

The Associations (1774)

Dieses Dokument datiert vom 20. Oktober 1774. Es handelt sich um den Beschluß eines Importboykotts gegen britische Waren, mit dem die amerikanische Unabhängigkeit eingeläutet wurde. In diesen Boykott war auch der Sklavenhandel einbezogen [2].

Bei *Adolf Rock (Hrsg.)*, Dokumente der amerikanischen Demokratie, Wiesbaden 1947, S. 86-95, findet sich eine [gedruckte Fassung](#) sowie eine [deutsche Übersetzung](#).

Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament, claiming a power, of right, to bind the people of America by statutes in all cases whatsoever, hath, in some acts, expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various presences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners, with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county:

And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependant on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace: And whereas it has lately been resolved in parliament, that by force of a statute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, colonists may be transported to England, and tried there upon accusations for treasons and misprisions, or concealments of treasons committed in the colonies, and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned:

And whereas, in the last session of parliament, three statutes were made; one entitled, "An act to discontinue, in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading, or shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England;": another entitled, "An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England;": and another entitled, "An act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England;": and another statute was then made, "for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, etc.": All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights:

And whereas, assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, and reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt, by his Majesty's ministers of state:

The good people of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet, and sit in general Congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, may not be subverted: Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these colonies, taking into their most serious consideration, the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, DECLARE,

That the inhabitants of the English colonies in North-America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following RIGHTS:

Resolved, N.C.D. 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty and property: and they have never ceded to any foreign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved, N.C.D. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural- born subjects, within the realm of England.

Resolved, N.C.D. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

Resolved, 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed: But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bonfide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects, in America, without their consent.

Resolved, N.C.D. 5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their

peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

Resolved, N.C.D. 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

Resolved, N.C.D. 7. That these, his Majesty's colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

Resolved, N.C.D. 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

Resolved, N.C.D. 9. That the keeping a standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.

Resolved, N.C.D. 10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves, and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislature.

In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire, that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

Resolved, N.C.D. That the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American colonies, viz.

The several acts of Geo. III. ch. 15, and ch. 34.-5 Geo. III. ch.25.-6 Geo. ch. 52.-7 Geo.III. ch. 41 and ch. 46.-8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the power of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

Also 12 Geo. III. ch. 24, intituled, "An act for the better securing his majesty's dockyards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores,": which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any offence described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts-Bay, and that which is entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice, etc.":

Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law and government) of the neighboring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service, in North-America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.

To these grievous acts and measures, Americans cannot submit, but in hopes their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present, only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures:

1. To enter into a non-importation, non- consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association.
2. To prepare an address to the people of Great-Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America: and
3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into.

NON-IMPORTATION

We, his majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to represent them in a

continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions, at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration, adopted by the British ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies, and, with them, the British Empire. In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed, for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America: And in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive acts have been passed, respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts-Bay, and also an act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus, by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall chuse so to direct them.

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

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

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

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

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

5. Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents and correspondents, in Great-Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant, residing in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares or merchandize, for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so done, we will not, from thenceforth, have any commercial connexion with such merchant.

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

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

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

9. Such as are venders of goods or merchandize will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods, that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past. -And if any vender of goods or merchandize shall sell such goods on higher terms, or shall, in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will

any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

10. In case any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandize, after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-shipped or delivered up to the committee of the country or town, wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risque of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last-mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed out of the sales, the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston port-bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandizes shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

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

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

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

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

And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association, until such parts of the several acts of parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed.-And until that part of the act of the 12 G. 3. ch. 24, entitled "An act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards magazines, ships, ammuniton, and stores," by which any persons charged with committing any of the offenses therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed-and until the four acts, passed the last session of parliament, viz. that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston-that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay-and that which is entitled "An act for the better administration of justice, &c."-and that "for extending the limits of Quebec, &c." are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association.

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

IN CONGRESS, PHILADELPHIA, October 20, 1774
Signed, PEYTON RANDOLPH, President

New-Hampshire: John Sullivan, Nat. Folsom.

Massachusetts Bay: Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode-Island: Stephen Hopkins, Sam. Ward.

Connecticut: Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New-York: Isaac Low, John Alsop, John Jay, James Duane, William Floyd, Henry Wisener, S. Bocrum.

New-Jersey: James Kinsey, William Livingston, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith.

Pennsylvania: Joseph Galloway, John Dickinson, Charles Humphreys, Thomas Miffin, Edward Biddle, John Morton, George Ross.

New-Castle, &c.: Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKeane, George Read. Maryland. Matthew

Tilghman, Tho. Johnson, William Pace, Samuel Chase.

Virginia: Richard Henry Lee, George Wshington, P. Henry, jun. Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton.

North-Carolina: William Hooper, Joseph Hawes, R. Caswell.

South-Carolina: Henry Middleton, Tho. Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, Edward Rutledge.

Der Zusammenschluß

20. Oktober 1774

Wir, Seiner Majestät getreueste Untertanen, Delegierte der Kolonien New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvanien, der drei unteren Grafschaften Newcastle, Kent und Sussex und Delaware, von Maryland, Virginia, Nordkarolina und Südkarolina, abgeordnet als deren Vertreter in einem kontinentalen Kongreß, der am 5. Tage des September 1774 in der Stadt Philadelphia zusammengetreten ist, bekennen unsere Treuepflicht zu Seiner Majestät, unsere Liebe und Rücksicht zu unseren Mituntertanen in Großbritannien und anderswo; von der tiefsten Besorgnis und den größten Befürchtungen über die Kümernisse und Nöte erfüllt, von denen Seiner Majestät amerikanische Untertanen heimgesucht werden, und nach genauester Erwägung der Zustände des ganzen Kontinents finden wir, daß der derzeitige unglückliche Stand unserer Dinge von dem ruinösen System einer Kolonialverwaltung veranlaßt wird, das von dem britischen Ministerium um das Jahr 1763 eingeführt wurde, und das offenbar darauf abzielte, diese Kolonien und mit ihnen das Britische Reich zu versklaven. In Verfolg dieses Systems sind verschiedene Parlamentsgesetze durchgegangen, um eine Steuer in Amerika zu erheben, um die amerikanischen Untertanen in vieler Hinsicht des verfassungsmäßigen Gerichtsverfahrens zu berauben, wobei ihr Leben dadurch gefährdet wird, daß ein neues und ungesetzliches Gerichtsverfahren wegen Verbrechen, die zugestandenermaßen in Amerika begangen worden sind, jenseits des Meeres eröffnet wird. In Verfolg dieses selben Systems sind jüngst mehrere grausame und bedrückende Gesetze hinsichtlich der Stadt Boston und Massachusetts-Bay erlassen worden sowie ein Gesetz über die Ausdehnung der Provinz Quebec derart, daß diese an die Westgrenzen dieser Kolonien stößt, wobei eine willkürliche Regierung dort errichtet und die Ansiedlung britischer Untertanen in diesem weit ausgedehnten Land entmutigt wird, derart, daß durch den Einfluß ziviler Prinzipien und alter Vorurteile die Kolonien veranlaßt werden, sich feindlich gegen die freien protestantischen Kolonien zu stellen, sobald es einem gottlosen Ministerium beliebt sollte, sie entsprechend anzuweisen. Um Abhilfe gegen solche Unbill, die Leben, Freiheit und Eigentum von Seiner Majestät Untertanen in Nordamerika mit Vernichtung bedroht, zu erlangen, sind wir der Meinung, daß ein treu befolgtes Abkommen über Nicht-Einfuhr, Nicht-Verbrauch und Nicht-Ausfuhr sich als die schnellste, wirksamste und friedlichste Maßnahme erweisen wird, und deshalb schließen wir für uns und die Einwohner der verschiedenen Kolonien, die wir vertreten, bei den heiligen Banden der Tugend, der Ehre und der Liebe zu unserem Lande eine feste Vereinbarung und einen festen Bund, und zwar folgendermaßen:

1. Daß von und nach dem ersten Tage des nächsten Dezember ab wir keinerlei Güter, Waren oder Handelsdinge aus Großbritannien oder Irland mehr nach Britisch-Amerika einführen werden, auch aus anderen Orten keinerlei Güter, die aus Großbritannien oder Irland stammen; von diesem Tage an werden wir auch keinerlei ostindischen Tee mehr aus irgendeinem Teil der Welt einführen, auch keinerlei Melasse, Sirup, Zimt, Kaffee oder Piment von den britischen Kolonien oder von Domingo oder Wein aus Madeira oder den westlichen Inseln oder ausländischen Indigo.

2. Vom ersten Tage des kommenden Dezember ab werden wir keine Sklaven mehr einführen noch einen eingeführten kaufen; von diesem Zeitpunkt an werden wir völlig auf den Sklavenhandel verzichten und werden uns weder mit ihm befassen noch denen, die darin tätig sind, unsere Schiffe vermieten oder unsere Waren oder Erzeugnisse verkaufen.

3. Da eine streng beachtete Nicht-Verbrauchs-Vereinbarung eine wirksame Sicherheit für die Durchführung der Nicht-Einfuhr abgeben wird, verpflichten wir uns, wie oben, feierlich und vereinbaren, daß wir von diesem Tage an keinen Tee kaufen oder verwenden werden, der auf Rechnung der Ostindischen Gesellschaft eingeführt wird, oder auf den eine Steuer bezahlt worden ist, oder der damit belegt werden soll; und von dem ersten Tage des nächsten März an werden wir überhaupt keinen ostindischen Tee mehr kaufen oder verwenden und werden auch keines der Erzeugnisse, Waren oder Güter kaufen oder verwenden oder von irgend jemand für uns oder unter uns kaufen oder verwenden lassen, die wir übereingekommen sind, nicht zu importieren, oder von denen wir wissen oder vermuten dürfen, daß sie nach dem ersten Tage des Dezember eingeführt wurden, außer denen, die unter die Vorschriften und Bestimmungen des unten erwähnten 10. Artikels fallen.

4. Das ernste Bestreben, das wir haben, unsere Mituntertanen in Großbritannien, Irland oder Westindien nicht zu schädigen, veranlaßt uns, eine Nicht-Ausfuhr bis zum 10. Tage des September 1775 zu suspendieren; sind zu dieser Zeit die besagten Gesetze und Teilgesetze des britischen Parlaments, die unten erwähnt werden, nicht widerrufen, so werden wir weder direkt noch indirekt irgendeine Ware oder ein Gut nach Großbritannien, Irland oder Westindien ausführen außer Reis nach Europa.

5. Diejenigen, die Kaufleute sind und den britischen und irischen Handel pflegen, werden so bald wie möglich ihren Geschäftsführern, Vertretern und Korrespondenten in Großbritannien Anweisung erteilen, keinerlei Güter unter irgendeinem Vorwand an sie zu verschiffen, da sie in Amerika nicht angenommen werden könnten; und wenn irgendein in Großbritannien oder Irland beheimateter Kaufmann direkt oder indirekt irgendwelche Güter, Waren oder Handelsdinge nach Amerika verschiffen sollte, um die besagte Nicht-Einfuhr-Vereinbarung zu durchbrechen oder

ihr sonstwie entgegenzuhandeln, so soll, falls dieses unwürdige Verhalten wohl bezeugt ist, es öffentlich bekanntgegeben werden, und daraufhin werden wir mit einem solchen Kaufmann nicht länger mehr eine geschäftliche Verbindung haben.

6. Diejenigen, die Eigentümer von Schiffen sind, werden ihren Kapitänen und Schiffsführern den Auftrag erteilen, keinerlei durch diese Nicht-Einfuhr-Vereinbarung verbotenen Güter an Bord zu nehmen, bei Strafe sofortiger Entlassung aus ihrem Dienst.

7. Wir werden aufs äußerste bestrebt sein, die Aufzucht von Schafen zu verbessern und ihre Zahl möglichst zu vermehren; und zu diesem Zwecke werden wir sie möglichst selten schlachten, besonders die der nützlichsten Rasse; auch werden wir keine nach Westindien oder anderswohin ausführen, und diejenigen von uns, die einen zu großen Bestand an Schafen haben oder bekommen könnten oder bequem Schafe abgeben könnten, werden darüber zugunsten unserer Nachbarn, insbesondere der ärmeren davon, zu mäßigen Bedingungen verfügen.

8. Wir werden an den verschiedenen Stellen Einfachheit, Sparsamkeit und Fleiß fördern, Ackerbau, Handwerk und die Industrien dieses Landes, insbesondere die der Wolle, entwickeln, und wir werden allen Arten von Extravaganzen und Verschwendung, insbesondere allen Pferderennen und allen Arten von Spielen, Hahnenkämpfen, Schaustellungen, Schauspielen und anderen kostspieligen Vergnügungen und Unterhaltungen abgeneigt sein und ihnen entgegenwirken; und bei dem Tode eines Verwandten oder Freundes wird niemand von uns und keines unserer Familienmitglieder in anderer Trauer gehen als einem schwarzen Flor oder Band am Arm oder Hut für Männer und einem schwarzen Band und Halsband für Frauen, und wir werden das Spenden von Handschuhen und Halsbinden bei Leichenbegängnissen einstellen.

9. Diejenigen, die Verkäufer von Gütern oder Waren sind, werden aus dem Warenmangel, der durch diesen Zusammenschluß veranlaßt werden könnte, keinen Vorteil ziehen, sondern werden dieselben zu den Sätzen verkaufen, an die wir für die vergangenen zwölf Monate gewöhnt gewesen sind; und wenn irgendein Verkäufer von Gütern oder Waren solche Waren zu höheren Sätzen verkaufen sollte oder irgendwie oder unter einem Vorwand diese Abmachung verletzen oder von ihr abweichen sollte, sollte keine Person und wird niemand von uns mit einer solchen Person oder mit ihrem Geschäftsführer oder Vertreter zu irgendeiner Zeit künftig mehr wegen irgendeiner Ware Umgang pflegen.

10. Im Falle, daß irgendein Kaufmann, Händler oder eine andere Person irgendwelche Güter oder Waren nach dem ersten Tage des nächsten Februar einführen sollte, sollen dieselben sofort nach Wahl des Eigen-

tümers entweder zurückgeschafft oder dem Ausschuß der Grafschaft oder Stadt, nach der sie importiert werden sollen, ausgehändigt werden, um auf Gefahr des Importeurs auf Lager genommen zu werden, bis die Nicht-Einfuhr-Vereinbarung aufhört, oder unter der Leitung des genannten Ausschusses verkauft werden; in dem letzteren Falle sollen der Eigentümer oder die Eigentümer derartiger Güter aus den Verkäufen für Einstandskosten und Lasten schadlos gehalten werden, während der Gewinn, wenn ein solcher erzielt wird, für die Unterstützung und Beschäftigung der armen Einwohner der Stadt Boston, die von dem Bostoner Hafengesetz unmittelbar betroffen sind, verwandt werden soll; eine besondere Abrechnung für alle so zurückgesandten, eingelagerten oder verkauften Güter soll in den Anzeigenblättern veröffentlicht werden. Wenn irgendwelche Güter oder Waren nach dem erwähnten ersten Tage des Februar eingeführt werden sollten, sollen dieselben sofort wieder zurückgesandt werden, ohne daß die Verpackung angetastet wird.

11. In jeder Grafschaft, City und Stadt soll von denen, die berechtigt sind, über Vertreter in der Legislatur abzustimmen, ein Ausschuß gewählt werden, dessen Zweck es sein soll, aufmerksam das Verhalten aller Personen betreffs dieses Zusammenschlusses zu beobachten; und wenn es sich nach der Überzeugung der Mehrheit eines solchen Ausschusses herausstellen sollte, daß irgendeine Person innerhalb des Bereichs seiner Zuständigkeit diesen Zusammenschluß verletzt hat, soll diese Mehrheit unverzüglich veranlassen, daß die Wahrheit über den Fall im Anzeigenblatt veröffentlicht wird, und zwar zu dem Zweck, daß alle Feinde der Rechte von British-Amerika öffentlich bekanntgegeben und allgemein als die Feinde der amerikanischen Freiheit verachtet werden, und wir werden, jeder einzelne, jeglichen Umgang mit ihnen einstellen.

12. Der Korrespondenzausschuß soll in den einzelnen Kolonien häufig deren zollamtliche Eingänge inspizieren und sie gegenseitig von Zeit zu Zeit über deren wahre Lage auf dem laufenden erhalten sowie über jeden anderen materiellen Umstand, der betreffs dieses Zusammenschlusses auftreten kann.

13. Alle Erzeugnisse dieses Landes sollen zu einem angemessenen Preise verkauft werden, so daß aus einem künftigen Warenmangel kein ungebührlicher Vorteil gezogen werden soll.

14. Weiterhin vereinbaren und beschließen wir, daß wir keinen Handel, Verkehr, Umgang und keine Beziehungen mit irgendeiner Kolonie oder Provinz in Nordamerika haben werden, die nicht diesem Zusammenschluß beiträgt, oder die ihn später verletzen sollte; wir werden sie für unwürdig der Rechte freier Bürger und für die Freiheiten ihres Landes feindlich gesinnt erachten.

Und wir verpflichten uns und unsere Wähler feierlich, diesem Zusammenschluß mit den genannten Bindungen anzuhängen bis zum Widerruf derjenigen Teile der verschiedenen Parlamentsgesetze, die seit dem Ende des letzten Krieges durchgegangen sind, und die Zölle auf Tee, Wein, Melasse, Sirup, Zimt, Kaffee, Zucker, Piment, Indigo, ausländisches Papier, Glas und Malerfarben, die nach Amerika eingeführt werden, vorsehen oder verlängern, und die die Machtbefugnisse der Admiralitätsgerichte über deren früheren Bereich ausdehnen und den amerikanischen Untertan der gerichtlichen Untersuchung vor den Geschworenen berauben, das Zertifikat des Richters ermächtigen, den Kläger schadlos zu halten, daß er andernfalls durch ein Verhör durch seinesgleichen verpflichtet werden kann, erdrückend hohe Kautions von jemand zu verlangen, der beschlagnahmte Schiffe oder Waren reklamiert, bevor er sein Eigentum verteidigen darf. Und bis der Teil des Gesetzes 12. G. 3. ch. 24, betitelt „Ein Gesetz zur besseren Sicherung von Seiner Majestät Schiffswerften, Magazinen, Schiffen, Munition und Vorräten“, durch welches jede Person, die unter der Anklage steht, eines der dort genannten Vergehen in Amerika begangen zu haben, in jeder Provinz oder Grafschaft innerhalb des Reiches verhört werden kann, widerrufen ist, und bis die vier Gesetze, die in der letzten Sitzung des Parlaments angenommen wurden, nämlich das über die Stilllegung und Belagerung des Bostoner Hafens, das über die Änderung der Charter und der Regierung von Massachusetts-Bay, und das, welches betitelt ist „Ein Gesetz für die bessere Handhabung des Rechts etc.“ und das „Für die Ausdehnung des Gebietes von Quebec etc.“ widerrufen sind. Und wir empfehlen den Provinzialkonventen und den Ausschüssen der einzelnen Kolonien, diejenigen weiteren Bestimmungen zu erlassen, die sie für geeignet halten, diesen Zusammenschluß weiter wirksam werden zu lassen.

THE ASSOCIATIONS

October 20, 1774

WE, his majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to represent them in a continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions, at those grievances and distresses, with which his majesty's American subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration, adopted by the British ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies, and, with them, the British Empire. In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed, for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America: And in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive acts have been passed, respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts-Bay, and also an act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus, by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall chuse so to direct them.

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

1. That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import, into British America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandize, as shall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East-India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.
2. We will neither import nor purchase, any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.
3. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that from this day, we will not purchase or use any tea, imported on account of the East-India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East-India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandize, we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.
4. The earnest desire we have not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said acts and parts of acts of the British parliament herein after mentioned, are not repealed, we will not directly or inderectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies, except rice to Europe.
5. Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents and correspondents, in Great-Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant, residing in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares or merchandize, for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene

the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so done, we will not, from thenceforth, have any commercial connection with such merchant.

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

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

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

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

10. In case any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandize, after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of

the owner, to be either re-shipped or delivered up to the committee of the county or town, wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risque of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last-mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed out of the sales, the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston port-bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandizes shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

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

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

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

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

And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association, until such parts of the several acts of parliament, passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorise the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed. — And until that part of the act of the 12. G. 3. ch. 24. entitled, "An act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," by which any persons charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed — and until the four acts, passed the last session of parliament, viz. that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston — that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay — and that which is entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice, &c." — and that. "For extending the limits of Quebec, &c." are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association.