sup> as well as the issue “what is patriotism?”<sup>245</sup> However, what is of interest here is not the answer to this question but the way these authors referred to the colonists or their relationship with Great Britain, as shown in the following quote:

To treat this matter candidly, it will be necessary to revert to that period in which the present troubles began to assume a formidable appearance; when the colonies, grown

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<sup>242</sup> The History Place, *An Unlikely Victory* <<http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/revolution/revwar-77.htm>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>243</sup> G. Keeble, Mr. White, J. Bew and A. Hogg, *The analysis of patriotism* (London 1778).

<sup>244</sup> *Ibidem*, 32.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibidem*, 13.

to years of maturity, thought themselves capable of guiding the political machine, independent of any assistance from the mother country.<sup>246</sup>

Noticeably, the authors referred to the colonies as children who had reached the age of maturity and no longer wanted help from their mother (country). These authors thus identified a familial relationship, in which the mother held the authority over her children, and this particular child went through puberty. According to the authors, it was in this state of mind that the colonists received the Tea Duty. Because of this state of mind, the colonists decided to show their strength and ambition to drain all parliamentary authority, without showing any gratitude for the support they had been given by Great Britain and the lives and money it had cost Great Britain to defend the colonists from “their powerful foes”.<sup>247</sup> Furthermore, said the authors, “Our form of government, which has ever been acknowledged the mildest and most complete of all nations in the world, becomes subject to reflection for suffering, unpunished such daring misconduct”.<sup>248</sup>

Clearly, the authors thought of the colonies as ungrateful to Great Britain, which, as they stated, had sacrificed much for the benefit of the colonies. The relationship between the two, again according to the authors, was like one between a mother and daughter, of which the daughter is currently rebellious. They did not refer to the colonists as the same nation, however, nor did they depict the colonies as a separate country.

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<sup>246</sup> Ibidem 33-34.

<sup>247</sup> Ibidem, 34-35.

<sup>248</sup> Ibidem, 37.

## 1779

The war raged on in 1779; battles were won and lost on both sides, colonists and loyalists. Loyalist troops burned Portsmouth and Norfolk, raided coastal towns in Connecticut while burning Fairfield, Norwalk, and ships in New Haven Harbor. Colonial troops from North Carolina and Virginia attacked Indian villages in retaliation for Indian raids on colonial settlements. The colonial forces defeated the combined Indian and Loyalist forces at Elmira, New York. Following this victory, American troops headed northwest destroying nearly 40 Indian Villages. Spain declared war on England, yet did not make an alliance with the colonial forces. At the end of the year, British General Clinton sailed from New York with 8000 men, heading for Charleston in South Carolina.<sup>249</sup>

1779 was certainly an eventful year, and it was within this year that J. Dixwell, a man about whom not much is known today apart from him residing in London, wrote *A plan for recruiting the British army... in which, under the supposition of an act of parliament obtained for that purpose, the alternative is offered to each county of Great Britain, either to supply the army with a proportional number of recruits by ballot, or to asses each Parish at a proportional rate.*<sup>250</sup>

This 48-page pamphlet was written to “the officers of the British army”.<sup>251</sup> The essence of the plan created by Dixwell was to, as he put it on page four of his pamphlet, “Let an act of parliament be passed to oblige each county, to supply the army with a number of recruits proportional to its number of inhabitants fit to carry arms”.<sup>252</sup> Dixwell “begged” the army officers to consider this as a calculated plan that would effectively improve the recruitment of soldiers for the army.<sup>253</sup> Dixwell wanted his plan to be enforced under the authority of an act of parliament.<sup>254</sup>

As to how Dixwell referred to the colonies and Great Britain itself, he (and he was not alone in doing so) compared the empire of Great Britain with that of the Romans. The Roman Empire was, according to Dixwell, a “nation (raised) to a greater pitch of greatness than any other in ancient history”. He spoke of the Roman Empire as if Great Britain should learn from

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<sup>249</sup> The History Place, *An Unlikely Victory*.

<sup>250</sup> J. Dixwell, *A plan for recruiting the British army* (London 1779).

<sup>251</sup> *Ibidem*, I.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibidem*, 4.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibidem*, I.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibidem*, II-III.

it and its adaptability regarding improving its own way of waging war.<sup>255</sup> He stated that Rome, “the former mistress of the world”, saw herself as being capable of being taught and still had room for improvement. Dixwell stated that Great Britain should follow this example and be open to change when it came to waging war. Dixwell used this argument so the officers would be more likely to listen to his plan regarding the recruitment of British soldiers.<sup>256</sup> Notably, Dixwell referred to the colonies as “America”<sup>257</sup> and as “that country” in contrast to when he spoke about England as “this country”, creating a dichotomy in which they, the colonists, were no longer considered part of “this country” or England/Great Britain.<sup>258</sup>

Clearly, Dixwell identified the colonies, and most likely also the colonists, as being a different country, a different “nationality” even. Also, he identified the empire of Great Britain as nearly equal to the Roman Empire in being the greatest “nation” of its time. Great Britain should learn from the Roman Empire to become greater than the Roman Empire itself; according to Dixwell, this involved learning from others (that is to say Rome) the art of war.

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<sup>255</sup> *Ibidem*, 1

<sup>256</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibidem*, 6-7.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibidem*, 15.

## 1780

In 1780, multiple battles were fought, including the British attack against Charleston, which received reinforcements sent by Washington, but to no avail. A month after the attack started, on May 12<sup>th</sup>, the British captured Charleston and its 5400-man garrison along with four ships. The British forces lost 225 soldiers. A month later, another battle occurred, the Battle of Springfield, which was won by the colonists. In June, another battle took place in South Carolina, which resulted in the defeat of the colonists; 900 were killed and 1000 captured. These were not the only battles fought in 1780 but just some examples used to showcase the war was still intensely fought.<sup>259</sup>

It was in this year that John Almon, mentioned earlier in this thesis, wrote some *Poems on the several successes in America* in Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland.<sup>260</sup> In these poems, Almon referred to England, Great Britain, and the colonies on several occasions. Starting on page four, he wrote the following:

Who, by a steadiness of conduct,  
Has endeavored to maintain the interest of his country;  
And though opposed by the united powers  
Of a formidable faction  
To preserve in the plan most likely  
To accomplish the reduction of her  
Rebellious states;  
These few pieces,  
On the several successes,  
The wisdom of his measures has produced  
Are humbly inscribed.<sup>261</sup>

Noticeably, he referred to “his country”, with which Almon meant Great Britain. Further in this stanza, he mentioned “her rebellious states”, which showed John Almon’s thoughts on whether the colonies still belonged to Great Britain or were to be identified as an entity opposing Great Britain and no longer in her possession.

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<sup>259</sup> The History Place, *An Unlikely Victory*.

<sup>260</sup> J. Almon, *Poems on the several successes in America* (Edinburgh, 1780).

<sup>261</sup> *Ibidem*, 4.

A few pages later, on page seven, the following stanza can be found:

As o'er America's hostile plain  
Britannia's guardian genius pass'd  
His bosom mark'd with many a stain  
And rent his ocean pictur'd vest:  
His face, where late did sorrow's could appear  
With bright'ning smiles assum'd its native air.<sup>262</sup>

Here, Almon is seen calling the colonies “America” and “hostile”, ignoring the geniality of Great Britain, which tries to be the guardian and caretaker of the colonies.

While you, the support of Britannia's cause,  
Your country raises with deserved applause  
[...]  
In proud array the British bands appear,  
Their country's right determin'd to assert.<sup>263</sup>

In this short stanza, a form of nationalism was expressed to the reader. Almon presumed the reader thought that his or her country deserved praise. Also, the British bands were proud of being British. The following quote further shows that soldiers were ready to fight for their country that cared for them:

The station'd troops now wait the last command,  
With ready aim to pour swift death they stand,  
Yet ah! Must these so long our country's care.<sup>264</sup>

John Almon saw these defenders as honorable and brave, as he wrote on page 24:

ye brave defenders of your country's cause.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Ibidem, 7.

<sup>263</sup> Ibidem, 14-15.

<sup>264</sup> Ibidem, 20.

<sup>265</sup> Ibidem, 24.



These poems were, furthermore, filled with positive references to Great Britain and spoke of its bravery and greatness. The poems were indeed quite patriotic and seem to have been written to not only remind Great Britain's population of its victories over the colonies, but also to spread patriotic sentiment amongst its reading public when stated that Great Britain cared for them and still prevailed because of the support of its inhabitants.

## Conclusion

This chapter shows how, in these years (1775-1780), the colonists were no longer viewed as equal to the British by a majority of the authors. This opinion likely gained popularity because of the growing intensity of the Revolutionary War, and the colonists declaring themselves independent of Great Britain. These were acts committed by the colonists to distance themselves, or render themselves independent, from the British people; they were most likely met, by the British, with the desire to create a distance between themselves and colonists due to the war as well. Furthermore, a few authors tried to generate a “national” sentiment in their readers. For example, the poem by Almon speaks of “brave defenders of your country’s cause”, and the pamphlet by Wilkie made a plea to the British people by directly addressing them as Britons while speaking negatively about the “Americans”. There are other instances when Great Britain or England was praised while creating a negative image of the colonists or colonies; “us and them” terminology was applied. It is likely that this kind of terminology was applied due to not only the war in itself, but also to make sure that the kind of behavior shown by the colonists would not be thought of as acceptable by those within Great Britain. It is also possible that the writers of the mentioned pamphlets did not consciously apply the “us and them” terminology, but genuinely wrote just what they thought; the terminology was perhaps a useful tool nonetheless. Of course, another possibility would be that some authors did make this choice consciously while others did not. Whichever way it may be, the authors did define themselves and other Britons collectively against the hostile others, something that Colley sees as a sign of nationalism. Furthermore, it is true that Almon’s wishes for the defense of the “country’s cause” show the belief that perceived threats need to be eliminated, be they ideas or people; the same goes for the poem by Wilkie. This is something Baycroft considers a symptom of nationalism. As for the poem written by Almon, Anderson states that nationalisms also produce not just hatred, but love for one’s own fellow countryman as well. This is, he states, most visible within poetry, music and books. Indeed, these poems express not just a hatred for “the other”, but a love for one’s own people as well. And the poem by Almon does so while glorifying the successes of Great Britain within the colonies, which Baycroft sees as part of nationalism as well, as does the mention of the British lion as a symbol for Great Britain by Wilkie.

Thus, in this period, colonies were still viewed as unequal to Great Britain, but in contrast to the previous years the colonists themselves were also viewed as different. Although it is quite obvious that the bond between the colonists and those within Great

Britain had been severed, or was in the process of being severed, it is not easy to see whether or not the British pamphlet writers rearranged this bond between the colonists and colonies. But even if the “them” part of this terminology was not used as clearly as it could have been, the “us” part of this terminology is very obvious: it makes it possible to argue that a form of nationalism was now more clearly present within the pamphlets. If we view the British empire as a single geopolitical entity, and we follow Colley in using that as a definition of a nation, then the wish for the pamphlet writers to deny the colonists independence because they want to keep them, as others within the nation, as governed by the same political unit, is relevant as well: then we can state that at least a few of the pamphlet writers wished to keep the political and national unit congruent. This is in itself a very strong sign, if not a definition on its own, of nationalism. One of the characteristics of Great Britain which Wilkie thought may not die unless with Great Britain itself, would be its inhabitants’ love for freedom: a characteristic which must be preserved, a thought which Baycroft writes of as nationalistic. For this country and the protection of its characteristics, people were even willing to die; this at least is how Almon spoke about the perished soldiers who are the “brave defenders of your country’s cause”, something Anderson attributes to nationalism, as he does the usage of words like fatherland, homeland, motherland, etc. Words like “mother country” were used by Wilkie, Barron, Keeble, White, Bew and Hogg in their pamphlets from the years 1776, 1777 and 1778.

## Chapter 4: 1781-1783

### 1781

1781 was an eventful year to say the least. On January 3<sup>rd</sup>, a noticeable event took place: there was a mutiny amongst colonist soldiers in New Jersey, resulting in half the mutineers leaving the army.<sup>266</sup> On January 20<sup>th</sup>, another mutiny in the colonist army occurred, which had to be forcefully ended by a 600-large force.<sup>267</sup> Two months later, on March 15<sup>th</sup>, forces under General Cornwallis from Great Britain suffered heavy losses in a battle in North Carolina. The General abandoned plans to conquer North and South Carolina.<sup>268</sup> On May 21<sup>st</sup>, General Washington met with the French General Rochambeau and agreed upon a joint French and American naval and ground attack on New York, which was later abandoned by General Washington in August in favor of an attack on Yorktown to destroy the British position there.<sup>269</sup> On June 10<sup>th</sup>, troops under Marquis de Lafayette, General Wayne, and Baron von Steuben formed a combined force to oppose the British forces under Benedict Arnold and General Cornwallis.<sup>270</sup> The American congress appointed a Peace Commission, which included John Adams to negotiate with the British on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June.<sup>271</sup> On September 5<sup>th</sup>, the attack by General Washington and General Rochambeau on Yorktown began, resulting in the British fleet retreating toward New York for reinforcements.<sup>272</sup> On September 28<sup>th</sup>, General Washington, with an army of 17,000 men, began the siege of Yorktown, which was protected by a 9000-large army. Yorktown was about to be taken on October 17<sup>th</sup> when the British in this town surrendered. Hopes for a British victory in the war against the colonies decreased within the English parliament, where soon calls to bring this war to an end would be heard.<sup>273</sup>

It was in this year that William Smith published a pamphlet in London. The pamphlet he published was titled as follows: *A view of North America, in its former happy, and its present belligerent state, being a compendious description of the several cultivated colonies, previous to these disturbances. Also the rise, progress, and effects of the war with Great-Britain; the proceedings of congress and the dispositions of the people on that occasion. With*

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<sup>266</sup> The History Place, *An Unlikely Victory*.

<sup>267</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline (War of Independence)*.

<sup>268</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>269</sup> The History Place, *An Unlikely Victory*.

<sup>270</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>271</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline (War of Independence)*.

<sup>272</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>273</sup> Ibidem.

*the travels and adventures of the author, through a great part of that continent, in the years 1774, 75, 76, 77 and 78. Containing a concise account of the Indians; the natural produce of the country in its original state; the manner of (?) and settling [sic] of land; with the various expeditious method of clearing and improving plantations. With which is connected, the history of the war with Great-Britain.*<sup>274</sup>

This is a long title, as is the pamphlet itself which is over 250 pages long, yet one that revealed the author's opinion regarding the rebellion itself: it had made the colonists unhappy in contrast to before the rebellion when they were happy. He called the rebellion an internal war, a war that contained horrors and was in itself unfortunate.<sup>275</sup> In this pamphlet, Smith described what the colonies were like before the war, how the war affected them, and how the British eventually left the colonies to return to Great Britain in defeat.<sup>276</sup> In the preface, he also called himself an entirely neutral person who would not show his personal opinion, which might make it more difficult to discover how he identified the colonists. However, on the very same page, he spoke of the colonists as "the colonists" and of the land they lived in as "the colonies of North America" and not "the British colonies within America" or something similar, already broadening the border between what he considered British or colonial.<sup>277</sup> He also referred to these colonies as "that [...] country", and also stated that he, as a British person, was in that country "a stranger in a strange land."<sup>278</sup> This suggests that he identified the colonists as strangers in relation to the British people. He later spoke of the inhabitants of Philadelphia as possessing the agreeable and engaging qualities of their English ancestors, further supporting the notion the author did not think of them as being English, but rather as different.<sup>279</sup> This "strange land", however, did still belong to Great Britain, according to the author, as is evident by him speaking of "unhappy disputes between Great Britain and her colonies".<sup>280</sup> Later, he spoke of Great Britain being the parent state or mother country of the colonies.<sup>281</sup> These colonies were, according to him, discontented and rebellious.<sup>282</sup> However, even if he identified the colonists as strangers and the colonies as strange lands and belonging to Great Britain, which was their mother country, he did see some beauty in the colonies themselves. He wrote about Philadelphia as being an elegant metropolis, surpassing

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<sup>274</sup> W. Smith, *A view of North America in its former happy, and its present belligerent state* (London 1781).

<sup>275</sup> *Ibidem*, VI.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibidem*, 247.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibidem*, VIII.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibidem*, IX.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibidem*, 22.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibidem*, 34.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibidem*, 35.

<sup>282</sup> Smith, *A view of North America in its former happy, and its present belligerent state*, 58.

his already high expectations of the city.<sup>283</sup> He spoke of the State House, Hospital, and the “New-goal” as being magnificent buildings beyond anything that may be expected in “such a new country”.<sup>284</sup> It seemed the earlier statement made by Smith regarding his neutrality was a faulty one. He seemingly did not take a side regarding the war as strongly as the other authors did in their pamphlets, yet he did mention how he thought the colonists were falsely crying inequality and how, apart from this cry, they were surprisingly modern people, for a colony that is.

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<sup>283</sup> *Ibidem*, 18.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibidem*, 19.

## 1782

In 1782, the end of the war was in sight as on the first day of the year Loyalists started to leave the colonies for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Four days later, British forces withdrew from North Carolina,<sup>285</sup> and on February 27<sup>th</sup>, the English House of Commons voted against continuing the war with the colonies.<sup>286</sup> On the 5<sup>th</sup> of March, the British Parliament empowered the king of England to negotiate a peace with the colonies.<sup>287</sup> On April 4<sup>th</sup>, Sir Guy Carleton became the new commander of the British forces in the colonies, replacing General Clinton. Carleton would implement a new British policy that ended hostilities and withdrew British troops from the colonies.<sup>288</sup> On the 12<sup>th</sup> of April, peace talks began in Paris between Franklin, representing the colonies and Oswald of Great Britain.<sup>289</sup> The evacuation by the British continued, as in June they left Georgia and in December left South Carolina. The war was not yet over by the end of the year, but a preliminary peace treaty was signed in Paris at the end of November, and fighting decreased.<sup>290</sup>

It was in this year that T. Becket, one about whom not much information can be found, wrote *The declaration and address of his majesty's suffering loyalists, &c.*<sup>291</sup> Clues related to the way Becket identified the colonists are abundantly present within the pamphlet's preface. Following the preface, an article written by the "Associated Loyalists in America" starts. On the first page of the preface, the author, Becket, spoke of the interests of parts of the people of America and about America's parent state, by which Great Britain was meant. It seemed that the colonies were no longer in the possession of Great Britain, yet Great Britain was still "bound by blood" to the colonies.<sup>292</sup> The colonies were not yet independent at the time of this pamphlet's publishing, but when they were, the "fellow subjects, who have acted on principles of loyalty" and held themselves as subject to the British government should remain under her protection.<sup>293</sup> This plea showed Becket regarded not all the people living in the colonies the same; loyalists were to be considered fellow subjects. He asked the pamphlet's readers to keep in mind that these loyalists were filled with resentment from a personal sense of injury inflicted on them by the "cruelty of the rebel leaders" and that the spirit of

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<sup>285</sup> The History Place, *An Unlikely Victory*.

<sup>286</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline (War of Independence)*.

<sup>287</sup> The History Place, *An Unlikely Victory*.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>291</sup> T. Becket, *The declaration and address of his majesty's suffering loyalists, &c* (1782).

<sup>292</sup> *Ibidem*, I.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibidem*, I-II.

determined loyalty maintained under “unequaled sufferings” should give pleasure to every lover of virtue. Becket thus sided completely with the loyalists regarding the Revolutionary War and thought of them nearly as martyrs.<sup>294</sup> These martyrs were, according to Becket, to be considered “fellow subjects” who had exposed themselves to dangerous situations to support the “long acknowledged rights of this country” because they loved Great Britain and its constitution.<sup>295</sup> Thus, overall, it seems clear that Becket saw British people as different from the colonists who had rebelled against Great Britain, but the loyal colonists who by genealogy might differ far less from the rebellious colonists than from those within Great Britain Becket considered equal, if not the same as, or better than those within Great Britain thanks to their status of martyrs.

Becket would probably agree with the identification of those living in the colonies employed by the authors of the pamphlet he (re-)published. For if he did not agree with them, he would likely not have (re-)published their article under his own name. For this reason, the following text written by the “Associated Loyalists in America” has been researched as well. The loyalists themselves started the pamphlet with the following statement:

We his majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, who have been driven from our possessions, and separated from our families and dearest connections by the tyranny and persecution of congress [...] and supporters in the revolted colonies<sup>296</sup>

This statement showed that the loyalists viewed themselves as the same as before the war in that they were still loyal to the British king. They spoke of the rebellious colonists as not being able to reclaim any sense of duty or allegiance to Great Britain. They were pursuing a phantom of independence. This pursuit had resulted in thousands of people within the colonies being reduced to poverty, dead, or distressed.<sup>297</sup> They believed the colonies, still, could be “rescued” from this rebellion, as they stated:

Until god, in his mercy, shall rescue the revolted Colonies from the usurpation of the congress and restore to an injured and deluded people the invaluable blessings of the

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<sup>294</sup> Ibidem, II-III.

<sup>295</sup> Ibidem, III.

<sup>296</sup> Ibidem, 1.

<sup>297</sup> Ibidem, 2.



ancient form of government in the Colonies, in a constitutional dependence on Great-Britain.<sup>298</sup>

This quote also shows the authors thought of the rebels as if they were deluded. Later, they also accused the colonies' congress of censoring newspapers and spoke of the rebels as being deliberately treacherous, criminal, and guilty of villainy.<sup>299</sup> They also spoke of the rebels having been hostile against their king and fellow subjects, which shows that at least before the war started, the colonists were not that different from those living in Great Britain.<sup>300</sup> This is further proven by the following segment:

[Congress] in their execrable endeavors to separate two countries, whose people are united by the strongest ties of nature and affection, and connected together by similar habits, and the same customs, manners, language, religion, and laws, are too many in number to be mentioned.<sup>301</sup>

Furthermore, the authors saw no hope or bright future for the rebellious colonists. They could never pay off the debt they created during the war since commerce was ruined by the loss of mechanics and laborers because of the war and sickness.<sup>302</sup> The authors predicted that each of the thirteen states would have its own tyrants, and that they would clash in interests, resulting in petty wars regarding boundaries, religion, forms of government, and differing customs.<sup>303</sup> They ended this pamphlet with the following paragraph:

coinciding in the justice of our cause, and supported by the conscious rectitude of our intentions, we look to heaven, to the magnanimity of the British nation, and to our own public virtue and personal exertions, for a return of that peace, freedom and happiness, which we once enjoyed above every other people on earth, and to which we will never resign our claims but with our latest breath.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Ibidem, 3.

<sup>299</sup> Ibidem, 3-5.

<sup>300</sup> Ibidem, 7.

<sup>301</sup> Ibidem, 11.

<sup>302</sup> Ibidem, 22.

<sup>303</sup> Ibidem, 23.

<sup>304</sup> Ibidem, 32.

This shows that the Loyalists still thought of Great Britain as being the greatest state on earth, one which the rebels seceded from by force, brutality, and treachery, aiding themselves to no extent for they had doomed their own future. However, the Loyalists' viewed the colonists before they started to rebel much like equals. The same might have been true for Becket, who published this pamphlet. What is certainly true is that Becket viewed the loyalists, but not the rebels, as equal to the inhabitants of Great Britain.

## 1783

1783 is the last year researched for this thesis and was the year in which the war was ended, first on January 20<sup>th</sup> between England, France, and Spain through a preliminary peace treaty,<sup>305</sup> followed by an official end to all hostilities in the colonies declared by England in early February.<sup>306</sup> In April, another 7000 Loyalist fled from New York to Canada, bringing the total of Loyalist who had fled the colonies to 100,000.<sup>307</sup> On the 3rd of September, with the treaty of Paris, the Revolutionary War had officially come to an end.<sup>308</sup> It was in this year that A. Milne published his pamphlet, called *An address to the people of Great Britain, containing thoughts entertained during the Christmas Recess on the independence of America*.<sup>309</sup> This pamphlet, which is 119 pages long, starts with the following paragraph:

To every friend of liberty, nay, I may say, to every well-wisher to this country, the independence of America should appear in every favorable point of view. I must confess, ever since I gave it a serious consideration, I became more and more convinced of the good consequences of such an event: and I must say, that it is my firm belief, had this independence taken place fifty years ago, it would have been for the advantage of this country [Great Britain]. Had it so happened, most undoubtedly, by this time, we should have experienced the advantage resulting from it, much more demonstrably, than any treatise of mine can make appear.<sup>310</sup>

This paragraph offers quite a different look at the independence of the colonies compared to the previously researched pamphlet. However, in the next paragraph, the author spoke of the curse of war being discontinued.<sup>311</sup> Thus, it is more likely the author was relieved the war had ended, not just for the sake of American independence but also for the sake of being “blessed with [...] peace”.<sup>312</sup> The author, most likely, identified the colonists as being different from the British people, and their countries were no longer one since he spoke of “our court” and

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<sup>305</sup> The History Place, *An Unlikely Victory*.

<sup>306</sup> Bullitt, *United States history timeline (War of Independence)*.

<sup>307</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>308</sup> British Library, *The American Revolution* <<https://www.bl.uk/the-american-revolution/articles/american-revolution-timeline>> Last consulted March 2017.

<sup>309</sup> A. Milne, *An address to the people of Great Britain, containing thoughts entertained during the Christmas recess on the independence of America* (1783).

<sup>310</sup> Ibidem, 1.

<sup>311</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>312</sup> Ibidem, 2.

“independence of America”.<sup>313</sup> The author explained that he meant by “America” those who before the war acknowledged Great Britain as their ruler and had now been acknowledged by some European countries as the United States of America.<sup>314</sup> Thus, for the author, there was already a difference between Great Britain and the colonies as he spoke of the countries as being different before the war.<sup>315</sup> The difference the author felt existed between those living in Great Britain and the colonies is further seen when he called the colonists “colonists” instead of something like “British who live within the American colonies”.<sup>316</sup> Further on, he also referred to them as “Americans”,<sup>317</sup> which gave them an identity fully disconnected from Great Britain. This separation from Great Britain, which was also addressed by the author, enforces my pervious statement regarding the identity the author gives the colonists.<sup>318</sup> In one of the last paragraphs of this pamphlet, the author stated

For as America being a free, sovereign, and independent state, will, notwithstanding, be an infant state; and [?] she will find, on that as well as other accounts, that it is her interest to increase the knowledge of the science in her dominions; so she will invite and encourage people of all descriptions and such countries to settle upon her continent.<sup>319</sup>

Although the author saw the colonies as infants, he saw them not as in need of a mother like most other authors discussed in this thesis did. Also, the author spoke of America as being a “continent”. America was no longer considered as British property by the author. The colonies no longer had anything to do with Great Britain and were now a country of their own with people who had their own “American” identity.

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<sup>313</sup> Ibidem, 4.

<sup>314</sup> Ibidem, 6.

<sup>315</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>316</sup> Ibidem, 26.

<sup>317</sup> Ibidem, 54.

<sup>318</sup> Ibidem. 104.

<sup>319</sup> Ibidem, 111-112.

## Conclusion

For the pamphlets researched in this chapter, it seems there was a change in the (relative) number of authors who viewed the colonists as being unequal to the people living in England. In the previous chapters, at least one pamphlet contained words or sections describing the equality between the colonies' inhabitants and Great Britain, even if their "countries" were not equal. Furthermore, two of the three pamphlets referred to the colonies as a different country; one pamphlet, the one written by Becket, did not confirm or reject this thought although his pamphlet seems to heavily imply that he agreed with the other two authors, Milne and Smith, on whether or not the colonies were a different country. These changes most likely were due to the colonies having asserted themselves as a different country, the British ceasing the war with them, and the further assertion of independence by the colonies. Accusing the congress of the colonies of separating two countries whose people were united by ties of nature, affection, similar habits, and the same customs, manners, language, religion and laws, Becket more or less argues that the colonies and Great Britain share characteristics and ties which should have been preserved. Baycroft speaks of such a conviction as being nationalistic in nature. Also, Becket and Smith both called Great Britain, in relation to the now former colonies, the "parent state", a phrase that seems somewhat colder than the term "mother country" but still implies a familial bond between the countries, which in turn is a signal of nationalism, according to Anderson. Another instance hinting at nationalism is present in the pamphlet Becket republished (which presumably also represented his opinion). In this pamphlet the writers name themselves the king's most dutiful and loyal subjects, separated from their families, possessions and connections. Their choice to stay loyal rather than side with their families signals a loyalty to Great Britain that is intensely emotional, according to Hayes, the fact that these people subordinated all other loyalties to this national one is evidence of a "nationalist" ethos.

Before an answer is given to the research question in the conclusion of the entire thesis, I would like to return to a statement I made regarding the possible discovery of a trend in the identification of the colonists over time. It looks as if, over time, the number of pamphlet writers who considered the colonists as equal to the inhabitants of Great Britain goes down. For the first chapter, the number of pamphlets considering the colonists as equals was 50%, in the second 80%, followed by 17.5% in the third chapter; no pamphlets expressed this feeling in the last chapter. A small rise in the sense of equality can be seen in relation to the first two chapters, but from that moment the number of pamphlets that spoke of this

equality as being real declined heavily. Most of the other ways in which the British pamphleteers identified the colonists remained static, none more so than the sense and expression of inequality between Great Britain as a country and the colonies as a country. 95% of the total number of pamphlets researched for this thesis supported this view; none of the pamphlets suggested equality, and just one made no mention of the hierarchical order between the colonies and Great Britain. A more balanced way of thinking of the colonists was whether they were equal to the British. In 45% of the pamphlets, it was suggested that they were not, while in 40% of the pamphlets it was suggested that they were indeed equal; another 15% of the pamphlets did not speak of this equality in any sense. Only in the final two years of the American Revolutionary War did pamphlets describe the colonies as no longer a British possessions; another 70% of the pamphlets mentioned they were to be considered as British possessions, while 20% had nothing to say about this matter.

Regarding the relationship between the colonies and Great Britain, 55% of the pamphlets mentioned there was a familial relationship between the colonies and Great Britain, in which Great Britain was the mother (country), or “bound by blood” in another sense. Of the authors, 15% saw the relationship between Great Britain and her colonies in America as an economic one based on trade, and just 5% of the pamphlets described the relationship as based on a network of knowledge or on a political foundation.

## Conclusion

At the end of this research project, it is possible to answer this thesis' research question. The research question was: in what ways did the pamphleteers of Great Britain characterize the colonists living in America during the American Revolution and Revolutionary war (1765-1783)?

The answer is that most of the pamphleteers most likely saw the colonies as a “different” area (whether country or colony) inhabited by people who might be equal or unequal to the British and were like a family to the British people (if any relationship were to be mentioned at all). (They most likely saw “different from” in terms of “worse than”) On the next pages, pie charts will clarify the research results (N = 20) (the relationship-related chart seems to consist of 105% because of one pamphlet seeing the relationship as both based on trade/economics and knowledge). I would like to stress that these pie-charts are not meant to be regarded as any more than just tools with which I want to show the results of this thesis in a simplified manner. The pie-chart titled “What kind of relationship did Great-Britain have with its colonies” (Figure 2) indicates that more than half of the researched pamphlets describe this relationship as a familial one. The same goes for the pie-chart that follows after the first, where it is easy to see that none of the researched pamphlets spoke about the colonies as being equal to Great-Britain. And even though it cannot be said that, as figure four suggests, exactly 70 percent of all of the pamphlets written in this time period thought of the colonies as being in possession of Great-Britain, it can be assumed that most likely the majority did.

What kind of relationship did Great-Britain have with its colonies?

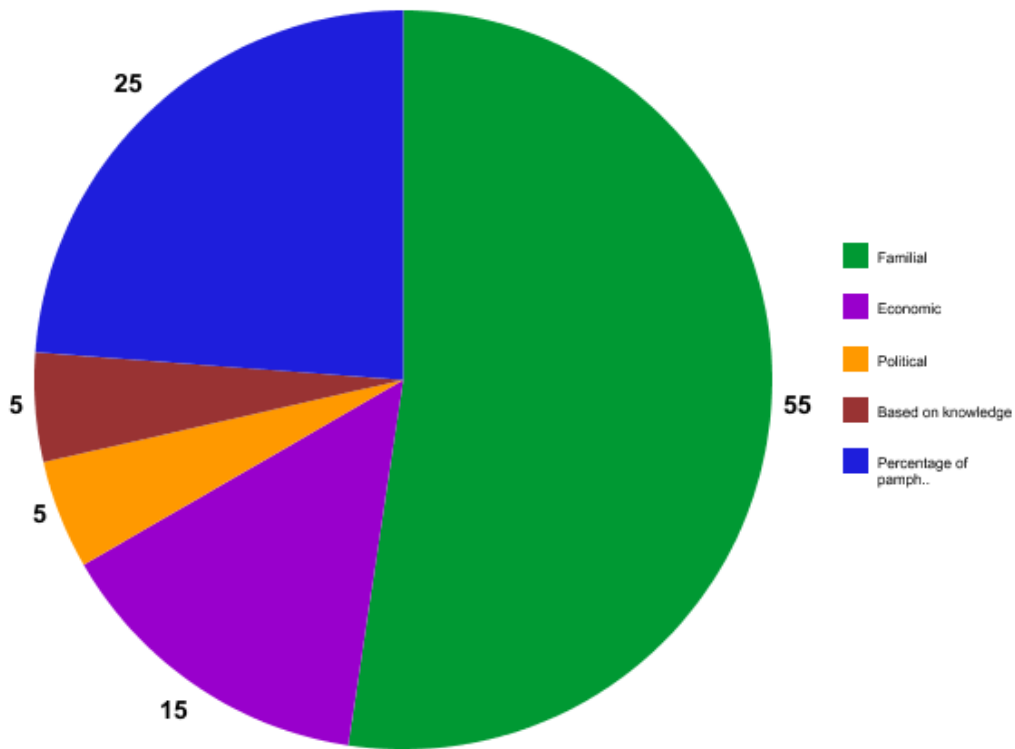


Figure 2. What kind of relationship did Great Britain have with its colonies?

Were the colonies equal to Great-Britain?

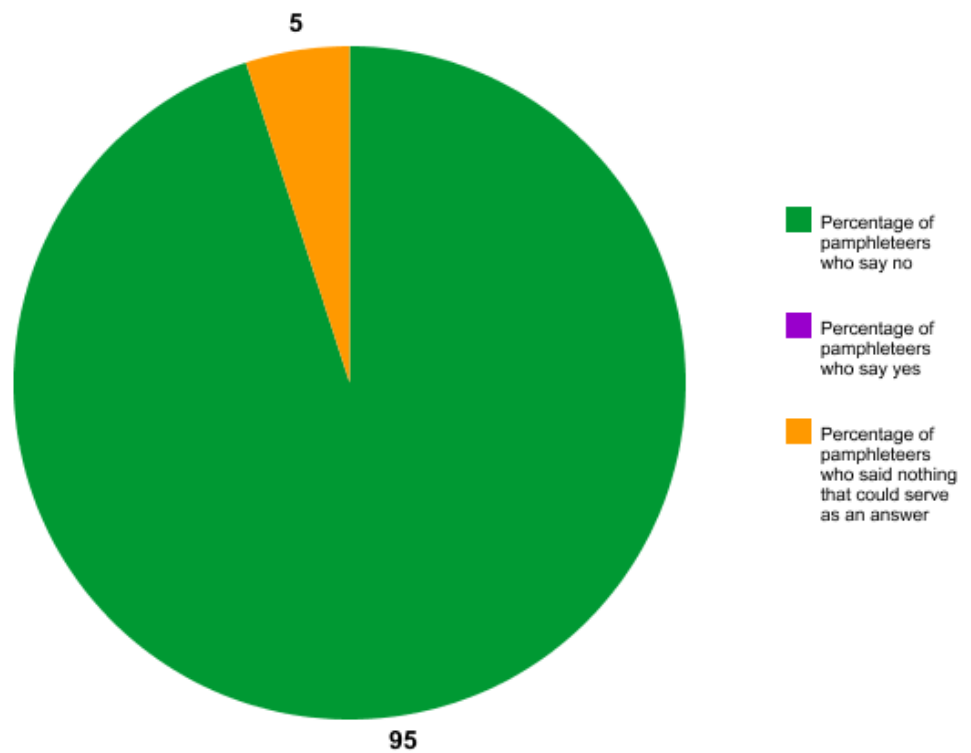


Figure 3. Were the colonies equal to Great Britain?



Were the colonies in possession of Great-Britain?

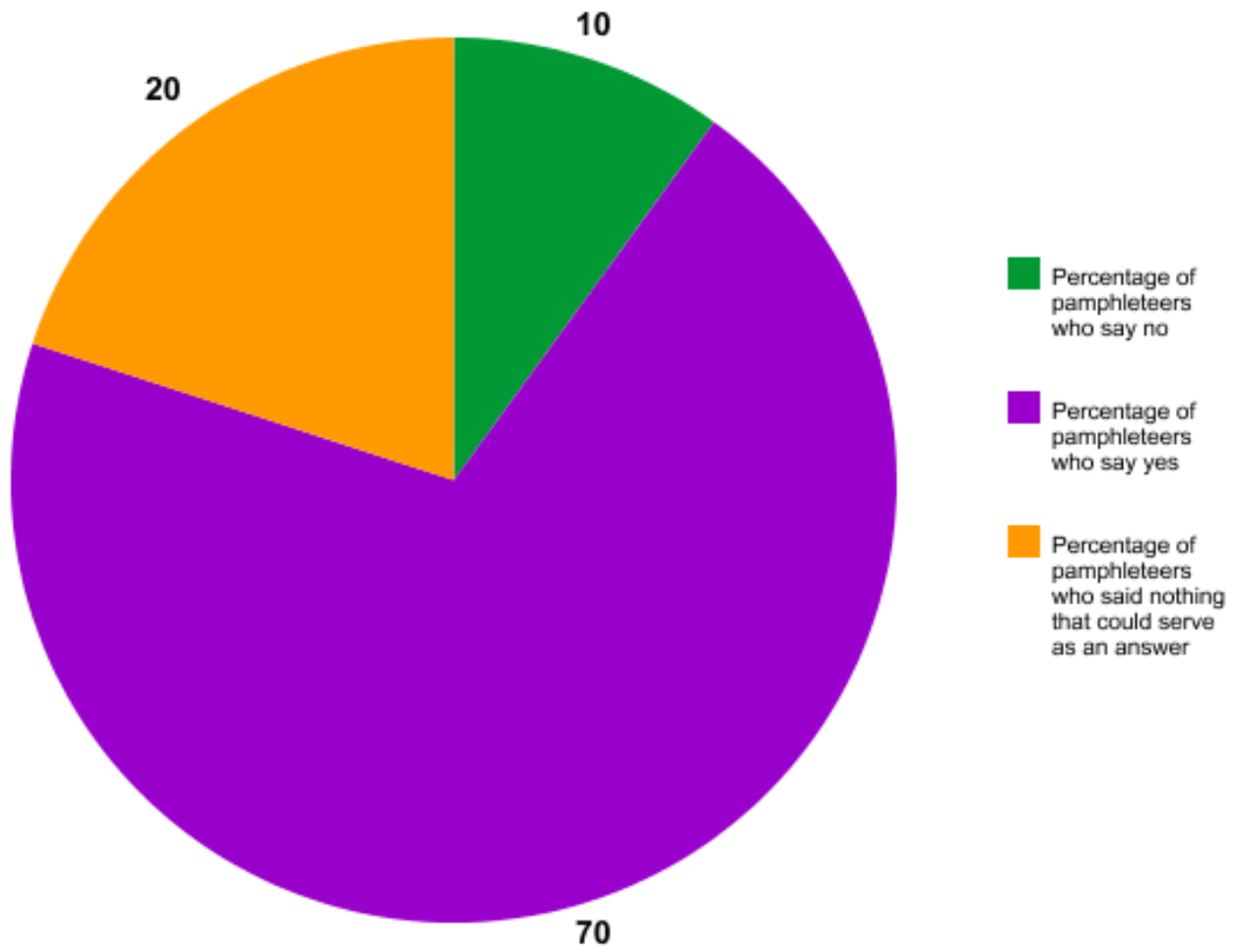


Figure 4. Were the colonies in possession of Great Britain?

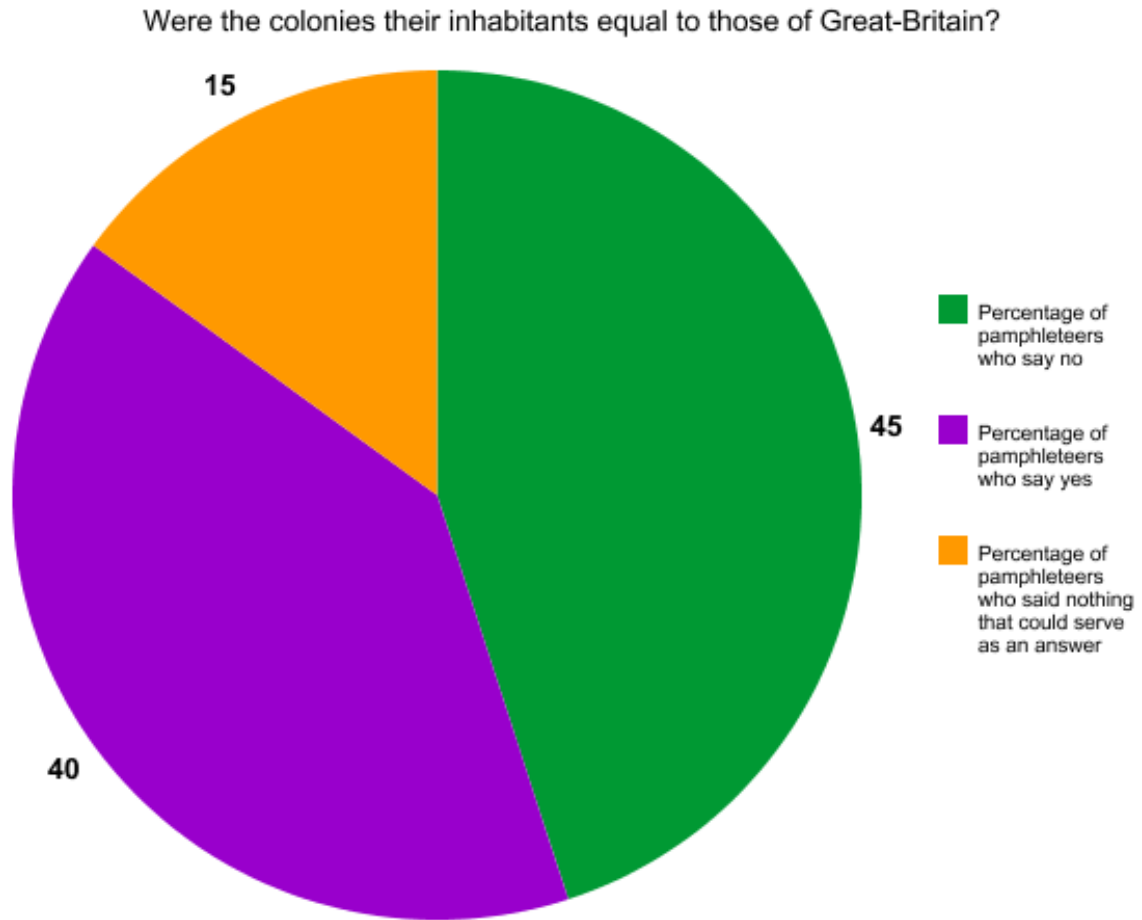


Figure 5. Were the colonies their inhabitants equal to those of Great Britain?

These pie-charts are here so as to aid in the clarification of my conclusions. Although it cannot be said that this analysis completely represents all of the pamphlets written or pamphlet writers who wrote during the Revolutionary War, a few conclusions can nonetheless be drawn. For example, my research results seem to disagree with statements made by a few authors mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. For example, the relationship between the colonists and the British appears to be more familial than just economic. Hayem stated that Great Britain indisputably valued its colonies for trade. Although my research results do not disprove this general idea about the relationship between Great Britain and her colonies, a more familial bond, perhaps due to a form of nationalism, played a significant role as well. At the very minimum my research proves that not all of the pamphlet writers wrote about this bond as if it were solely economic in nature. What is more, more than half of the pamphlet writers I have studied described this bond as familial in nature rather than economical.

But, what about the question of nationalism in this case? is, according to the descriptions of nationalism stated by present day authors, there possibly a form of nationalism at play during the American Revolution on the British side of the spectrum? The introduction of this thesis mentions a few authors who have spoken about nationalism. These were: Colley, Kedouri, Gellner, Baycroft, Anderson, Köhn and Hayes. Does their “definition” of nationalism allow us to say that a form of nationalism existed on the British side during the American Revolution.

As the introduction shows, Colley states, within her book *Britons: forging the nation* that one of the causes of nationalism within Great Britain would have been war. War against, for example, France brought Britons together and led to Britons collectively identifying themselves against a hostile other. Because of a hostile and alien “them” an “us” is formed. Also, as Colley states, during the American Revolution (and before) the colonists were like brethren for those living on the British mainland, yet distinctly different. Quite clearly, in some pamphlets a collective identification against a hostile other is either attempted, or performed. This goes for the poem by Bingley from 1770, who encourages his readers to empathize with those fallen during the “Boston Massacre” while condemning the “King’s troops” for their actions. A more important case of such identification, however, is presented in the poems by Almon, and the pamphlet by Wilkie from 1775 and 1776. Almon spoke of “brave defenders of your country’s cause” while Wilkie spoke of the colonists in quite negative ways; Wilkie addresses the British people as Britons, creating a difference between the British and colonists. Almon too defined the British people as different from the colonists; their country had a cause that needed to be defended against the colonists. On the other side of the spectrum, many British authors also referred to the colonists as if they were their brethren thanks to either a shared history, culture, language, heritage or ruler, yet different nonetheless. Authors operating in this vein were Pownall, Kearsley, Almon, Wilkie, Hulme and Cadelle in the first half of the pamphlets studied for this thesis. These are signs that, according to Colley, signal the presence of nationalism.

Kedouri states that nationalism was invented in Europe at the start of the nineteenth century, well after the American Revolution. But Kedouri also defines nationalism as being a doctrine which holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations and that the only legitimate type of government would be national self-government. Without the idea that the sovereignty lies within the nation and not in any body of men, individual, etc. there is no nationalism, and this is indeed an idea which the pamphlets do not mention. The same goes for the assumption that humanity is naturally divided in nations. So according to Kedouri’s

statements about nationalism, it was indeed not present during the American Revolution, or at least not within these twenty pamphlets.

According to Köhn, a state of mind presuming that one's own life was culturally, politically or economically dependent upon the fate of a national group is something that was not present before the age of nationalism. This thought was expressed twice in the pamphlets. The first time was in 1766 by Kearsley, who said that the wellbeing of the individual was dependent upon the wellbeing of the nation by stating that if Great Britain were to remain free and occupy a respectable position in Europe, its people's wellbeing would benefit from this higher kind of wellbeing of the nation. The second time such a thought was expressed was in 1771, by Hülme, who stated that the destruction of the British empire was something that must be of great concern to all those living within the British empire, and thus the British isles as well. The loss of Great Britain's empire, would affect those within Great Britain and must thus worry them. This synchronicity between the well-being of the people and their country is what Köhn spoke of as a requirement for, or sign of nationalism.

Next is Baycroft, who states that nationalism is a belief that the shared characteristics of a nation are valuable and need to be preserved. Also, threats to the nation need to be eliminated. Part of "its" history would be remembered by the nation, creating the use of national symbols that are signs of nationalism. The usage of such national symbols is visible in Wilkie's pamphlet of 1776, in which he mentions the "British Lion"; he uses remarks about the torture of this lion as symbolic speech for what would happen to Great Britain. As for choosing to glorify a moment in history, look no further than the pamphlet written by Almon in 1780, in which he speaks of the several British successes in America and the British soldiers' commitment to defend Great Britain's cause. He does not mention any lost battles or otherwise negative development for Great Britain, nor does he comment positively to the colonies. More often than not, pamphlets state that perceived threats to the nation need to be eliminated so as to preserve the characteristics of Great Britain, characteristics such as the way the government works in Great Britain, the freedom granted to the citizens of Great Britain due to their culture and commerce, and its powerful position within European politics.

The next author mentioned in the introduction, Gellner argues that nationalism is a political principle which states that the political and national unit should be congruent. Thoughts like these are unsurprisingly, not present in the pamphlets. Thoughts about national and political congruence during the American Revolution were likely present on the American side of the revolution, not the British one.

The final “nationalism” author mentioned in the introduction of this thesis was Anderson. Anderson spoke of nationalism and nations as an imagined community, one that is like a fraternity, horizontal, for which people kill and die. Yet nationalism also produces love expressed in poetry, music and books. And people will use certain affectionate words like “motherland” when nationalism is at play. All of these things are present in the pamphlets, most prominently the use of the term “mother country”, or other terms which the authors used to show a familial type of bond with their country, and those within it, or within the colonies. Even if the authors never saw any of these people in their life time, they identified more with these people than with those from say, Germany. This connection purely based upon nationality is an imagined community, as Anderson would have it. And this connection and love for the imagined community produced poems, and literature more generally as can be seen in many pamphlets discussed here; from the poems which speak of the successes of Great Britain to the pamphlets which speak of the rights the colonists as brethren deserve (for they are brethren, and should receive the same privileges and rights according to many authors in the first half of the period studied). All of these elements that Anderson, attributes to the existence of nationalism, are present in the pamphlets.

While authors such as Kedouri and Gellner would disagree, given the ideas about nationalism of authors such as Colley, Köhn, Baycroft and Anderson one can defend the thesis that nationalism, or at least some form of nationalism, was indeed present on the British side during this American war for independence.

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