

THE FRIENDS OF GOVERNMENT: LOYALISM, IDEOLOGY AND
POLITICS IN REVOLUTIONARY MASSACHUSETTS, 1765-1776.

VOLUME TWO

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Errata.

Appendix A. The following persons are placed out of alphabetical order:

Nathan Aldis, p.417;

Samuel H. Sparhawk, p.440;

Archibald Auchinloss, p.445;

Thomas Baird Jr., p.445.

Page 488, note 13. PAH 7 (1973), pp.283-324 should read:
in Perspectives on Early American History
edited by Alden T. Vaughan and George A. Billias
(New York, 1973), pp.283-324.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES AND APPENDICES.

AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
<u>AHR</u>	<u>American Historical Review</u>
<u>BC</u>	<u>The Boston Chronicle</u>
<u>BEP</u>	<u>The Boston Evening Post</u>
<u>BGCJ</u>	<u>The Boston Gazette and Country Journal</u>
<u>BPBA</u>	<u>The Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser</u>
BPL	Boston Public Library
<u>BTR</u>	<u>Reports of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, 38 vols (Boston, 1876-1909), vols. XVI and XVIII</u>
<u>BWNL</u>	<u>The Boston Weekly Newsletter</u>
<u>Coll.MHS</u>	<u>Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections</u>
<u>EG</u>	<u>The Essex Gazette</u>
<u>House Journals</u>	<u>Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1715-1776, 53 vols. (Boston, 1919-1985), vols. XLI-LIII</u>
<u>JAH</u>	<u>Journal of American History</u>
<u>JAS</u>	<u>Journal of American Studies</u>
<u>JIH</u>	<u>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</u>
<u>JSH</u>	<u>Journal of Southern History</u>
MA	Massachusetts Archives, Boston, vols. XVI, XXV-XXVII
Massachusetts Loyalist Claimants	Transcripts of the Loyalist claims in the Audit Office Papers, vols. XIII and XIV, British Public Record Office, London, in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston
<u>MG</u>	<u>The Massachusetts Gazette</u>
<u>MGBNL</u>	<u>The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Newsletter</u>
<u>MGBPA</u>	<u>The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post-Boy Advertiser</u>

<u>MGBWNL</u>	<u>The Massachusetts Gazette and The Boston Weekly Newsletter</u>
MHS	The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
<u>NEHGR</u>	<u>The New England Historic and Genealogical Register</u>
<u>NEQ</u>	<u>New England Quarterly</u>
NLS	The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland
NYPL	New York Public Library
<u>PAH</u>	<u>Perspectives in American History</u>
<u>PCSM</u>	<u>Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions</u>
PRO	Public Record Office of Great Britain, London
<u>Procs.MHS</u>	<u>Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings</u>
<u>Sibley's Harvard Graduates</u>	John Langdon Shipley and Clifford K. Shipton eds., <u>Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University</u> , 17 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1873-1975)
<u>WMQ</u>	<u>William and Mary Quarterly</u> , third series.

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APPENDIX A: PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FRIENDS OF
GOVERNMENT.

Key to the Column Headings and Abbreviations.

I: Biographical Information:

Or. Origin and place of birth.

M= Massachusetts.

C= Connecticut.

RI= Rhode Island.

NH= New Hampshire.

NE= New England.

NY= New York province.

WI= The West Indies.

A= North America.

S= Scotland.

E= England.

I= Ireland.

W= Wales.

GB= Great Britain.

Sw= Switzerland.

Resid. Residence during the period 1765-1776.

Where two places of residence are given, the first indicates the main place of residence, and it was ^{that was} this [^] used for purposes of calculation in Table 9 and Appendices D and E.

E. Education.
 H= Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.
 Y= Yale College, Connecticut.
 F= French college or university.
 E= English college or university.

R. Religion.
 C= Congregationalist.
 A= Anglican.
 S= Sandemanian.

Occup. Occupation.
 Occupations of the friends of government were determined principally from the published secondary sources listed below. Where this was not possible probate records, the Loyalist Claims and the Thwing File were consulted. If these sources yielded no information, their occupations could often be deduced from the data concerning property ownership contained in the Massachusetts Tax List of 1771.

Tax. Assessed annual rental value of property in the Massachusetts Tax List of 1771.

Sources: David E. Maas, comp. and ed., Divided Hearts, Massachusetts Loyalists, 1765-1790: A Biographical Directory (Boston, 1980); Edward A. Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims (London, 1930); James H. Stark, The Loyalists of the American Revolution and The Other Side of the American Revolution (Boston, 1910); Massachusetts Loyalist Claimants, XIII-XIV, MHS; Thwing File, MHS; Suffolk County Probate Records, Suffolk Registry of Probate, Courthouse, Boston; Worcester County Probate Records, Worcester Registry of Probate, Courthouse, Worcester, Mass.; Bettye Hobbs Pruitt ed., The Massachusetts Tax Evaluation List of 1771 (Boston, 1978).

II: Political Information.

PS. Public Service Record.
 ADV-G/

ADV-G= Advocate-General.
 A-G= Attorney-General.
 CJ= Chief Justice of the Superior Court.
 Col.= Colonel in the Province Militia.
 GC= Member of the General Court (House of Representatives or the Council.)
 Gen.= General of the Province Militia.
 Gov.= Governor.
 J= Justice of an Inferior County Court.
 JP= Justice of the Peace.
 Lt-Col.= Lieutenant-Colonel in the Province Militia.
 Lt-Gov.= Lieutenant-Governor.
 Maj.= Major in the Province Militia.
 PJ= County Probate Judge.
 RP= Register of Probate.
 SC= Justice of the Superior Court.
 Sec.= Secretary of State.
 S-G= Solicitor-General.
 SH= Sheriff.
 V-A= Office-holder in the courts of Vice-Admiralty.

Sources: William H. Whitmore, The Massachusetts Civil List for Colonial and Provincial Periods, 1630-1774... (Albany, NY., 1870); House Journals, 1764-1775, XLI-LI; Biographical sources listed above.

BSETC The Boston Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce: Membership list, [Boston], [c.1763], Ezekiel Price Papers, pp.293-294, MHS.

SA. Attitudes toward the Stamp Act. (These were culled from miscellaneous sources.)

F= For.

Ag= Against.

NI. The Non-Importation Agreement of March, 1768: Subscribers./

A= Absent from Boston.

S= Signed the agreement outright.

O= Did not sign but promised to observe trading restrictions.

G= Promised to sign if the agreement became "generall".

R= Refused to sign.

Source: [Samuel P. Savage], List of Subscribers to the Non-Importation Agreement of March 1763, n.p., n.d, Samuel P. Savage II Collection, MHS.

VNI. Violations of the Non-Importation Agreements of 1768-1769.

Source: BC, June 1769-June 1770.

Res. Should the House of Representatives rescind the vote approving the circular letter of 1768?

R= Voted to rescind.

Ag= Voted not to rescind.

RS= Expressed support for the 17 representatives who voted to rescind.

Sources: House Journals, 1768-1769, XLV, pp.129-131; The Salem Protest, July 28, 1768, in BGCJ, August 1, 1768, p.2/1.

SL. Son of Liberty.

Sources: "An Alphabetical List of the Sons of Liberty Who Dined at Liberty Tree, Dorchester, August 14, 1769", Procs.MHS, 1st ser., 11 (1869), pp.140-142; Anne R. Cunningham ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (Boston, 1903).

TNI. Subscribers to the Boston Agreement to suspend the importation of tea, 1774.

Source: A List of the Principal Dealers in Tea: Agreement of Non-Importation, Boston, January n.d., 1774, MHS.

Prot. Protestor against the Whigs, 1772-1775.

X= Subscriber.

XRec= Subscriber who signed a paper recanting of/

of his actions.

Sources: The Marblehead Protest against the "Boston Pamphlet", December 18, 1772, in BEP, December 28, 1772, p.1/3; The Plymouth Protest against Boston, December 13, 1773, attached to BGCJ, December 27, 1773, p.4, Harbottle Dorr Collection of Newspapers, 4 vols., IV, p.421; The Marshfield Resolves, January 31, 1774, in BGCJ, February 7, 1774, p.2/2-3; The Worcester Protest, March 7, 1774, in Albert A. Lovell, Worcester in the War of the Revolution...1765-1783 (Worcester, Mass., 1876), pp.29-39; The Recantations of the Easton Protestors, BGCJ, September 12, 1774, p.3/2; The members of the Petersham Tory Club, c. January 1775, in Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, p.26.

- Add. Loyal Addresses to Governors Thomas Hutchinson and General Thomas Gage, 1774-1775.
- X= Subscriber.
- XRec= Recanted.
- 1= The Farewell Address to Hutchinson, Boston, May 30, 1774.
- 2= The Welcoming Address to Gage, Boston, June 8, 1774.
- 3= The Farewell Address to Hutchinson from the Province lawyers, n.p., May 30, 1774.
- 4= The Farewell Address to Hutchinson, Marblehead, June 2, 1774.
- 5= The Welcoming Address to Gage, Salem, June 11, 1774.
- 6= The Farewell Address to Hutchinson, Milton, May n.d., 1774.
- 7= The Farewell Address to Gage, Boston, October 6, 1775.
- 8= The Farewell Address to Gage from Loyalist refugees who had fled to Boston, Boston, October 7, 1775.

Sources: Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.124-132; EG, October 26-November 2, 1775, p.1/1-2.

- SLC. The Solemn League and Covenant.
- X= Subscriber to the Boston Protest against the/

the Covenant, June 29, 1774.

LP= Signatory to the "Little Pope" Protest
against the Boston Committee of Correspondence,
June 29, 1774.

Sources: "Protestors Against the Solemn League and Covenant",
Procs.MHS, 1st ser., 11 (1869-1870), pp.394-395; "The Little
Pope", attached to BGCJ, June 27, 1774, p.4, Dorr Collection,
IV, p.523.

MC. Mandamus Councillor.
X= Took oath of office.
R= Refused to take oath.
Res= Resigned office.
Rec= Recanted.
Int= Intimidated and threatened.
M= Mobbed.

Sources: Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List; miscellaneous
sources.

Cont. Contractor to British forces.

Sources: Massachusetts Loyalist Claimants, XIII-XIV; Jones,
Loyalists of Massachusetts; miscellaneous manuscript sources.

A. Political Affiliation, 1765-1770.
T= Tory.
W= Whig.
T/W= Change of affiliation from Tory to Whig.

Sources: Miscellaneous sources and information contained in
Appendix A.

Pros./T Proscription as Tory in the province newspapers
or town records. (M= Mobbed.)

Sources: Miscellaneous sources including BGCJ, 1765-1774 and
BTR, XVI and XVIII.

Act/L. Act of Loyalty.
BA= Member of the Boston Association, 1775-
1776.
BE/

- BE= Left Boston with the British Evacuation Fleet on March 17, 1776.
- GB= Served in British forces during the War of Independence.
- L= Left the colony, with date of departure added if known. (Departure from the colony before 1775 was not considered to be an act of Loyalty, given that war had not broken out between Britain and the colonies.)
- LC= Served in the Loyalist Regiments during the war, 1775-1783.
- LU= Participant in a Loyalist Uprising against the Patriots, c.1774-1775.

Sources: Maas, Biographical Directory; Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts; BGCJ, 1774-1775; Cynthia Hagar Krusell, Of Tea and Tories: The Story of Revolutionary Marshfield (Marshfield, Mass., 1976); Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts; Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, December 10, 1774, Charles Steuart Papers, MSS.5025-5046, NLS, Ms.5028, pp.293-296.

- Pros./L Proscription as a Loyalist by the Patriots, with dates.
- A= Arrested
- B= Banished from the state of Massachusetts, 1778.
- C= Property Confiscated by the state of Massachusetts.
- J= Jailed.
- Ld= Property labeled for Confiscation by the state of Massachusetts.
- M= Mobbed.
- POW= Prisoner of War, 1775-1783.

Sources: Maas, Biographical Directory; Massachusetts Loyalist Claimants, XIII-XIV.

- PA/PA Political Awareness and Political Activity on behalf of the provincial government, with dates, 1765-1775.
- Ag= Against resistance to Parliamentary authority.
- A-W= Anti-Whig.
- F=

F= For resistance to parliamentary authority.

P-W= Pro-Whig.

Sources: Appendix A and all sources mentioned in the Bibliography,
pp.607-624.

Name	Dr.	Resid.	Age	E	P	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act./L	Pros./L	PA/PA			
Elisha Adams		Medway				yeoman	4	GC,JP					Ag									T		T75	F+W68/Ag75			
Nathaniel Adams		Worcester				shopk'per	22*									XRec									A+WAg72			
John Agling		Boston																X							A-W74			
Briggs Alden		Duxbury						GC,JP														T	1766		Ag65-66			
Jolley Allen	E	Boston	59			shopk'per	33				S				S							1774-75	M1774	BE	A76	A-W72		
Robert Ambrose		Marble-head															4								A+WAg74			
John Amory	M	Boston	47			merchant	40		X	Ag	S	} 3													A78,Ld	F65-70/A-W70-74		
Jonathan Amory	M	Boston	49			merchant	46		X	Ag	S	} 3														Ld	F65-70/A-W70-74	
Thomas Amory	M	Boston	53	H	A	merchant/ distiller	66				G			X			2,7	LP				W	M1769		A76	F/A+WAg74-75		
James Anderson		Boston				factor	40		X		A	4					1,2	X							BA,L	B,C	A+WAg74-75	
John Andrews		Boston	32		C	brazier	21				S											W			Patriot		A-W74	
Thomas Apthorp	A	Boston	34		A?	merchant	20							X			1,2	X				W	1768		B	F/A+WAg74		
William Apthorp	M	Boston	27	H		merchant	13										2	X							L75	J79,C	A-W74	
James Asby	E	Boston	36			watchmaker	13										1,2	X							BE,GB,LC		A+WAg74-75	
Joseph Asher																	8											A+WAg74-75
John Ashley		Sheffield					22	GC,JP, Col.						R									T					Ag68
Jonathan Ashley		Deerfield				lawyer	13	GC,JP						R												A81		Ag68
Jacob Ashton		Salem															5											A+WAg74
Dudley Atkins		Newbury-port						GC,JP															T	1766				Ag65-66
John Atkinson		Boston				merchant											1,2,7	X							BE,LC	B	A+WAg74-75	
Nathan Aldis		Wrentham				yeoman	14	JP																		LU,L	C	A+WAg75
Thomas Auchinloss																	8											A+WAg75
Robert Auchmuty	M	Roxbury	51			lawyer	12	A-G,V-A, JP									3						T		L75	B,C		A+WAg65-75
Alexander Auld	S	Boston				ship-builder																						A-W69
Thomas Aylwin	E	Boston															1,2	X								BA,L75		A+WAg74-75
Edward Bacon	M	Barnstable					8	GC,JP															W					A-W74
Moses Badger	M	Haverhill	32	H	A	clergy																				BE,GB,LC	B,C	A+WAg68-75

*With Nathan Patch (q.v.)

Name	Dr.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	NI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA		
Jonathan Bagley		Alms-bury						GC,JP,Col.					Ag									T	1768		P-W68		
Jacob Bailey	M	Pownal-borough	44	H	A	clergy																T		Parph,L79	B	Ag,A-W68	
Thomas Baird		Worcester				yeoman	2									X									A-W+Ag74		
John Baker		Marsh-field				millor	13									X								J76	A-W+Ag74		
Andrew Barclay	S	Boston				book-seller	26											X						BE,LC	A-W74-75,Ag75		
Joshua Barker	GB	Hingham	63			retired GB officer																T			Ag65		
Isaac Barnard		Worcester																							A-W+Ag74		
John Barnard		Marl-borough				labourer																			A-W70		
John Barnard	M	Salem			H	merchant							RS									T		BE,LC	A-W66-75,Ag68-75		
Henry Barnes	M	Marl-borough	52		A	merchant	15	JP				5					7,8					T	1770	Spy,L76	B.C	A-W+Ag65-75	
Moses Barnes		Marl-borough				labourer																				A-W70	
Colborn Barrell	M	Boston	40		S	merchant	33					3					1,2	X					1770		PCW	A-W69-74,Ag74	
Samuel Barrett		Boston	36		C	merchant	47	JP							X							W			Patriot	A-W74	
William Barron		Peters-ham				yeoman	6									X						T				A-W+Ag75	
Joseph Bartlett Jr.		Plymouth																								A-W+Ag73	
Nicholas Bartlett		Marble-head																								A-W+Ag72	
David Barton		Boston															7									A-W+Ag75	
Edward Bass	M	Newbury-port	49	H	A	clergy																T			preaching	Ag,A-W68	
Thomas Beaman		Peters-ham				gen'man										X							T		Spy,BA,BE,LC	B.C	A-W+Ag75
George Beattie	S	Boston																							BA,BE,LC	C	A-W+Ag75
John Bernard	E	Boston	31		A?	merchant		JP					8									T	1769		A75	Ag,A-W68-69	
John Berry	E	Boston				book-seller						R*	3*				1,2	X							B	A-W+Ag74	
George Bethune	M	Boston	55	H	A	merchant		JP	X			0	3				1,2	X				W		L75	T75	F/A-W+Ag74	
David Black	S	Boston				merchant																	1775	BE,LC	J83	A-W+Ag75	
William Black	M																								LC	A-W+Ag75	

*With Edward Cox (q.v.)

Name	Cr.	Resid.	Age	E	P	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLO	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA					
Joseph Blair		Worcester				yeoman										XRec									A-W+Ag74					
William Blair		Boston															1,2	X							A-W+Ag74					
Caleb Elanchard		Boston	55		A	shopk'per	40		X			2		X							W		BA	A	F/A-W74-75, Ag75					
Joseph Blaney	M	Salem	45	H		merchant	32		JP				RS				5				T				Ag68, A-W74					
Daniel Bliss	M	Concord	33			lawyer			JP								3						L75, GB	B, C	A-W+Ag74					
Jonathan Bliss	M	Springfield	33	H		lawyer	3		GC, JP, Maj.				R												B, C	Ag68				
Sampson Blowers	M	Boston	34	H		lawyer											3								J78	A-W+Ag74				
Henry Bloye		Boston															1									A-W+Ag74				
Patrick Bogle	S	Boston				ship-builder						2														A-W69				
John Borland	M	Cambridge	46	H	A	land-owner			JP			2					1									A-W+Ag74				
Thomas Boulton		Salem				physician																				A-W+Ag74				
Shearjashub Bourne	M	Barnstable	29	H		lawyer			JP								3Rec									M1774	L75	Speech, BA, GB, L	J	A-W+Ag75
William Bourne		Marblehead	1724-1770	H		merchant			GC, JP, J		Ag																1775	Ag65-66		
James Boutineau	M	Boston	65		A	merchant	46		JP	X							1,2	X	X				L75	C	A-W+Ag71-75					
Joseph Bowditch		Salem				merchant			JP				RS				5										Ag68-74, A-W74			
John Bowen	E	Princetown	42			gentlemen											8										Spy, BE, LC	B, C, POW	A-W+Ag75	
Nathan Bowen		Marblehead																										A-W+Ag72-74		
William Bowes	M	Boston				merchant	40					G	3	X			1,2,7	X					BE	B, C	F/A-W70-75, Ag74-75					
Archibald Bowman		Boston				auctioneer											7											A-W+Ag75		
Alexander Boyd		Marlborough				labourer?																						A-W70		
Daniel Boyden		Worcester																										A-W+Ag74		
Darius Boyden		Worcester							JP	X		0	4															A-W+Ag74		
Nicholas Boylston	M	Boston	d.1771			merchant																						A-W+Ag69-70		
Thomas Boylston	M	Boston	54			merchant					Ag		2															Ld	F65-74/Ag75	
Ward N. Boylston (a.k.a. Hallowell)	M	Boston	26			merchant	20																					T	Ag73	
Ebenezer Bradish		Worcester		H		lawyer											3											M1775	A-W+Ag74	

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA		
Simon Bradstreet																									A-W		
Ebenezer Bragg		Petersham				yeoman	7									X						T			A-W+Ag74		
Thomas Brattle	M	Cambridge	33	H		merchant	16	JP						X								W	L75		F		
William Brattle	M	Cambridge	69	H	C	lawyer		GC,JP,Gen.		Ag				X								W	LC,BE	C	F65-70/A-W+Ag74-75		
Samuel Bridge		Worcester														XRec									A-W+Ag74		
Ebenezer Bridgham	M	Boston	30			merchant/c.o.					S						1,2,7	X					BA,BE,LC	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75		
John Brigham		Marlborough				labourer																T	1774		A-W70		
Nathan Brigham		Southborough				gen'man																			A-W70		
Solomon Brigham		Marlborough				labourer																			A-W70		
Alexander Brimmer		Boston				merchant									S		2,7								A-W+Ag74-75		
George Brinley		Boston				merchant	20										1,2,7	X					L	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75		
Nathaniel Brinley	M?	Framingham	42			yeoman	40										7							T76	A-W+Ag75		
Thomas Brinley	M	Boston	49	H	A	merchant	46							X			1,2,7	X				W	L75	B,C	F/A-W+Ag74-75		
David Britton		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74		
Samuel Brooks		Worcester																					XRec		A-W+Ag74		
Hugh Brown		Boston				ship-builder						1													A-W69		
Nathan Brown		Salem											RS										T		Ag68		
Peter Brown		Boston				trader																		L	?		
William Browne	M	Salem	38	H		landowner/c.o.	54	GC,JP,J,Col.				1	R				5		XInt			T	1766	L75	B,C	Ag65-74,A-W74	
James Bruce		Boston				mariner	20																T	1773	L	B	A-W+Ag73
John Bryant	I	Boston				mariner	10							X									W		A76	F	
Seth Bryant		Marshfield				yeoman	9																		B,C	A-W+Ag74	
Joseph Bubler		Marblehead																								A-W+Ag74	
James Budd																										A-W+Ag75	
William Burch	E	Boston				customs commissioner																	T	1767	L	B	A-W+Ag67-74

Name	Gr.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	NI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA		
John Burroughs Jr.		Boston																X							A-W74		
William Burton		Boston															1,2	X					BE	B	A-W+Ag74-75		
Mather Byles	M	Boston	69	H	C	clergy															T			T76	A-W70		
Mather Byles Jr.	M	Cam- bridge	40	H	C/A	clergy															T		GB	B	Ag65,A-W		
Francis Cabot	M	Salem				merchant	80		JP				2	RS			5				T	1769			Ag68-74,A-W74		
William Cabot		Salem				merchant											5								A-W+Ag74		
John Calef		Ipswich	49			physician			GC,JP				R							1775.	T	1766	L79,GB		Ag65-68		
William Campbell	S	Worce- ster	34			merchant										XRec	8						BA	J75	A-W+Ag74-75		
Henry Caner	M	Boston	75		A	clergy						1									T		BE	B	A-W+Ag65-75		
Hopestill Capen		Boston	45		S	shopk'per	33										1,2	X					BA	A76	A-W+Ag74-75		
Nathaniel Cary		Boston				merchant	13										1,2,7	X				1770	BA	A+M76	A-W70-75,Ag74-75		
Andrew Cazneau		Boston				lawyer	26							X			3,7				W		BE	B,C	F/A-W+Ag74-75		
James Cazneau		Boston																							A-W70		
William Cazneau		Boston				shopk'per											1,2,7	X							A-W+Ag74-75		
John Chadwick		Tyring- ham					16		GC,JP				R									T				Ag68	
Jacob Chamberlain		Worcester				yeoman	11															XRec				A-W+Ag74	
John Chamberlain		Worcester																				XRec				A-W+Ag74	
Thaddeus Chamberlain		Worcester																				X				A-W+Ag74	
Clark Chandler	M	Worce- ster	33			shopk'per			RP													XRec		T	L75	POW	A-W74
Gardner Chandler	C	Worce- ster	51			merchant	20		JP,SH													XRec					A-W+Ag74-75
John Chandler	C	Worce- ster	55			landowner/ merchant	40		GC,JP, SH,Col, PJ													XRec		T	BA,BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75
Nathaniel Chandler	M	Peters- ham	25	H		lawyer																		L76,LC	B	?	
Rufus Chandler	M	Worce- ster	28	H		lawyer	6															XRec			BA,BE,LC		A-W+Ag74-75
William Chandler	M	Worce- ster	23	H		gen'man																XRec			BA,BE	B	A-W+Ag74-75
William D. Cheever		Boston				baker	20							X										W	BA	A76	F/A-W+Ag75

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./T	PA/PA
Ward Chipman	M	Cam- bridge	21	H													8					M1774	GB		A-W+Ag75
Benjamin Church	RI	Boston			H	physician															W		Spy	A75,B,C	F65-74
Benjamin Churchill		Plymouth				yeoman	4									X							Speech		A-W+Ag73
Ebenezer Churchill		Plymouth				shopk'per	8									XRec									A-W+Ag73
Thomas Clap		Scituate	70			lawyer/ clergy		GC,J		Ag											T	1766			Ag65-66
Benjamin Clarke		Boston	45	H		brazier	16		X		S	5					1,2Rec	X							A-W+Ag74
Isaac W. Clarke	M	Boston	29			merchant																	L75,LC		A-W+Ag73
Jonathan Clarke	M	Boston				merchant	20														T	1773	L75	B	A-W+Ag73
Joseph Clarke		Worcester														XRec								A76	A-W+Ag74
Richard Clarke	M	Boston	64	H	C	merchant	3	JP	X		R	7					7			1775	T	1769	L75	B,Ld	A-W+Ag65-75
William Clarke	M	Dedham	35		A	clergy																T		BA,L77	A-W+Ag68-75
Joseph Cleverly		Braintree	62		A	school- teacher				F/Ag												T		T77	Ag65-66
Nehemiah Clough		Salem											RS									T			Ag68
John Cochran																	8								A-W+Ag75
William Codner		Boston				book- keeper	22										1,2,7	X					L75	B	A-W+Ag74-75
John Coffin	M	Boston	46		A	merchant/ distiller	53										1,2	X		1774-75			L75,GB	C	A-W+Ag74
Nathaniel Coffin	M	Boston	50	H	A	c.o./ merchant											1,2,7	X		1774-75	T		BE	B,C	A-W+Ag68-75
Nathaniel Coffin Jr.	M	Boston	26			lawyer/ factor											1,2	X		1774-75			L75		A-W+Ag74
William Coffin Jr.	M	Boston	52		A	merchant	40	JP				4		X			1,7			1768	W		BE	B,C	F/A-W+Ag74-75
William Coffin III	M	Boston	17															X							A-W74
Robert Cook		Wrentham	46			retired soldier																	LU		A-W+Ag75
Richard Cooper		Plymouth				merchant	20									XRec									A-W+Ag73
John S. Copley	M	Boston	38			artist	40					1		X			1				W			C	F/A-W+Ag74
Samuel Cotnam		Salem				retired soldier		JP					RS									T			Ag68
John Cotton	E	Boston		H		govt.clerk		RP										X						T75	A-W74
Thomas Courtney		Boston				merchant/ tailor	20										7						BE	B	A-W+Ag75

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	NI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA	
William Cowper						gen'man											8						L		A-W+Ag75	
Edward Cox	E	Boston				book-seller					R*	3*					1,2	X						B	A-W+Ag74	
James Craig	NE	Oakham				gen'man											8						L,GB	B,C	A-W+Ag75	
Zedariah Crehore		Milton															6								A-W+Ag74	
William Crombie		Plymouth				merchant										X									A-W+Ag73	
Ami Cuming	GB?	Boston				shopk'per	26															1770	BE	C	A-W70	
Elizabeth Cuming	GB?	Boston				shopk'per																			A-W70	
Thomas Cumming		Falmouth																							A-W75	
Archibald Cunningham	S	Boston				shopk'per									A		7						BE,LC	B	A-W+Ag75	
Ralph Cunningham	I																						LC		A-W+Ag75	
Charles Curtis		Scituate														X	8							LU		A-W+Ag75
Elijah Curtis		Scituate				gen'man										X								LU	J77	A-W+Ag75
John Curtis		Worcester				yeoman	16									XRec									A76	A-W+Ag74
William Curtis		Plymouth														XRec										A-W+Ag73
William Curtis		Worcester														XRec										A-W+Ag74
William Curtis		Worcester																								A-W+Ag74
Samuel Curwen	M	Salem	60			merchant	20	JP,V-A					RS				5					T				A-W+Ag68-75
John Cushing		Scituate				lawyer?		JP,RP,SC															T			Ag66
Elkanah Cushman		Plymouth				c.o.	1									X	8							BE	T75	A-W+Ag73-75
Ebenezer Cutler	M	Oxford				trader/ innk'per																1770	BA,BE,GB	A75,B		A-W70-75,Ag75
Andrew Dalglish		Salem				merchant	5						RS				5Rec						T	L	Ld	Ag68,A-W74
Samuel Dana		Groton	36	H	C	clergy																	W			F/Ag75
Samuel Danforth	M	Cam- bridge	79	H	C	lawyer		GC,J PJ															W			F
Thomas Danforth	M	Cambridge	31	H		lawyer		JP,V-A				1					3,8						W	BA,BE	B	F/A-W+Ag74-75
Nathaniel Daubney		Salem				physician											5Rec									A-W+Ag74
Samuel Davenport		Milton															6									A-W+Ag74
William Davies																	2									A-W+Ag74
Benjamin Davis	M	Boston	47		S	merchant											1,2,7	X				1774-75	BA,BE,LC	A76,B,C		A-W+Ag74-75
Edward Davis	M	Boston	45			merchant	46		X					X	DT								W	BA	A76	F/A-W+Ag75
George Deblois Sr.	E	Salem				merchant	8										5									A-W+Ag74
Gilbert Deblois	NY	Boston	50			merchant	60		X		G	2					1,2,7	X					W	BE	B,C	F/A-W70-75,Ag75

*With John Berry (q.v.)

Name	Dr.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	MI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA
John Fisher		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74
Samuel Fitch	C	Boston	51		A	lawyer	66	JP, ADV-G									3,7	X			T		BA, BE	B	A-W+Ag74-75
Timothy Fitch		Boston				merchant	53							X			2				W		L75		F/A-W+Ag74
Samuel Flagg		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74
John Fleeming	S	Boston				printer	26														T		L	B	A-W+Ag69-70
Samuel Fletcher		Boston				merchant						5										1769			A-W69
Thomas Flucker		Charles- town	56					GC, JP, Sec.				1							X		T	1769	BA, BE	B, C	A-W+Ag69-75
Elisha Ford		Marsh- field				yeoman	2									X	8						LU, BE	J76	A-W+Ag75
Levi Ford		Marsh- field															8								A-W+Ag75
James Forrest	I	Boston				merchant	20					7					1,2	X			1768, 76		BA, BE, LC	B, POW	A-W+Ag74-75
Israel Forster		Marble- head										?													A-W69
Chillingsworth Foster		Harwich	44				13	GC, JP, SH					R								T	1766			Ag65-68
Edward Foster	M	Boston			S	black- smith	33										1,2	X					SE	B, C	A-W+Ag74
Thomas Foster Sr.		Plymouth				black- smith	24	J								X	8								A-W+Ag75-75
Thomas Foster III	M	Plymouth	48		H	scribble- teacher		GC, JP		Ag						X					T	1766	BE		A-W+Ag65-73
Jacob Fowle		Marble- head				merchant		GC, JP				1	R			X	4						T		A-W+Ag68-74
John Fowle		Marble- head				merchant										X	4Rec								A-W+Ag72-74
Samuel Frizzel		Peters- ham				yeoman	3									X					T				A-W+Ag75
Peter Frye		Salem			H	merchant	20	GC, JP, J.RP				2	R				5				T	1767	L75		A-W+Ag68-75
John Gallison		Marble- head				gen'man		GC, JP								X	4							T79	P-W/A-W+Ag72-74
Henry Gardner		Salem															5				W		Patriot		P-W/A-W+Ag74
Weld Gardner		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74
Sylvester Gardiner		Boston	62	E/F	A	physician		JP				5					1,2,7	X			T		BE	B, C	A-W+Ag74-75

Name	Gr.	Posit.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSEID	SA	NI	AMI	Res.	SL	MI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act./L	Pros./L	PA/PA			
Caleb Garnett		Cam- bridge			A	clergy															T				A-W+Ag68			
Ebenezer Gay		Hingham	79	H	C	clergy															T				Ag65-66			
Martin Gay		Boston			A	copper- smith	48										1,2,7	X		1775			BA, BE, LC	B, C	A-W+Ag74-75			
Charles Geddes	S																						LC		A-W+Ag75			
Cabot Gerrish		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74			
William Gerrish		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74			
Frederick W. Geyer		Boston				merchant	36																LP	L	B, C	A-W74		
Samuel Gilbert	M	Free- town			C	gen'man	30										8							LU, BE, LC	B, C	A-W+Ag75		
Thomas Gilbert	M	Free- town	61		C	landowner	25*						GC, Col.											T	LU, BE, GB, LC	B, C	A-W73-75, Ag75	
Jonathan Glover		Marble- head				merchant																X		W	Patriot	P-W/A-W+Ag72-74		
Lemuel Goddard		Plymouth																								A-W+Ag73		
Robert Goddard		Peters- ham				yeoman	6																		T	A-W+Ag75		
Samuel Goldsbury						yeoman											8							BA, BE, LC	B, C, M	A-W+Ag75		
Ezekiel Goldthwait		Boston	65			insurance broker							RD, JP				1,2		X				W	M1774	L76	F/A-W+Ag74		
Jospeh Goldthwait		Boston	45			soldier	26										1,2							BE	B, C	A-W+Ag74		
M.B. Goldthwait		Boston	35			physician											1,2,7									A-W+Ag74-75		
Nathan Goodale		Salem				merchant	21										5Rec									A-W+Ag74		
Jonathan Goodhue		Salem															5									A-W+Ag74		
James Goodwin		Worcester				yeoman	5																		XRec	A-W+Ag74		
Nicholas Gordon		Marble- head																								X	A-W+Ag72	
John Gore		Boston	57		C	merchant	60						G	1											W	BA, BE	B, Ld	F/A-W+Ag74-75
David Gorham		Barn- stable	63	H		lawyer											3										A-W+Ag74	
Daniel Goulding		Worcester																								XRec	A-W+Ag74	
Palmer Goulding		Worcester				shopk'per	5																			XRec	A-W+Ag74	
George Graham																									BA		A-W+Ag75	
Jonathan Graham																									BA		A-W+Ag75	

*For property in Berkley and Freetown.

Name	Dr.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA
James Grant	GB?	Salem				retired soldier	13						RS				5				T		BE		Ag68-75, A-W74
Peter Grant																							BA		A-W+Ag75
John Gray		Boston				merchant/ c.o.											2						BE	J76	A-W+Ag74
John Gray Jr.																							BA, L75		A-W+Ag75
Harrison Gray	M	Boston	64		C	merchant		GC, TR	X			1					1,2	X	X		W		Pamph., L75		F65-69/A-W+Ag74
Harrison Gray Jr.	M	Boston				merchant						1					1,2	X					BE		A-W+Ag74
Lewis Gray		Boston				merchant	13				G	1		X			1,2,7	X			W		BA, BE	B, Ld	F/A-W+Ag74-75
Samuel Gray		Boston					16																BA		A-W+Ag75
John Greary																							BA		A-W+Ag75
David Green		Boston	26			merchant											1,2	X					L75	B	A-W+Ag74
John Greecart		Boston															7								A-W+Ag75
Francis Green	M	Boston	33	H		merchant					S	1		X			1,2,7	X			W		BA, BE	B	F/A-W+Ag74-75
Jeremiah Green		Boston															1,2	X							A-W+Ag74
Joseph Green	M	Boston	70	H	C	distiller	60				S	2		X			1,2	X	R		W		L75	B, C	F/A-W+Ag69-74
Joseph Green		Boston				merchant					O							X							A-W74
Richard Green	M?	Boston	45			merchant											7						BA	A76	A-W+Ag75
Rufus Green		Boston	68		A	merchant			X		R	7					1,2	X					BA	A76	A-W+Ag74-75
Benjamin Greene		Boston			A	merchant					G	6					1,2	X				1770	BA	A76	A-W70-75, Ag74-75
Benjamin Greene Jr.		Boston				merchant					G			X			1	X			W	1770	BA	A76	F/A-W70-75, Ag74-75
John Greenlaw		Boston				trader					S						1,2	X							A-W+Ag74
Stephen Greenleaf	M	Boston		H	A	merchant	13	JP, SH				1					2,7	X				M1765	BA	A76	A-W+Ag74-75
John Greeough		Well-fleet				merchant																	M1774		A-W74
Samuel Greenwood	A	Boston			S	mastmaker	13										2	X		1775			BA, BE		A-W+Ag74-75
Thomas Greer																							BA		A-W+Ag75
Benjamin Gridley	M	Boston		H		lawyer		JP						X			1,2,3	X			W		BA, BE, LC	M75, B, C	F/A-W+Ag74-75
Benjamin Grinnel		Free-town				yeoman	7										8						BA		A-W+Ag75
Jeremiah Hacker		Salem					38						RS												Ag68
Adam Hall																	8								A-W+Ag75
James Hall		Boston				mariner											1,2	X				1773	GB	B, Ld	A-W+Ag73-74
Joseph Hall		Marsh-field															8						BA		A-W+Ag75

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA
Luke Hall		Scituate														X	8						LU, BE		A-W+Ag75
Stephen Hall		Medford					41	GC, JP				2	Ag								T	1766			Ag65-66/P-4
Benjamin Hallowell	M	Boston	51			c.o.	40	JP	X?	Ag		1									T	M1765	BE	B, C	A-W+Ag65-74
Robert Hallowell		Boston				c.o.						1		X			7				W		L	B	F/A-W+Ag75
John Handyside																							BA		A-W+Ag75
Seth Hapgood		Petersham				yeoman	6									X					T				A-W+Ag75
Samuel Harlow		Plymouth														X									A-W+Ag73
Benjamin Hart																	8								A-W+Ag75
James Hart		Worcester				yeoman	6									XRec								A76	A-W+Ag74
James Hart Jr.		Worcester														XRec									A-W+Ag74
John Haskins		Boston												X				X			W		BA	A76	F/A-W+Ag74-
Hawes Hatch		Boston	25															X					BE, LC	B	A-W74
Jabez Hatch		Boston				gen'man								X						1775	W			J75	F
Nathaniel Hatch	M	Dorchester	52	H	A	lawyer		JP, J, Col.									1,2		X		T		BE	B, C	Ag65-74, A-73-74
Edmund Heard		Worcester				shopk'per	1															XRec			A-W+Ag74
Barnabas Hedge		Plymouth				merchant	20															XRec		T77	A-W+Ag73
Jonathan Heider																							BA		A-W+Ag75
Jonathan Hicks		Cambridge		H	C?	college professor																	BA, GB, L76	J75, POW	A-W+Ag75
Henry Higginson		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74
John Higginson		Salem					14	JP					RS									T			Ag68
Stephen Higginson		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74
Kitch'd (sic) Hinckly		Salem														X									A-W+Ag72
Richard Hinkly		Marblehead															4								A-W+Ag74
Richard Hirons	GB?	Boston				physician											1,2	X					BA		A-W+Ag74-7
Gad Hitchcock		Pembroke				clergy															T				Ag74
William G. Hoar	I																						LC		A-W+Ag75
John Hoban						yeoman	2																BA		A-W+Ag75
Zephaniah Hodges		Taunton				distiller	46							X									BA		A-W+Ag75
Benjamin M. Holmes		Boston															1,2,7	X			W		BA, BE	A76	F/A-W+Ag74-75

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VVI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA	
William Hutchins		Boston																X							A-W74	
Edward Hutchinson M		Boston	46	H		merchant		JP									7						BA	A76	A-W+Ag75	
Foster Hutchinson M		Boston		H		merchant	33	JP,PJ, X SC				2							X	1774	T		BE	B,C	A-W+Ag	
Elisha Hutchinson M		Boston	30	H		merchant		JP			R	10*										T	1769		B,C	A-W69-73, Ag73
Thomas Hutchinson M		Boston/ Milton	64	H	C	Lt-G, Gov.		Lt-G, Gov, GC, RJ, CJ		Ag			RS									T	M1765		B,C	A-W+Ag65-74
Thomas Hutchinson Jr. M		Boston	35	H	C?	merchant	60	JP, J			R						7					T	1769		B,C	A-W+Ag69-75
David Ingersoll		Gt. Barr- ington	33	Y		lawyer		GC, JP														W				P-W/Ag75
George Inman		Cam- bridge	20	H																				BA, GB		A-W+Ag75
John Inman		Boston				commercial clerk											1,2,7	X						BA, BE		A-W+Ag74-75
Ralph Inman		Cam- bridge	62		A	merchant		JP				7					7						BA	A76	A-W+Ag75	
Thomas Irving	GB?	Boston				c.o.																T	M1767	L		A-W69
James Jackson		Peters- ham				yeoman																X				A-W+Ag75
James Jackson		Boston				merchant					R															A-W68
Lemuel Jackson		Plymouth				yeoman	5															X				A-W+Ag73
William Jackson		Boston	44			merchant	40					7			G		1,2,7	X					1769	BE	B,C, POW	A-W+Ag70-75
Robert Jamieson S		Marble- head				school- teacher																T	M1770			A-W+Ag70
John Jarvis		Boston				merchant																				A-W74
Robert Jarvis M		Boston				merchant/ mariner	20					2					1,2,7	X						BA, BE	C	A-W+Ag74-75
John Jeffries Jr. M		Boston	30	H/GB	A	physician								X			7					W		BE, GB	B	F/A-W+Ag75
William Jeffrey		Salem											RS													Ag68
Israel Jennison		Worcester				shopk'per	16																XRec			A-W+Ag74
William Jernigan		Edgar- town						GC					R													Ag68
Joshua Johnson		Worcester				yeoman	1																			A-W+Ag74
Micah Johnson		Worcester				yeoman	8																			A-W+Ag74
Francis Johnnot M		Boston	66			distiller						1		X								W				F/Ag
Peter Johnnot M		Boston				distiller											1,2,7	X						BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75

*With Thomas Hutchinson Jr. (q.v.)

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	.A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA	
Elisha Jones	M	Weston	65			gen'man	22	GC,JP, Col.									8				T		BA,LU,L	C	A-W+Ag73-75	
Ichabod Jones		Boston				gen'man	26										2							J75	A-W+Ag74	
Isaac Jones	M	Weston	47			innk'per	22															M1773	LU?	T75	A-W73-75,Ag75	
Jonas Jones	M	Weston	19																				LU?		A-W+Ag75	
Josiah Jones																							BA	J75	A-W+Ag75	
Stephen Jones	M	Weston	21	H													8						BA,BE,LC,GB		A-W+Ag75	
Thomas Joselyn Jr.		Pembroke				yeoman																	BA	J75	A-W+Ag75	
John Joy	M	Boston	48			house- wright											1,2,7	X					BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75	
Philip G. Kast		Salem				merchant						2					5								A-W+Ag74	
Josiah Keen		Pembroke						GC,JP													T	1766			Ag65-66	
Simeon Keene		Marsh- field																					LU		A-W+Ag75	
John Kempton		Plymouth				merchant	20																		T78	A-W+Ag73
John Kempton Jr.		Plymouth				merchant	1																		T78	A-W+Ag73
Patrick Kimmey																								BA		A-W+Ag75
Benjamin King		Plymouth				yeoman	4																			A-W+Ag73
Edward King		Boston			S	wharf- inger											1,2	X						BA,BE		A-W+Ag74-75
Jonathan King		Plymouth				yeoman	7																			A-W+Ag73
Richard King		Scar- borough	57			merchant/ c.o.	76			F														M1766		Ag65-66
Samuel King																								BA,BE		A-W+Ag75
Thomas King		Marble- head																				X				A-Ag+72
Thomas Knight		Boston				shopk'per					0				A		1,2	X						L75	C	A-W+Ag74
William Knutten		Boston				yeoman	10																	BA,L	Ld	A-W74-75,Ag75
John Knutton			33			tallow chandler																		BA,L	B	A-W+Ag75
Joshua Lamb		Marl- borough																								A-W70
William Lamphier																								BA		A-W+Ag75
Henry Laughton		Boston			A	merchant	40				R	1			A		1,2,7	X						B,C		A-W+Ag74-75
Abel Lawrence		Groton						GC,JP																T	1766	Ag65-66

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VVI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA	
Jeremiah Learned		Oxford																			W				P-W/A-W74	
Isaac Lebarron		Plymouth														X								T77	A-W+Ag73	
William Lebarron		Plymouth														X								T77	A-W,Ag73	
Richard Lechmere	A	Taunton/ Boston	49		A	distiller	66										1,2	X	X				BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74	
Henry Ledell	GB	Boston			A	factor	26										1,2,7	X					BE,GB		A-W+Ag74	
Henry Lee		Boston															2	X					BA		A-W+Ag74-75	
John Lee		Marble- head								JP							4								A-W+Ag74	
Joseph Lee		Marble- head														X	4								A-W+Ag72-74	
Joseph Lee		Cam- bridge	64		A	merchant/ distiller	21			GC,JP, J			Ag						XRes,M		T	1766			Ag65-66	
Daniel Leonard	M	Taunton	35			lawyer	30			GC,JP,* Col,S-G							3		X		W	1774	Pamph.,BE		P-W/A-W+Ag74-75	
George Leonard		Taunton								GC,JP, PJ													T		Ag66	
George Leonard		Boston	33			merchant/ miller	76										1,2,7	X			1778-79		BA,BE,LC	B	A-W+Ag74-75	
Thomas Lewis		Marble- head														X									Patriot?	A-W+Ag72
Thorndike Lewis		Marble- head															4									A-W+Ag74
Theophilus Lilly	M	Boston	45			merchant					R	3					1,2,7 5	X				1769	BA,BE	C	A-W69-75,Ag74- 75 A-W+Ag74	
William Lilly		Salem																								Ag65/P-W+Ag68- 75
Benjamin Lincoln		Hingham								GC,JP, Col.													T			Patriot
Luke Lincoln		Peters- ham					2									X							T			A-W+Ag75
Ephraim Little		Marsh- field				yeoman	15									X								LU,BA,BE	J76	A-W+Ag75
Lemuel Little		Marsh- field																						LU		A-W+Ag75
Thomas Little		Marsh- field				yeoman	16																	LU		A-W+Ag75
Henry Lloyd		Boston			A	merchant	53			JP	X		1				2,7	X			1768?	T	BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75	
James Lloyd	NY	Boston	48		A	physician				JP			1				7						BA	J75		A-W+Ag75

*Solicitor-General to the Board of Customs Commissioners.

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	NI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA	
Stephen Longfellow		Falmouth				school-teacher		JP													W		Patriot		P-W/Ag75	
Joshua Loring Sr.	M	Roxbury	59			landowner	27	JP				4								XM		T	BE,LC	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75	
Joshua Loring Jr.	M	Dorchester	31			merchant		SH									1,7						BA,BE,GB	T77,B	A-W+Ag74-75	
David Lothrop		Plymouth				merchant										XRec									A-W+Ag73	
John Love		Boston															7								A-W+Ag75	
John Lowell [Jr.]		Boston				lawyer	13			F	S?						3					T	BA		A-W+Ag65-75	
Benjamin Lynde		Salem	75	H		lawyer		GC,PJ,SC					RS									T			Ag66-68	
Samuel Luscomb Jr.		Salem											RS												Ag68	
George Lush		Boston				tanner																	BA	A76	A-W74-75,Ag75	
Byfield Lyde	M	Boston	71	H	C	merchant		JP									1,2,7	X					BE		A-W+Ag74-75	
George Lyde		Falmouth/Boston				merchant/c.o.											1						1777		A-W+Ag74	
Edward G. Lytwyche																	8								A-W+Ag75	
William McAlpine	S	Boston	44			bookbinder/printer						1					1,2,7	X					BA,BE,LC	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75	
George McCall		Marblehead															4					X			A-W+Ag72-74	
Moses McClallan		Petersham				yeoman																	T		A-W+Ag75	
James McEwen	S?	Boston				mariner											1,2								A-W+Ag74	
William McGilchrist		Salem	68		A	clergy																	T	M76-77	A-W+Ag68	
Joseph McIntyre		Salem				shopk'per	5						RS										T		Ag68	
Daniel McMasters	S?	Boston/N.H.	21														7							BE	A-W+Ag75	
James McMasters	S	Boston				merchant	26										1						1769	L,LC	B,C	A-W69-74,Ag74
Patrick McMasters	S	Boston				merchant											1,2						1769	BA,BE		A-W69-75,Ag74-75
Archibald McNeill		Boston			A	baker											1,2,7	X					1774	BE,LC	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75
William Macomber		Marshfield																						LU		A-W+Ag75
Isaac Mansfield		Marblehead	24		S			JP									4							L		A-W+Ag74
Matthew Mansfield		Marblehead				shopk'per																				A-W70

} 7

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA		
Samuel March		Scarborough						GC													W				P-W/A-W74		
Benjamin Marston		Marblehead	45		A	merchant		JP								X	4Rec						BE	A76,B	A-W+Ag72-74		
John Mascarene	WI	Salem	53			c.o.	10										5								A-W+Ag74		
Thomas Matthew		Plymouth				merchant	25									X									A-W+Ag73		
Matthew Mayhew		Chilmark						GC,JP, PJ,J					R									T	1768			Ag68	
John Mein	S	Boston				bookseller/ printer					R	3										T	1769	Pamph		A-W+Ag69-75	
Ebenezer Miller		Brain-tree						Maj.														T			T77	Ag65	
Stephen Miller		Milton				gen'man	30	GC,JP, Lt-Col.									6					T	1766			A-W+Ag65-74	
Samuel Minot		Boston				silver-smith	22							G			1,2	X					BA	A76		A-W+Ag74-75	
David Mitchelson		Boston				lapidary?											1,2	X								A-W+Ag74	
David Moore		Worcester				yeoman	5									XRec								A76		A-W+Ag74	
Isaac Moore		Worcester														X										A-W+Ag74	
Samuel Moore		Worcester				yeoman	10									XRec										A-W+Ag74	
John Mower		Worcester														XRec										A-W+Ag74	
Samuel Mower		Worcester				yeoman	18									XRec										A-W+Ag74	
Samuel Mower Jr.		Worcester															6,7					T	1768	BE	B	A-W+Ag65-74	
James Murray	S	Milton	62			merchant	30	JP		F		3										T	1768	BA,BE	B,C	A-W74-75,Ag75	
John Murray	I	Rutland	55			landowner/ shopk'per	55	GC,JP, Col.																			A-W70
John Newton		Marlborough																									A-W70
Solomon Newton		Marlborough																									A-W70
Ebenezer Nichols		Reading					9	GC,JP														T	1766				A-W+Ag65-66
Jonas Nichols		Worcester														X											A-W+Ag74
Robert Nichols		Salem	31		A	clergy											5						BA,GB			A-W+Ag74	
John Noyes		Sudbury					48	GC,JP					Ag									T	1766			P-W68	
John Nutting	M	Salem				merchant/ c.o.	10	JP					RS				5Rec					T		BA,BE,GB	M75,B	A-W+Ag68-75	

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	P	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA			
Andrew Oliver	M	Boston	1706-1774	H	C	merchant	16	GC,JP, Lt-G,Sec		Ag		2									T	M1765			A-W+Ag65-74			
Andrew Oliver Jr.	M?	Salem	44	H		lawyer	36	GC,JP, J		Ag			RS						XRes		T	1766			Ag65-68			
Daniel Oliver		Middle-borough	37			manuf-acturer		GC,JP													T	1766			Ag65-66			
Daniel Oliver Jr.		Hardwick	32			lawyer	20	GC,JP																				
Peter Oliver Sr.	M	Middle-borough	62	H	A	lawyer											3,8				T		BA,BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75			
Peter Oliver Jr.	M?	Middle-borough	34			physician		JP											X		T		BE	B,C	A-W+Ag65-75			
Peter Oliver Jr.(III)	M?	Salem			H	physician																	BA,BE	M75,B	A-W+Ag75			
Thomas Oliver		Cam-bridge	41		A		13	Lt-G,JP, Lt-Col.									5,8						BE,GB	B	A-W+Ag74-75			
Timothy Orne	M	Salem				merchant																	BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74			
John Osborne	M?	Boston				retired merchant	20	JP									5					W		Patriot				
Thomas Oxnard		Falmouth	35		A	merchant																			Ag65			
Adino Paddock		Boston	48			chaise-maker		Maj.															L	B,C	A-W75			
Robert Pagan	S	Falmouth	25														1,2,7	X					BA,BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75			
Samuel Paine	M	Worcester	21	H		court clerk																	L	B	A-W75			
Timothy Paine	E	Worcester	45	H		gen'man	12	GC,JP, RD,RP														8	BA,BE,LC	J75,C	A-W+AG74-75			
William Paine	M	Worcester	25	H		physician																	XRes,M Rec	T	A76,C	Ag68		
Thomas Palmer		Boston	32	H		merchant															X			GB	B,C	Ag69-74,A-W74		
Robert Park	S	Boston				ship-builder								X									R	W	F			
Joseph Parker		Marl-borough																								A-W69		
Oliver Partridge		Hatfield				gen'man		GC,JP, J		Ag																A-W70		
Samuel Partridge		Boston				merchant	26																	T	1768	F65/Ag66-74		
Nathan Patch		Worcester				shopk'per	22*							X										W		F/A-W		
Charles Paxton	M	Boston	71		A	customs commissioner		JP																XRec	A76	A-W+Ag74		
																									T	1765	BE	A-W+Ag65-75

*With Nathaniel Adams (q.v.)

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VVI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA
Edward Payne		Boston				merchant			X									LP			W		Patriot		F+P-W/A-W74
James Pecker	M	Boston	51	H	A	physician								X							W		BA	A76	F/A-W+Ag75
John Pederick		Marble-head				merchant						4				X	4						1769		A-W69-74, Ag72-74
Thomas Pederick		Marble-head														X									A-W+Ag72
William Pepperell (a.k.a. Sparhawk)	M	Kittery/Roxbury	29	H		landowner	45*	JP									2		XM		W		BA,GB,LC	B,C	P-W/A-W70, Ag74-75
James Perkins		Boston	59		A		40				R	1					1,2,7	X					BA	A76	A-W+Ag74-75
Nathaniel Perkins		Boston	70	H		physician	26	JP									7						BE	B	A-W+Ag75
Samuel Perkins																									A-W
William Lee Perkins		Boston				physician	33							X			7				W		BA,BE	B,C	F/A-W+Ag75
William Perry		Boston				merchant	8										1,2,7	X				1777	B		A-W+Ag74-75
Nathaniel Philips		Marsh-field														X	8						LU	A75	A-W+Ag74-75
A.F. Phillips		Boston															1,2	X							A-W+Ag74-75
Benjamin Phillips		Boston																							A-W74
Ebenezer Phillips		Easton														XRec							BE	B	A-W+Ag74
John Phillips		Worcester														XRec							L		A-W+Ag74
Joseph Phillips		Marsh-field															8						L	B	A-W+Ag75
Richard Phillips		Marble-head															4								A-W+Ag74
David Phippen		Salem											RS									T			Ag68
David Phips	M	Cam-bridge	51	H	A			JP,SH,V-A									1,7,8						BE,GB	B,C	A-W+Ag74
Timothy Pickering	M	Salem			H																W		Patriot		Ag65-70/F+P-W78-75
Benjamin Pickman	M	Salem	35	H		merchant	147	JP					? RS				5				T	1769	L75	B	A-W+Ag68-74
Benjamin Pickman Jr.	M	Salem						JP					1 RS								T				Ag68
Clark G. Pickman		Salem											RS								T				Ag68
William Pickman		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74-75
Eliphalet Pond		Dedham				shopk'per	15	GC,JP,Col.									1Rec								A-W+Ag74
Samuel Porter	M	Ipswich	33	H		lawyer	3										3					M	L75	B,C	A-W+Ag74
Samuel Porter		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74

*For property in Kittery and Roxbury.

Name	Dr.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	V\I	Res.	SL	T\I	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA	
Owen Richards	W	Boston				c.o.	16															M1770	BE	B,Ld	A-W70	
Ebenezer Richardson	M	Boston	57			c.o.	14														T	M1770			Ag,A-W	
Benjamin Rider III		Plymouth				yeoman	7									XRec								T78	A-W+Ag73	
Andrew Ritchie	S	Boston				merchant					S	2										1775-79	LC	J75	A-W+Ag75	
Frederick Roberts		Boston				merchant											1,2	X							A-W+Ag74	
Thomas Robie	M	Marble-head				merchant	4	JP					4			X	4				T		L75	B,Ld	Ag65-74,A-W69-74	
John Robinson	M	Boston				customs commissioner															T	1767			A-W+Ag67-70	
John Robinson		Dorchester						GC													T	1766			Ag65-66	
Amos Rogers		Marshfield						Capt.															LU		A-W+Ag75	
Jeremiah D. Rogers	M	Littleton		H		lawyer		JP									3				T		BA,BE	B,C	A-W+Ag72-75	
Nathaniel Rogers	M	Boston	1736-1770		A	merchant		JP		Ag											T	1769			A-W+Ag65-70	
Samuel Rogers	M	Boston	29?	H		merchant																	X	BA,BE,GB	B	A-W74-75,Ag75
Joseph Root		Sunderland				miller	15	GC					R								T				Ag68	
Nathaniel Ropes		Salem	1726-1774	H		merchant/lawyer	58	GC,SC,PJ,J					RS								T				Ag68	
Francis Rotch	M	Boston				merchant																1773	L		A-W73	
Richard Routh	E	Salem				shopk'per/c.o.	8										5						BA,BE		A-W+Ag74-75	
Isaac Royall	WI	Medford	56				120	GC,JP				1							R		W		BE	B,C	F+P-W65-74	
John Ruggles		Hardwick				yeoman											8						BA,BE,LC	B	A-W+Ag75	
Timothy Ruggles	M	Hardwick	64	H		lawyer		GC,JP,J* Gen,Sur		Ag			R								XM	T	1766	BA,BE,LC	B,C	A-W+Ag65-75
Chambers Russell		Lincoln	d.1766					GC,SC														T	1766			Ag65-66
James Russell	M	Charlestown					23	GC,J,C													R		T/W			Ag,P-W68-69
John Russell		Plymouth				shopk'per	8															X				A-W+Ag73
Wyatt St. Barbe		Marble-head																				X				A-W+Ag72
Richard Saltonstall	M	Haverhill	43			landowner		GC,JP,Col,SH		Ag			R				8				T	M1765	BA,L75	B	A-W+Ag65-75	

*Surveyor-General of the King's Forests. +Commissioner of Impost and Excise.

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	\\I	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA	
Ebenezer Samson		Plymouth														XRec									A-W+Ag73	
John Sargent	M	Salem	26			merchant											5,8						BA, BE, GB	B	A-W+Ag74-75	
Henry Saunders		Marble-head															4								A-W+Ag74	
Abraham Savage		Boston				manuf-acturer											1,2						BA, BE, GB	B	A-W+Ag74-75	
Arthur Savage	M	Boston/Falmouth	44		A	merchant/c.o.				X	Ag										T	M1770	BE	B, C	A-W+Ag65-71	
Rowland Savage		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74	
Joseph Sawyer		Wells							GC, J												T	1766			Ag65-66	
Jonathan Sayward	M?	York	62			merchant	10		GC, JP, J	X			R								T				Ag68	
Joseph Scott		Boston				merchant	40				S	1		X			1,2,7	X			W	M1774	BE	B	F/A-W+Ag74-75	
James Selkrig	S	Boston				merchant	46					10					1,2,7	X				1769	BA, BE, LC	B	A-W69-75, Ag74-75	
Robert Selkrig	S	Boston				merchant																1769			A-W69-70	
John Semple	S	Boston				shopk'per											1,2,7	X					BE	B	A-W+Ag74-75	
Robert Semple		Boston				merchant																	BE	J76, B	A-W	
William Sergeant		Cam-bridge			A	clergy															T				A-W+Ag68	
Robert Service		Boston				trader											2						BE	B	A-W+Ag74	
Jonathan Sewall	M	Cam-bridge	46			lawyer			JP, A-G, S-G, V-A												T	1767	Pamph., L75	B, C	A-W+Ag65-75	
Samuel Sewall	M	Brook-line	30		H	lawyer			JP								3						L75	B, C	A-W+Ag74	
Ichabod Shaw		Plymouth				shopk'per	12															X				A-W+Ag73
William Sheaffe		Boston	1706-1771			c.o.	33															W			P-W/Ag65-66	
Elisha Sherman		Marsh-field																						LU		A-W+Ag75
Samuel Sherman		Plymouth				shopk'per	3															XRec			A-W+Ag73	
Richard Sherwin		Boston				shopk'per																	X		B	A-W74
Nathaniel Shurtleff		Plymouth				yeoman	3															XRec			A-W+Ag73	
Daniel Silsby		Boston				trader						1		S			1								A-W+Ag74	
William Simmons																	8							BE	A-W+Ag75	
Jonathan Simpson Sr.	M	Boston	63			merchant			JP	X	R						1,2,7	X	XRes				BE, GB	C	A-W+Ag74-75	

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	VNI	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA	
John Thomas		Plymouth						JP								X									A-W+Ag73	
Nehemiah Ray Thomas	M	Marsh- field	44	H		landowner/ merchant	99	JP								X	8		XM		T		LU, BE, GB	B, C	A-W+Ag74-75	
Ebenezer Thompson		Marsh- field			A	clergy															T				A-W+Ag68	
Joseph Thompson	M	Medford	41			yeoman	5															1774-75	L77	C	A-W74	
John Tilden		Marsh- field				yeoman	34																		A-W+Ag75	
Stephen Tilden		Marsh- field																							A-W+Ag75	
John Timmons		Boston			A	merchant	46		X		0	4					1,2,7	X					BA, L77	A76	A-W+Ag74-75	
Joseph Tisdale		Taunton						GC					Ag								T/W	1768			F+P-W68	
Gregory Townshend		Boston				c.o.								X			1,2,7	X				W	L	B	F/A-W+Ag74-75	
William Trenholme		Plymouth				merchant																			A-W+Ag73	
John Troutbeck	E	Boston			A	clergy																			A-W+Ag68-75	
Edmund Trowbridge	M	Cam- bridge	66	H	C			GC, SC, A-G																	A-W+Ag65-66	
John Turner		Salem											RS												Ag68-74, A-W74	
Joseph Turrell		Boston				clerk								X			1,2,7						BA	A76	F/A-W+Ag74-75	
William Tyng	M	Falmouth	38	H	A	merchant		GC, JP, SH									8						L75	B, C	F74/A-W74, Ag75	
William Vans		Salem															5								A-W+Ag74	
John Vassal		Cam- bridge	37			landowner						2					1	X	X				BE	B, C	A-W+Ag74	
William Vassal	WI	Cam- bridge	60	H	A	landowner/ merchant	80																		?	
William Vesey		Brain- tree																							T77	Ag65-66
John Wadsworth		Duxbury	36	H		school- teacher	3	GC					Ag									T/W	1766			F+P-W68
Samuel Waldo		Falmouth	1723- 1770	H	A	lawyer		GC, JP																		Ag65-66
Abraham Walker		Marsh- field				yeoman																	LU	J76	A-W+Ag75	
Adam Walker	M	Worcester				black- smith	2									XRec	8						BA, L, LC	J76, B, C	A-W+Ag74-75	

Name	Or.	Resid.	Age	E	R	Occup.	Tax	PS	BSETC	SA	NI	\\I	Res.	SL	TNI	Prot.	Add.	SLC	MC	Cont.	A	Pros./T	Act/L	Pros./L	PA/PA		
Ephraim Whitney	M	Petersham	46			physician	6									X					T			A82	A-W+Ag75		
Miles Whitworth Sr.		Boston				physician	40	JP									1,2,7						BE	J76	A-W+Ag74-75		
Abel Willard		Lancaster	43	H		lawyer		JP									3							B,C	A-W+Ag74		
Abijah Willard		Lancaster	41				24	JP												XInt Rec	1774-75		BA,BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75		
Isaac Willard		Worcester				yeoman	18									XRec									A-W+Ag74		
Joshua Willard		Petersham														X					T				A-W+Ag74		
Nahum Willard		Worcester				physician	3									XRec									A-W+Ag74		
David Wilder		Lancaster					14	GC		Ag?															Ag66		
Henry H. Williams		Boston				yeoman	20										1							M+T75	A-W+Ag65-75		
Israel Williams	M	Hatfield	66	H		merchant	4	GC,PJ, J,Col		Ag		2	R							R,M							
Joseph Williams		Roxbury					22	GC					Ag												Ag65-66/F+P-W68		
Seth Williams Jr.	M	Taunton	30	H		lawyer	6										8						T/W	1766	A-W+Ag75		
William Williams	M	Pittsfield	64	H		physician		GC,JP, PJ,Col																	M75,A78	Ag68/F+P-W75	
Archibald Wilson		Boston				factor						2					1,2	X							B	A-W+Ag74	
Joseph Wilson																										A-W74	
Edward Winslow	M	Plymouth	61	H		landowner	18	RP,JP								X	7							M75,T77	A-W+Ag73-75		
Edward Winslow	M	Brain-tree	53	H	A	clergy																	T	L77,LC,GB	T77	A-W+Ag68	
Edward Winslow Jr.	M	Plymouth	28	H		c.o.		JP								X	8								B	A-W+Ag73-75	
Isaac Winslow	M	Boston	36	H	S	merchant/ distiller	46					1					1,2,7	X			1775-76		BA,BE	B,C	A-W+Ag74-75		
Isaac Winslow	M	Marshfield				physician	20									X									LU	A-W+Ag74-75	
Isaac Winslow Jr.	M	Roxbury	66	H	S	merchant/ distiller	20	JP									1,2,7	X		XInt, Res Rec					C	A-W+Ag74-75	
John Winslow		Boston															1,2									A-W+Ag74	
John Winslow	M	Marshfield				landowner	87	GC,JP,J J,Gen		Ag														T	1766	A-W+Ag65-66	
Joshua Winslow		Boston	d.1774			merchant		JP					5				1,2	X								A-W+Ag73-74	
Pelham Winslow	M	Plymouth		H		lawyer		JP								X	8								BE	B,Ld	A-W+Ag74-75

APPENDIX B: THE VOTING RECORDS AND OFFICE-HOLDING OF TORY REPRESENTATIVES.

QUESTIONS AND VOTES.

That part of the militia be retained for the defence of New England. Dec. 9, 1757.
 Should agent William Bollan receive grant from Parliament? Oct. 12, 1758.
 Should Bollan's name precede Pownall's in the commission for receiving grants from Parliament? Oct. 9, 1759.
 Amendment to the Act for Standardising Coinage. Feb. 3, 1762.
 Will the House raise more troops? Feb. 1, 1764.
 Should Thomas Hutchinson be excused from acting as province special agent? Feb. 1, 1764.
 Should Hutchinson receive an award for services as Chief Justice? Feb. 1, 1765.
 Should the law courts be opened? Jan. 22, 1766.
 Compensation/Indemnity Bill. Dec. 5, 1766.
 Resolve to encourage native manufactures. Feb. 26, 1768.
 To rescind the circular letter. June 30, 1768.
 On the acceptance of the committee's report on the assembly meeting outside of Boston. June 6, 1770.
 On the expedience of proceeding to business. June 6, 1770.
 Should the House proceed to business? Oct. 9, 1770
 Resolves on the Union and Rights and Liberties of the colonies. May 28, 1773.
 Petition for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. June 23, 1773.
 Petition for the removal of Chief Justice Peter Oliver. Feb. 11, 1774.
 Articles of Impeachment concerning Chief Justice Oliver. Feb. 24, 1774.

Representative Constituency Date of Election.

Representative	Constituency	Date of Election.															
Elisha Adams	Medway (S)	1760-63,65,68				N	N	Y		Y							N
Briggs Alden	Duxbury (P)	1761-65,67				Y	Y	N	Y	NV		NV					
John Ashley	Sheffield (Ber)	1761,67-69				N						NV	Y				
Jonathan Ashley	Deerfield (H)	1762-63,65,67-68					Y	N		NV		NV	Y				
Dudley Atkins	Newburyport (E)	1765								Y							
Edward Bacon*	Barnstable (Bar)	1757-59,72,74	NV	NV	Y					NV				Y	N	Y	N
Jonathan Bagley	Almsbury (E)	1758-60,62-64, 1766-68,71		NV	NV		Y	N	Y		N	Y	N				
Jonathan Bliss	Springfield (H)	1767-69										NV	Y				
William Browne	Salem (E)	1762-68					NV	NV	Y	Y	N	NV	Y				
William Bourne	Marblehead (E)	1759,64-68							NV	N	Y	NV	NV				
John Calef	Ipswich (E)	1764-65,68							Y	NV			Y				
John Chadwick	Tyringham (Ber)	1762-63,66-68, 1772-73					Y	N			NV	NV	Y			NV	NV
John Chandler	Worcester (W)	1763-65					Y	N		NV							
Thomas Clap	Scituate (P)	1756,58-65		Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y							
Jonathan Doane	Eastham (Bar)	1757,61,64-65	Y							NV	NV	Y					
Timothy Dwight	Northampton (H)	1758-65		NV	Y	Y	Y	N		NV	NV						
Josiah Edson	Bridgewater (P)	1766-68,71,73										Y	Y		Y	N	N
Chillingsworth Foster	Harwich (Bar)	1761-69,71					NV	NV	NV	Y	NV	Y	NV	Y			
Thomas Foster III	Plymouth (P)	1756-57,60-65	Y				Y	Y	N	Y	Y						
Jacob Fowle	Marblehead (E)	1757-68	Y	NV	NV	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	NV	Y				
Peter Frye	Salem (E)	1767-68										NV	Y				

QUESTIONS AND VOTES.

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On the acceptance of the committee's report on the assembly meeting outside of Boston. June 6, 1770.

On the expedience of proceeding to business. June 6, 1770.

Should the House proceed to business? Oct. 9, 1770

Resolves on the Union and Rights and Liberties of the colonies. May 28, 1773.

Petition for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. June 23, 1773.

Petition for the removal of Chief Justice Peter Oliver. Feb. 11, 1774.

Articles of Impeachment concerning Chief Justice Oliver. Feb. 24, 1774.

Representative	Constituency	Date of Election.																		
Chambers Russell	Lincoln (Ms)	1756-57,61,63-65	Y																	
Richard Saltonstall	Haverhill (E)	1761-68																		
Joseph Sawyer	Wells (Y)	1762,64-65																		
Jonathan Sayward	York (Y)	1764-68																		
Sampson Stoddard	Chelmsford (Ms)	1762-68																		
Ezra Taylor	Southborough (W)	1760-66																		
Joseph Tisdale	Taunton (Bri)	1766-68																		
Edmund Trowbridge	Cambridge (Ms)	1763-64																		
John Wadsworth	Duxbury (P)	1768-70,72																		
Samuel Waldo	Falmouth (C)	1757-61,64-65	Y	NV	NV	N														
Abijah White	Marshfield (P)	1773-74																		
David Wilder	Lancaster (W)	1757,62-65,67	NV																	
Israel Williams	Hatfield (H)	1756-60,67-69, 1771-72	Y	Y	NV															
Joseph Williams	Roxbury (S)	1757-60,62-65,67-69	Y	NV	NV															
William Williams	Pittsfield (Ber)	1763,65-66,71-72																		
John Winslow	Marshfield (P)	1757,61-65	Y																	
John Worthington	Springfield (H)	1756-57,60-67	Y																	
<u>Total Number of Votes Cast in the House:</u>			33Y	34Y	42Y	60Y	37Y	41Y	42Y	81Y	53Y	82Y	17Y	96Y	77Y	59Y	109Y	102Y	96Y	92Y
			48N	38N	38N	43N	41N	32N	41N	5N	35N	1N	92N	6N	3N	29N	4N	12N	9N	8N

Tory Representatives: Proscription and Office-Holding.

<u>Representative</u>	<u>Proscription</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Date of Appointment</u>
Elisha Adams		JP	1762
Briggs Alden	BL,AP	JP	1762
John Ashley		JP Col.	1761 1771
Jonathan Ashley		JP	1769
Dudley Atkins	BL	JP	1763
Edward Bacon		J	1762
Jonathan Bagley	AP	JP Col.	1761 1771
Jonathan Bliss		JP Maj.	1769 1771
William Browne	BL	JP J Col. SC	1763 1770 1771 1774
William Bourne	BL	JP J	1761 1766-70
John Calef	BL	JP	1771
John Chadwick		JP	1764
John Chandler		JP Col. PJ SH J	1762 ? 1762 1762 1757-62
Thomas Clap	BL	J	1749-71
Jonathan Doane	BL	JP	1762
Timothy Dwight	BL	JP RP J	1762 1748-61? 1768
Josiah Edson	AP	JP J SH Col.	1762 1771 1763-64 1771
Chillingsworth Foster	BL,AP	JP SH	1764 1770-74

<u>Representative</u>	<u>Proscription</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Date of Appointment</u>
Thomas Foster III	BL	JP	1762
Jacob Fowle		JP	1761
Peter Frye		JP	1765
		RP	1773
		J	1772
Thomas Gilbert		Col.	?
Stephen Hall	BL	JP	1761
Daniel Howard	BL	JP	1762
William Jernigan			
Elisha Jones		JP	1761
		Col.	?
Josiah Keen	BL	JP	1762
Abel Lawrence	BL	JP	1761
Joseph Lee	BL,AP	JP	1761
		J	1769
Daniel Leonard		JP	1767
		Col.	1771
		S-G*	1775
Matthew Mayhew		JP	1761
		PJ	1761
		J	1762
Stephen Miller	BL	JP	1761
		Lt-Col.	1771
John Murray	AP	JP	1762
		Col.	1771
Ebenezer Nichols	BL,AP	JP	1761
John Noyes	BL,AP	JP	1761
Andrew Oliver Jr.	BL	JP	1761
		J	1761
Daniel Oliver	BL	JP	1762
Daniel Oliver Jr.		JP	1762?
Oliver Partridge		JP	1769
		J	1768
		SH	1740-61
		Col.	1757-64?
Charles Prescott	BL	JP	1761
John Robinson	BL		
Joseph Root		JP	1772

<u>Representative</u>	<u>Proscription</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Date of Appointment</u>
Timothy Ruggles	BL	J	1762
		JP	1762
		Sur ⁺	1771
		Gen.	1755-63
Chambers Russell	BL	SC	1752-66
Richard Saltonstall	BL	JP	1761
		Col.	?
		SH	1766
Joseph Sawyer	BL	J	1765
Jonathan Sayward		JP	1761
		J	1774
Sampson Stoddard	BL,AP	JP	1761
Ezra Taylor	BL	JP	1762
Joseph Tisdale	AP		
Edmund Trowbridge		A-G	1749-67
		SC	1767
John Wadsworth			
Samuel Waldo	BL	JP	1761
Abijah White		JP	1762
David Wilder	AP		
Israel Williams		Col.	1748-57
		J	1758
		PJ	1764
Joseph Williams	BL	JP	1761
William Williams		JP	1761
		PJ	1765
		Col.	1771
John Winslow	BL	RP	1739-62
		Gen.	1755-63
		JP	1762
		J	1762
John Worthington	BL	JP	1762
		Col.	1771

*Solicitor-General to the Board of Customs Commissioners.

+Surveyor-General of the King's Forests.

*Edward Bacon and Daniel Leonard were Whig friends of government, not Tories. But in view of their rapid change of allegiance during 1774, when both emerged as leaders of the opposition to the Whigs in the House, it was decided to include them in the sample of Tory representatives.

+Elected to the Council that year, therefore could not vote in the House.

#Elected Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Y= Voted Yea.

N= Voted Nay.

NV= Did not vote.

BL= The "Black List" of thirty-two Tory representatives, in BGCJ, March 31, 1766, p.2/3.

AP= Labeled as a "Tory" by Samuel Adams in his "Anti-Pope" letters and positively identified by Harbottle Dorr. In "A Puritan" (Samuel Adams), BGCJ, April 25, 1768, p.2/1-2, Harbottle Dorr Collection of Newspapers, 4 vols., MHS, II, p.82.

SOURCES: Tory representatives were identified from Appendix A, the Black List of 1766 and Sam Adams's "A Puritan"- "Anti-Pope" letters of 1768. The dates of election and the voting records were taken from Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1715-1776, 53 vols. (Boston, 1919-1985), vols. XLI-L (1757-1774). Appointments to offices in the provincial administration were culled from William H. Whitmore, The Massachusetts Civil List for the Colonial and Provincial periods, 1630-1774... (Albany, NY, 1870) and Edward A. Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims (London, 1930).

APPENDIX C: THE FAILURE OF BERNARD'S "REFORMING PLAN".

The failure of Governor Bernard's "reforming plan" highlights the effectiveness of the Whigs' anti-Toryism in undermining the confidence and resolve of prominent friends of government. By "naming one very fit Person" such as the Tory James Murray to be the first "reforming justice", Bernard had hoped to encourage other friends of government to accept JP's commissions.¹ In the autumn of 1768, he approached twelve leading Tories and dissident Whigs (whose identities are largely unknown) including Andrew Oliver and Thomas Flucker with offers of commissions. Most refused to accept until Bernard "engage[ed] 4 or 5 others to join with them." This Bernard could not do. Others whom he approached and interviewed refused to accept office because so many of the existing Justices were Whigs or "Creatures of the Faction." They feared that "if they were to associate with them they must expect to be affronted and insulted & by all Ways & Means [be] made sick of the Office." The friends of government wanted Bernard and the Council to dismiss the Whig JPs or annul the commissions of all the Justices in the province and to issue new ones. Bernard, of course, could do neither without the co-operation of the Council, and this he had no chance of obtaining.²

James Murray was hounded by the Whigs for being the first "reforming magistrate". In May 1769, the Boston Evening Post carried an article ridiculing Murray for being a drunkard. Murray accused the printers of publishing a "seditious libel".³ But the Whigs retorted that Murray's Toryism "seemed to invite" acts of "public resentment". (The same was being said of traders who were breaking the non-importation agreement.)⁴ Four months later, Murray was followed home and taunted by a mob after he had given bail to one William Browne of Virginia, who/

who had assaulted one of James Otis's associates during the infamous between Otis and Commissioner John Robinson at the British Coffee House. The mob was restrained and committed no acts of bodily violence, although Murray had to be escorted home by merchants Gilbert Deblois, Lewis Gray and William Taylor.⁵

Murray admitted to Charles Steuart that Boston's "patriotick Gentry hath a virulent hatred of him". He decided, therefore, to retire to his three hundred acre estate at Brush Hill, Milton, and take no further part in Boston's tumultous politics. So long as friends of government were "Seized" by the Whigs, he would remain politically inactive.⁶ Murray kept his promise, although in 1770 he made a short visit to Britain.⁷

NOTES.

1. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 14, 1768, in The Boston Evening Post, April 10, 1769, p.6/3.
2. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, December 26, 1768, Bernard Papers, 14 vols., VII, pp.118-120, Sparks MSS, Houghton Library.
3. Oliver M. Dickerson ed., Boston Under Military Rule, 1768-1769 as Revealed in A Journal of the Times (ed. New York, 1970), p.106; James Murray, The Boston Evening Post, May 29, 1769, p.3/1.
4. A Journal of the Times, p.107.
5. Nina Moore Tiffany and Susan I. Lesley eds., Letters of James Murray, Loyalist (Boston, 1901), pp.159-161.

6. James Murray to Charles Steuart, Milton, September 30, 1769, Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5025-5046, Ms.5025, pp. 201-202, National Library of Scotland.
7. Murray's visit is noted in The Boston Gazette and Country Journal, December 10, 1770, p.2/2.

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APPENDIX D: THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOYALISTS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

<u>Town</u>	<u>White Pop.¹</u>	<u>Adult Males²</u>	<u>Loyalists⁴</u>	<u>Percentage of Adult Males</u>
Braintree	2,871	610	17	2.79
Roxbury	1,433	356	9*	2.55
Hingham	2,087	504	4	0.79
Dedham	1,937	495	6	1.12
Brookline	502	115	2*	1.74
Dorchester	1,513	373	4	1.07
Medway	912	206	3	1.46
Wrentham	2,879	710	2	0.28
Milton	1,213	259	2	0.77
Franklin	-	-	1	-
Needham	912	287	1	0.35
Stoughton	2,097	532	4	0.75
Boston	c.3,000	-	507	-
	[16,540 ⁺	2,664	507 [#]	19.03]
Unknown	-	-	4	-
Suffolk	41,240 ⁺	8,511	566	6.65

*Excluding one woman.

#Excluding twelve women and seven males under sixteen years of age.

+Figures for 1771. ³

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Marshfield	1,157	289	48	16.61
Plymouth	2,655	643	36	5.60
Middleborough	4,119	1,045	7	0.67
Scituate	2,672	663	7	1.06
Bridgewater	4,364	1,130	8	0.71
Kingston	980	229	4	1.75
Rochester	2,449	569	2	0.35
Hanover	1,105	253	1	0.40
Pembroke	1,768	418	1	0.24
Duxbury	1,254	316	1	0.32
Halifax	-	148	1	0.68
Unknown	-	-	1	-
Plymouth	26,906	6,614	117	1.77

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Cambridge	1,586	333	23	6.91
Weston	1,027	222	12	5.41
Charlestown	360*	144	9	6.25
Townsend	794	177	4	2.26
Groton	1,639	398	5	1.26
Littleton	1,047	209	4	1.91
Marlborough	1,554	391	3	0.77
Framingham	1,574	384	2	0.52
Newton	1,625	348	3	0.86
Medford	967	190	2	1.05
Concord	1,927	391	4	1.02
Waltham	870	174	2	1.15
Chelmsford/				

MIDDLESEX COUNTY, contd.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Chelmsford	1,341	319	1	0.31
Sudbury	2,160	522	1	0.19
Lexington	1,088	213	1	0.47
Shirley	704	144	1	0.69
Woburn	1,691	417	1	0.24
Westford	1,193	283	1	0.35
Natick	535	126	1	0.79
Stowe	915	215	1	0.47
Lincoln	775	187	1	0.53
Hopkinton	1,134	286	1	0.35
Billerica	1,500	348	1	0.29
Middlesex	40,121	9,140	84	0.92

*Charlestown's population had been severely reduced by the siege of Boston, 1775-1776.

WORCESTER COUNTY.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Worcester	1,925	438	30	6.85
Petersham	1,235	289	11	3.81
Lancaster	2,746	672	14	2.08
Hardwick	1,393	346	12	3.47
Shrewsbury	1,475	384	10	2.60
Northborough	562	127	9*	7.09
Paxton	-	116	8	6.90
Rutland/				

WORCESTER COUNTY, contd.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Rutland	1,006	254	5	1.97
Barre	1,329	325	2	0.62
Brookfield	2,649	655	6	0.92
Bolton	1,210	284	3	1.06
Princetown	701	153	1	0.65
Fitchburgh	643	168	2	1.19
Oxford	1,112	275	2	0.73
Lunenburg	1,265	284	2	0.70
Warren	-	-	1	-
Leicester	1,005	212	1	0.47
Winchenden	519	119	1	0.84
Uxbridge	1,110	235	1	0.43
Sturbridge	1,374	338	1	0.30
Sutton	2,644	651	1	0.15
Oakham	598	135	1	0.74
Spencer	1,042	257	1	0.39
New Braintree	798	185	1	0.54
Harvard	1,315	338	1	0.30
Leominster	978	216	1	0.46
Athol	-	191	1	0.52
Templeton	1,016	235	1	0.43
Dudley	875	228	1	0.44
Boylston	-	-	1	-
Southborough	-	-	1	-
Unknown	-	-	12	-
Worcester	45,031	11,005	145	1.32

*Excluding one woman.

BRISTOL COUNTY.

<u>Town</u>	<u>White Pop.</u>	<u>Adult Males</u>	<u>Loyalists</u>	<u>Percentage of Adult Males</u>
Taunton	3,259	794	14	1.76
Freetown	1,901	414	15	3.62
Swansea	-	447	10	2.24
Berkley	787	191	10	5.24
Dartmouth	6,773	1,067	2	0.19
Rehoboth	4,191	970	1	0.10
Dighton	1,420	317	1	0.32
Easton	1,172	293	1	0.34
Unknown	-	-	5	-
 Bristol	 24,916	 5,794	 59	 1.02

NANTUCKET COUNTY.

<u>Town</u>	<u>White Pop.</u>	<u>Adult Males</u>	<u>Loyalists</u>	<u>Percentage of Adult Males</u>
Nantucket Island	4,412	-	8	-

DUKES COUNTY.

<u>Town</u>	<u>White Pop.</u>	<u>Adult Males</u>	<u>Loyalists</u>	<u>Percentage of Adult Males</u>
Edgartown	1,020	-	1	-
Chilmark	769	-	1	-
Tisbury	-	-	1	-
Dukes	2,822	-	3	-

BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Jericho (Hancock)	977	127	45	35.43
Pittsfield	1,132	244	15	6.15
Great Barri- ngton	961	231	6	2.60
Lenox	931	178	7	3.93
Lanesborough	1,434	354	6	1.69
New Ashford	215	-	5	-
Williamstown	1,083	257	5	1.82
Stockbridge	907	-	2	-
Sheffield	1,722	338	1	0.30
Alford	298	-	1	-
Lee	-	-	1	-
Richmond	921	-	1	-
West Stock- bridge	370	-	1	-
East Hoosick	-	-	4	-
Unknown	-	-	1	-
Berkshire	17,952	2,534	101	3.99

BARNSTABLE COUNTY.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Sandwich	1,912	362	25	6.91
Barnstable	-	554	9	1.62
Harwich	1,865	451	1	0.22
Yarmouth	2,227	514	1	0.19
Unknown	-	-	1	-
Barnstable	12,936	3,371	37	1.10

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

<u>Town</u>	<u>White Pop.</u>	<u>Adult Males</u>	<u>Loyalists</u>	<u>Percentage of Adult Males</u>
Montague	-	-	19	-
Hatfield	582	190	15	7.89
Deerfield	836	241	11	4.56
Northampton	1,790	451	10	2.22
Conway	-	-	4	-
Amherst	915	238	3	1.26
Shelburne	575	154	3	1.95
Westfield	1,488	373	2	0.54
Springfield	1,974	452	2	0.44
Warwick	766	166	1	0.60
Greenfield	735	148	1	0.68
Bernardstown	607	138	1	0.72
Shutesbury	598	147	1	0.68
New Salem	910	226	1	0.44
Sunderland	409	116	1	0.86
Worthington	639	166	1	0.60
Hadley	681	201	1	0.50
Granville	1,126	286	1	0.35
Hampshire	32,701	7,957	79	0.99

DISTRICT OF MAINE (YORK, LINCOLN AND CUMBERLAND):

YORK COUNTY.

<u>Town</u>	<u>White Pop.</u>	<u>Adult Males</u>	<u>Loyalists</u>	<u>Percentage of Adult Males</u>
York	2,742	607	3	0.49
Kittery	2,991	645	2	0.31
Berwick	3,315	671	1	0.15
York	17,623	3,904	6	0.15

LINCOLN COUNTY.

<u>Town</u>	<u>White Pop.</u>	<u>Adult Males</u>	<u>Loyalists</u>	<u>Percentage of Adult Males</u>
Pownal- borough	1,424	294	8	2.72
Woolwich	695	167	2	1.20
Hallowell	554	134	1	0.75
Vassal- borough	-	99	9	9.09
Thomastown	346	-	5	-
Pittstown/ Gardiners- town	-	98	4	4.08
Machias	626	-	8	-
Passamaquoddy	206	-	2	-
Deer Island	348	-	4	-
Penobscot	439	-	14	-
Fort George	-	-	5	-
St. George	-	-	2	-
Georgetown	-	-	5	-
Fox Island	-	-	1	-
Unknown	-	-	2	-
Lincoln	15,546	2,468	72	2.92

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

<u>Town</u>	<u>White Pop.</u>	<u>Adult Males</u>	<u>Loyalists</u>	<u>Percentage of Adult Males</u>
Falmouth	3,026	709	28	3.95
Scarborough	1,817	454	1	0.22
Unknown	-	-	1	-
Cumberland	14,110	3,063	30	0.99

ESSEX COUNTY.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Marblehead	4,386	1,047	15 ⁺	1.43
Salem	5,337	1,193	48 ⁺	4.02
Newburyport	3,681	858	6	0.70
Haverhill	2,810	552	6	1.09
Ipswich	4,508	1,016	4	0.39
Boxford	989	248	1	0.40
Lynn	-	431 [*]	2	0.46
Gloucester	4,512	939	1	0.11
Rowley	1,678	421	1	0.24
Cape Ann	-	-	1	-
Essex	50,923	11,328	85	0.75

*For Lynn and Lynnfield.

+Excluding one woman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Town	White Pop.	Adult Males	Loyalists	Percentage of Adult Males
Unknown	-	-	35	-
Massachu- setts	347,239	75,689	1,427 + 24 women & males under 16 =1,451.	1.89

NOTES TO APPENDIX D:

1. Figures are for 1776.
2. Figures are for 1777. This census was used because it was the one taken closest to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. (The previous most comprehensive census taken was in 1765.) Due to a lack of precise information concerning the departure dates of Loyalists, it was not possible to include in the calculations the numbers of left Massachusetts before the census was made.
3. Boston's population dwindled to less than 3,000 during the siege of 1775-1776. Thus the figures of 16,540 and 2,664 from 1771 were used in the computations. The actual white population of Suffolk County in 1776 was 27,419.
4. Only those persons who publicly demonstrated their loyalty to Britain or were proscribed by the Patriot authorities, 1775-1783, were counted as Loyalists. (A further explanation of the criteria used to define a "Loyalist" is in the key to the column headings and abbreviations of Appendix A.) David E. Maas listed the names of 1,489 Loyalists in Divided Hearts, Massachusetts Loyalists, 1765-1790: A Biographical Directory (Boston, 1980). However 121 of those persons he named could not be classified as Loyalists according to the criteria set out above: some had died or left the province before the outbreak of hostilities in 1775; others remained neutral during the war. Other sources yielded information on 47 Loyalists who were not listed by Maas.

SOURCES:

David E. Maas, Divided Hearts, Massachusetts Loyalists, 1765-1790: A Biographical Directory (Boston, 1980); Edward A. Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims (London, 1930); James H. Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts and The Other Side of The American Revolution (Boston, 1910); Massachusetts Loyalist Claimants, XIII-XIV, MHS; George Sheldon, A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts, 2 vols. (Deerfield, Mass., 1895-1896; repr., 1972), II, p.722; Miscellaneous manuscript sources; Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, American Population Statistics Before the Federal Census of 1790 (New York, 1932), pp.12-46.

APPENDIX E: THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LOYALISTS.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

Occupation	Wrentham	Braintree	Roxbury	Milton	Dedham	Stoughton	Brookline	Hingham	Dorchester	Medway
<u>LAND</u>										
Landowning Gentry/Gentleman.			1						1	
Yeomen	1				1	3		1		1
<u>GOVERNMENT</u>										
Customs Officers							1			
Clerks		1								
<u>COMMERCE</u>										
Merchants			1	1						1
Shopkeepers/Traders					1					
Fishermen								1		
<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>										
Teachers		1				1				
Clergy		1						1		
Lawyers					2					
<u>ARTISANS</u>										
Weaver		1								
Watchmaker		1								
Cabinetmaker										1
<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u>										
Women				1			1			
Labourer					1					
Soldier	1									
Total	2	5	2	2	5	4	2	3	2	2

SUFFOLK COUNTY, contd.

<u>Occup-</u> <u>ation</u>	<u>Boston</u>
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LAND

Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men	4
Yeomen	10
Blacksmiths	4

GOVERNMENT

Customs Officers	49
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COMMERCE

Merchants	120
Shopkeepers/ Traders	26
Mariners	20
Factors	8
Shipwrights	3
Mastmakers	2
Wharfingers	2
Brazier	1
Sailmaker	1
Ropemaker	1
Ropewalk-owner	1
Commercial Clerk	1
Insurance Broker	1

PROFESSIONAL

Physicians	20
Lawyers	11
Clergy	7
Teachers	1

ARTISANS

Printers	9
Bakers	4
Silversmiths	4
Chaisemakers	3

<u>Occup-</u> <u>ation</u>	<u>Boston</u>
-------------------------------	---------------

ARTISANS

Shoemakers	2
Butchers	3
Tailors	2
Carpenters	2
Cordwright	1
Watchmaker	1
Cabinetmaker	1
Furrier	1
Goldsmith	1
Wheelwright	1
Ironworker	1
Bookbinder	1
Tallow chandler	1
Cook	1
Housewright	1
Tanner	1
Mason	1

MISCELLANEOUS

* Women	12
Clerks/Book- keepers	2
Soldiers	3
Musician	1
Artists	2
Lapidary	1
Dancemaster	1
Innkeepers	2
Males under 16 Years.	7

Total	366
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*Two women were counted as shopkeepers (Ami and Elizabeth Cuming.)

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

Occup- ation	Marsh- field	Ply- mouth	Middle- borough	Scit- uate	Bridge- water	Kings- ton	Roches- ter
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LAND

Landowning Gentry	1			1			
Yeomen	24	4	1	1	6	2	
Miller	1						
Blacksmiths	1		1				

GOVERNMENT

Customs Officers		1					
Clerk	1						

COMMERCE

Merchants	1	6	1				
Shopkeepers					1		
Mariners	1	4					
Shipwright			1				

PROFESSIONAL

Physicians	2		2				
Lawyers		2					
Teachers		1		1			

ARTISANS

Housewright				1			
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MISCELLANEOUS

Labourer							1
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Total	32	18	6	4	7	2	1
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PLYMOUTH COUNTY, contd.

<u>Occu- pation</u>	<u>Hano- ver</u>	<u>Pemb- roke</u>	<u>Dux- bury</u>
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LAND

Yeoman	1	1	
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PROFESSIONAL

Teacher			1
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Total	1	1	1
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MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

<u>Occup- ation</u>	<u>Nat- ick</u>	<u>Cam- bridge</u>	<u>Wes- ton</u>	<u>Charles- town</u>	<u>Towns- end</u>	<u>Gro- ton</u>	<u>Little- ton</u>	<u>New- ton</u>
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LAND

Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men		4	1	3				
Yeomen		1	1	1		2		1

GOVERNMENT

Clerk		1						
-------	--	---	--	--	--	--	--	--

COMMERCE

Merchants		4		1		1	1	
Shopkeepers/ Traders					1	1		
Mariners		1		1				

PROFESSIONAL

Physician					1			
Lawyers		4		1			1	
Clergy		4				1	1	

MIDDLESEX COUNTY, contd.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Nat- ick</u>	<u>Cam- bridge</u>	<u>Wes- ton</u>	<u>Charles- town</u>	<u>Towns- end</u>	<u>Gro- ton</u>	<u>Little- ton</u>	<u>New- ton</u>
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ARTISANS

Carpenters		1						
Glazier		1						

MISCELLANEOUS

Innkeepers			1		1			
Free Black	1							

Total	1	21	3	7	3		3	1
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<u>Occu- pation</u>	<u>Marl- borough</u>	<u>Med- ford</u>	<u>Sud- bury</u>	<u>Con- cord</u>	<u>Walt- ham</u>
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LAND

Landowning Gentry/Gentlemen		1			
Yeomen					1

COMMERCE

Merchants	1	1		1	
Shopkeepers/ Traders					1
Mariner	1				

PROFESSIONAL

Lawyers				1	
Clergy	1				

MISCELLANEOUS

Innkeeper			1		
Total	3	2	1	2	2

WORCESTER COUNTY.

Occupation	Worcester	Petersham	Lancaster	Hardwick	Shrewsbury	Northborough	Paxton	Rutland
<u>LAND</u>								
Landowning Gentry/Gentlemen	5	1	1	1	1		2	1
Yeomen	4	5	2	4	4	4	1	1
Blacksmith	1							
<u>GOVERNMENT</u>								
Clerk	1							
<u>COMMERCE</u>								
Merchants	2			1				
Shopkeepers	1			1		1		
Mariner					1			
<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>								
Physicians	2	1						1
Lawyers	3	1	2	2				
Clergy		1	1					1
Teachers		2						
<u>ARTISANS</u>								
Housewright			1					
Goldsmith					1			
Carpenter	1							
<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u>								
Women							1	
Soldier			1					
Total	20	11	8	9	7	6	5	2

WORCESTER COUNTY, contd.

Occup- ation	Brook- Barre	Bol- field	Prince- ton	Fitch- town	Fitch- burg	Boyls- ton	Lunen- burg	Warren
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LAND

Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men		1		1	1			
Yeomen		1	1				1	

PROFESSIONAL

Clergy	1					1		
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MISCELLANEOUS

Peddler								1
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Total	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
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Occup- ation	Leices- ter	Ux- bridge	Stur- bridge	Oak- ham	Spen- cer	New Braintree	Temple- ton
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COMMERCE

Merchant	1						
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PROFESSIONAL

Physician		1	1				
Clergy					1		1

ARTISANS

Wheelwright				1			
Saddler						1	

Total	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
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WORCESTER COUNTY, contd.

<u>Occup-</u> <u>ation</u>	<u>Har-</u> <u>vard</u>	<u>Wich-</u> <u>endon</u>	<u>South-</u> <u>borough</u>	<u>Uknown</u>
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LAND

Yeomen	1	1		1
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COMMERCE

Shopkeeper			1	1
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Total	1	1	1	2
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BRISTOL COUNTY.

<u>Occup-</u> <u>ation</u>	<u>Taun-</u> <u>ton</u>	<u>Free-</u> <u>town</u>	<u>Swan-</u> <u>sea</u>	<u>Berk-</u> <u>ley</u>	<u>Dart-</u> <u>mouth</u>	<u>Reho-</u> <u>both</u>	<u>Digh-</u> <u>ton</u>
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LAND

Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men		2		1			
Yeomen	3	5	2	1	1		1
Blacksmith		1					

COMMERCE

Merchants	1	1	3				
Mariner	1						
Shipwrights		3					
Shopkeeper	1						

PROFESSIONAL

Teacher		1					
Lawyers	2						
Physician	1						

BRISTOL COUNTY, contd.

<u>Occup-</u> <u>ation</u>	<u>Taun-</u> <u>ton</u>	<u>Free-</u> <u>town</u>	<u>Swan-</u> <u>sea</u>	<u>Berk-</u> <u>ley</u>	<u>Dart-</u> <u>mouth</u>	<u>Reho-</u> <u>both</u>	<u>Digh-</u> <u>ton</u>
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MISCELLANEOUS

Soldier						1	
Boatman		1					
Innkeepers	1	1					
Total	10	15	5	2	1	1	1

NANTUCKET COUNTY.

<u>Occup-</u> <u>ation</u>	<u>Nantucket</u> <u>Island</u>
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COMMERCE

Shopkeeper	1
Whaler/Merchant	1
Fisherman	1

PROFESSIONAL

Physicians	2
Total	5

DUKES COUNTY.

<u>Occup- ation</u>	<u>Edgar- town</u>	<u>Chil- mark</u>	<u>Tis- bury</u>
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LAND

Yeomen		1	1
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MISCELLANEOUS

Labourer	1		
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Total	1	1	1
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BARNSTABLE COUNTY.

<u>Occup- ation</u>	<u>Sand- wich</u>	<u>Barn- stable</u>
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LAND

Yeomen	8	2
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GOVERNMENT

Clerk		1
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COMMERCE

Merchant	1	
Mariners	2	

PROFESSIONAL

Teacher		1
Physician	1	

MISCELLANEOUS

Labourers	5	1
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Total	17	5
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BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

Occup- ation	Shef- field	Pitts- field	Gt. Barr- ington	Lenox	Lanes- borough	New Ashford	Williams- town
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LAND

Yeomen	1	2	3	6	5	3	3
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PROFESSIONAL

Clergy		1					
Lawyer		1					

MISCELLANEOUS

Labourer			1	1			
Total	1	4	4	7	5	3	3

Occup- ation	Jer- icho	Stock- bridge	Lee	Alford	Rich- mond	East Hoosick
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LAND

Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men	1				1	
Yeomen	2	2	1	1		1

GOVERNMENT

Customs Officer						1
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MISCELLANEOUS

Labourer	1					
Total	4	2	1	1	1	2

DISTRICT OF MAINE (YORK, LINCOLN AND CUMBERLAND).

YORK COUNTY.

<u>Occup-</u>			
<u>ation</u>			<u>York Kittery</u>

LAND

Landowning		1	
Gentry/Gentle-			
men			

PROFESSIONAL

Clergy	1		
Physician	1		
Total	2	1	

LINCOLN COUNTY.

<u>Occup-</u>							
<u>ation</u>		<u>Vassal-</u>	<u>Pownal-</u>	<u>Wool-</u>	<u>Hallo-</u>	<u>Thomas-</u>	<u>Pittstown/</u>
		<u>borough</u>	<u>borough</u>	<u>wich</u>	<u>well</u>	<u>town</u>	<u>Gardinerstown</u>

LAND

Landowning			1			
Gentry/Gentle-						
men						
Yeoman		1	1			1
Surveyor				1		

COMMERCE

Merchants	1	1	
Mariner		1	
Shopkeeper		1	

LINCOLN COUNTY, contd.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Vassal-</u> <u>borough</u>	<u>Pownal-</u> <u>borough</u>	<u>Wool-</u> <u>wich</u>	<u>Hallo-</u> <u>well</u>	<u>Thomas-</u> <u>town</u>	<u>Pittstown/<u>Gardiner</u></u> <u>town</u>
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PROFESSIONAL

Physicians		1			1	
Teacher						1
Clergy					1	
Total	1	5	2	1	2	2

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Machias</u>	<u>Passa-</u> <u>maquoddy</u>	<u>Penob-</u> <u>scot</u>	<u>Fort</u> <u>George</u>	<u>St.</u> <u>George</u>	<u>George-</u> <u>town</u>
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LAND

Yeomen Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men	1		5	1	2	
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COMMERCE

Merchants			1			1
Mariners		1	1			
Shipwright			1			
Shopkeepers	1	1	1	1		

ARTISANS

Carpenter			1			
Cordwainer			1			

MISCELLANEOUS

Labourer			2			
Total	2	2	13	2	2	1

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

<u>Occup-</u>	<u>Falmouth</u>
<u>ation</u>	

LAND

Miller	1
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GOVERNMENT

Cutoms Officers	3
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COMMERCE

Merchants	7
Mariners	8

PROFESSIONAL

Clergy	1
Lawyer	1

Total	21
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HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

<u>Occup-</u>	<u>West-</u>	<u>Bernards-</u>	<u>Deer-</u>	<u>Shel-</u>	<u>Con-</u>	<u>Shutes-</u>	<u>Sunder-</u>
<u>ation</u>	<u>field</u>	<u>Amherst</u>	<u>town</u>	<u>field</u>	<u>burne</u>	<u>way</u>	<u>bury</u>
							<u>land</u>

LAND

Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men		1				2	1
Yeomen	2	1	1	3	1		

COMMERCE

Shopkeeper							1
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HAMPSHIRE COUNTY, contd.

<u>Occup- ation</u>	<u>West- field</u>	<u>Bernards- Amherst</u>	<u>town</u>	<u>Deer- field</u>	<u>Shel- burne</u>	<u>Con- way</u>	<u>Shutes- bury</u>	<u>Sunder- land</u>
<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>								
Clergy				1			1	
Lawyers				1		1		
<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u>								
Labourer					1			
Ferryman				1				
Innkeeper				2				
Total	2	2	1	9	1	4	1	1

<u>Occup- ation</u>	<u>Hat- field</u>	<u>North- ampton</u>	<u>Spring- field</u>	<u>Montague</u>
<u>LAND</u>				
Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men	1			
Yeomen	2	1	2	9
Miller				1
<u>COMMERCE</u>				
Merchant Shopkeepers		1		
	2			
<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>				
Physician	2	2		
Total	7	4	2	10

ESSEX COUNTY.

<u>Occup- ation</u>	<u>Marble- head</u>	<u>Salem</u>	<u>Newbury- port</u>	<u>Haver- hill</u>	<u>Ips- wich</u>	<u>Lynn</u>	<u>Glou- cester</u>	<u>Cape Ann</u>
<u>LAND</u>								
Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men Yeomen	1	2		1				1
		1			1			
<u>GOVERNMENT</u>								
Customs Officers		3						
<u>COMMERCE</u>								
Merchants	3	15	4	1			1	
Mariners	2	1						
Shopkeepers	1	1						
<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>								
Teachers		1		1				
Clergy	1	3	1	1				
Lawyer					1			
Physicians		7			1			
<u>ARTISANS</u>								
Shoemaker	1							
Pewterer			1					
<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u>								
Women	1	1						
Soldier		1						
Boatman						1		
Total	10	36	6	4	3	1	1	1

MASSACHUSETTS: TOWN RESIDENCE UNKNOWN.

<u>Occu- pation</u>	<u>Unknown Residence</u>
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LAND

Landowning Gentry/Gentle- men	1
Yeomen	2

COMMERCE

Mariner	1
Total	4

SOURCES: The occupations of the Loyalists were determined from the same sources as those used for the friends of government that are listed in the key to the column headings and abbreviations of Appendix A.

* * * * *

NOTES.NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION:

1. I define "ideology" as a distinctive set of political and social beliefs common to a particular group of people which influence and guide a person's behaviour in many aspects of his or her life, but especially in politics. These beliefs are dependent on and reflect and explain the material conditions of life, yet are also able to change them. Historians who have studied the ideological conflicts of the American Revolution have employed similarly broad definitions. For example, Bernard Bailyn set out to study the "assumptions, beliefs, and ideas - the articulated world view - that lay behind the manifest events of the time" in his influential book, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p.vi.

The terms "radical", "moderate" and "conservative" are, of course, modern appellations and were not in common use in eighteenth-century Massachusetts. The main justification for their use in this dissertation, as in other studies of the American Revolution, is that they serve to distinguish and characterise the variations in the spectrum of ideological-political opinions in the province. The radicals were, as Thomas Hutchinson often observed, "zealous for liberty" and in the forefront of the protest movement. They were the leaders of the Whig party in the General Court and Boston town meeting. From the outset of the disputes between Britain and the colonies, they denied Parliament's right to levy direct taxes on Americans. Eventually, they came to question Parliament's legislative supremacy in the colonies and, by 1775-1776, supported the idea of making the colonies independent of Britain. It was they who initiated a policy of resistance to Britain in 1765 that involved both legal and illegal protests. They did not think of themselves as revolutionaries, but as guardians of the common weal and the rights and liberties of Americans from the conspiracies of Britain and the Tories.

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1. It is not always easy to discern the differences between the radicals and the moderate Whigs on any specific issue. The moderates generally supported the radicals' strategy of resistance and belonged to the same political clubs and organisations as the radicals. But at times, their desire to end the disputes with Britain led them to question the aims and challenge the methods by which radicals such as Sam Adams and Joseph Warren led the opposition to Britain. The conservatives were the Tories and the main critics of the Whig protest movement during the Stamp Act Crisis, as is shown in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

2. For example: Claude H. Van Tyne, The Loyalists in the American Revolution (New York, 1901); William Nelson, The American Tory (Oxford, 1961); Wallace Brown, The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants (Providence, Rhode Is., 1965) and The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution (New York, 1969); Paul H. Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy (Chapell Hill, NC., 1964); Robert M. Calhoon, The Loyalists of Revolutionary America, 1760-1781 (New York, 1973). For a brief survey of historians' perceptions of the Loyalists see Wallace Brown, "Loyalist Historiography", Acadiensis,⁴ (1974), pp.133-138.

3. The early studies were collections of short biographies and family histories that made no attempt to analyse the ideology or political behaviour of the Loyalists: John Noble, "Some Massachusetts Tories", PCSM,⁵ (1897-1898), pp.257-297; James H. Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts and The Other Side of the American Revolution (Boston, 1910); Edward A. Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims (London, 1930). The first important analytical study of the Massachusetts Loyalists was by Wallace Brown in King's Friends, pp.19-41, 294-298. This was soon followed by Bruce G. Merrit, "Loyalism and Social Conflict in Revolutionary Deerfield, Massachusetts", JAH,⁵⁷ (1970), pp.277-281. David E. Maas extended the investigations with "The Return of the Massachusetts Loyalists", Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972 and a prosopographical directory of nearly 1,500 Loyalists which he compiled and edited for publication, Divided Hearts, Massachusetts Loyalists, 1765-1790: A Biographical Directory (Boston, 1980). William Pencak devoted part of War, Politics & Revolution in Provincial Massachusetts (Boston, 1981) to a study of the Loyalist and Patriot leaders (pp.213-229), but it has only limited value because he examined the careers of less than twenty-five Loyalists.

4. Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); Carole Berkin, Jonathan Sewall: Odyssey of an American Loyalist (New York, 1974); Mary Beth Norton, "The Loyalists' Critique of the Revolution", in Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution, I, The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality (Washington, 1972); Ann Gorman Condon, "Marching to a Different Drummer: The Political Philosophy of the American Loyalists", in Red, White and True Blue: The Loyalists in the American Revolution, ed. Esmond Wright (New York, 1976), pp.1-18.
5. Potter advanced a thesis (first hinted at by Bernard Bailyn in The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, pp.22-23) that the Loyalists and Patriots who stood on opposite political sides nevertheless drew upon the same intellectual "reservoir" of British and colonial American ideas. She established the connections between many of the Loyalists' ideas and those of British conservatives who were critics of the Real Whig libertarians much beloved by the Patriots. Whereas Patriot ideology maintained that the Loyalists were participants in a British conspiracy to enslave Americans, the Loyalists perceived a counter-conspiracy in the "democratic tyranny" of the Sons of Liberty, committees of correspondence, Whig mobs and Continental Congress. In The Liberty We Seek: Loyalist Ideology in Colonial New York and Massachusetts (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp.viii-ix, 15-38, 80-101.
6. For example, one chapter of The Liberty We Seek discussed the response of the Loyalist pamphleteers to the first Continental Congress of September, 1774, yet only three pages included references to their views on the Stamp Act Crisis of 1765-1766 (pp.24,32,37) and five to the Non-Importation Controversy of 1768-1770 (pp.73-77.)
7. This criticism was made by David Wilson in a review of The Liberty We Seek, in "The Ambivalent Loyalists", Acadiensis, 14 (1984), p.130.
8. Historians have re-assessed the social and political contexts of Bernard Bailyn's interpretation of revolutionary ideology and the "conspiracy" of Britain to "enslave" Americans. They have concluded that ideological consciousness and political awareness extended throughout society and did not simply depend upon the ideas of an elite group of writers and politicians filtering down to the bottom. Propagandists helped to determine a person's political allegiance in so far as they drew his or her attention to the key issues that were the substance of the disputes between Britain and the colonies, and explained to them the ideological position of the Whigs and Tories.
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8. This caveat is equally applicable to the Loyalists and the friends of government. See Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Social Change and the Meaning of the American Revolution", JSH, 7 (1973), pp.403-439; Joyce Appleby, "The Social Origins of American Revolutionary Ideology", JAH, 44 (1977), pp.935-958; Gary B. Nash, "Social Change and the Growth of Pre-Revolutionary Urban Radicalism", in The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism, ed. Alfred F. Young (Dekalb, Illinois, 1976), pp.3-36; Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Dirk Hoerder, Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts, 1765-1780 (London, 1977). Useful discussions on historical methodology and the study of the political ideology of the eighteenth-century include Gordon S. Wood, "Rhetoric and Reality in the American Revolution", WMQ, 23 (1966), pp.3-32; J.G.A. Pocock, Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History (London, 1971); H.T. Dickinson, Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain (London, 1977), pp.1-10.
9. Carl Becker, The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776 (Madison, Wisc., 1909); Leopold S. Lauwitz-Schürer Jr., Loyal Whigs and Revolutionaries: The Making of the Revolution in New York, 1765-1776 (New York, 1980); Edward Countryman, A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760-1790 (Baltimore and London, 1981).
10. For example: James Truslow Adams, Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776 (Boston, 1941); Robert E. Brown, Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780 (Ithaca, NY., 1955); Stephen E. Patterson, Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts (Madison, Wisc., 1973); Richard L. Bushman, King and People in Provincial Massachusetts (Chapel Hill, NC., 1985).
11. The sparse references to the Loyalists by scholars of American conservatism are: Leonard Labaree, Conservatism in Early American History (New York, 1948), pp.139-141; Allen Guttman, The Conservative Tradition in America (New York, 1967), pp.14-21; Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America (2nd. ed., New York, 1964), p.101. William Pencak's America's Burke: The Mind of Thomas Hutchinson (New York and London, 1982) ought to be added to this list, however incongruous a comparison between a British sympathizer to the Patriot cause and an arch-Tory might seem. David Hackett Fisher drew attention to the role of the Loyalists as conservative Federalists in the new American republic. In The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy (New York, 1965), pp.52-53, 221-222, 308.

12. For example, Clinton Rossiter, Alexander Hamilton and the Constitution (New York, 1964).
13. George A. Billias, "The First Un-Americans: The Loyalists in American Historiography", PAH, 7 (1973), pp.283-324. To be sure, the Loyalists had few redeeming intellectual qualities. When Alexander Hamilton accused Rev. Samuel Seabury, the Loyalist pamphleteer, of being ignorant of contemporary political theory because he made no mention of the long list of theorists (such as Grotius, Locke and the Real Whigs) frequently cited in Patriot writings, he did more than score an advantage; he uncovered a gap in the quality of the Loyalists' political literature that makes it difficult for the modern historian to assess the intellectual origins of Loyalist ideology. No Loyalist published a tract or a pamphlet that was in its entirety a critique of Patriot ideology and of Lockean liberalism which could have provided the intellectual guidelines for others to follow. Thomas Hutchinson's manuscript essay, "A Dialogue between Europe and America", and Jonathan Boucher of Maryland's essay "On Civil Liberty: Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance" were able revisions of Lockean liberalism. But they were isolated opinions and never published during the 1760s and 1770s. However, as I will show, Governors Bernard and Hutchinson tried to inspire the friends of government in the General Court with speeches designed to raise fundamental ideological issues concerned with the imperial disputes. [Alexander Hamilton], The Farmer Refuted: or, A more impartial and comprehensive View of the Dispute between Great-Britain and the Colonies...(New York, 1775) in The Papers of Alexander Hamilton, 10 vols., ed. Harold Syrett (London and New York, 1961-), I, pp.84, 104; Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.95-108; Norton, "The Loyalists' Critique of the Revolution", p.132; Philip Davidson, Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783 (Chapel Hill, NC., 1941), pp.279-280; John Dunn, "The Politics of Locke in England and America in the Eighteenth-Century", in John Locke: Problems and Perspectives, ed. John W. Yolton (Cambridge, 1969), pp.45-80, esp. pp.61-62.
14. Nathaniel Coffin was born into a prominent and large episcopalian Boston family. He was a graduate of Harvard college and a physician by profession. Like others of his background, he sought office in the provincial administration. On November 7, 1768, he was appointed Chief Clerk to the Cashier and Paymaster of Customs, Charles Steuart, with the/

the handsome salary of £150 sterling per annum. Coffin was fifty-four years old when war broke out between the colonies and Britain. For biographical information see Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XI, pp.367-370; Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, p.95. Coffin was an assiduous observer of politics in Boston and the province in general, although he played no prominent part in the proceedings. There are approximately fifty letters written by Coffin that span four volumes of the Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5025-5028, contained in the National Library of Scotland. In addition, the Steuart Papers (Ms.5025-5046) contain letters of other Massachusetts friends of government such as James Murray. The Coffin correspondence has been used sparsely by historians. David Ammerman consulted the microfilm copy of the Steuart Papers deposited in the Research Library at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, and referred to Coffin in In The Common Cause: American Responses to the Coercive Acts of 1774 (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1974), pp.27, 34, 39, 40. The items relating to Virginia that are in the Steuart Papers were utilised by Adele Hast in the course of her research for Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia: The Norfolk Area and the Eastern Shore (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982).

Coffin's correspondent, Charles Steuart, was born in the Orkney Islands, Scotland, and emigrated to America. In 1762, he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Eastern Middle District, a high ranking post in the customs service. His area of jurisdiction included the colonies to the south of Massachusetts and part of Canada. When the Board of Customs Commissioners for the colonies was moved from London to Boston in 1767, the office of Surveyor-General was abolished and Steuart was made Cashier and Paymaster of Customs. He left Boston in 1769, never to return to Massachusetts, and Coffin was left in charge of the day-to-day running of the department. Some of Steuart's letters have been published, although none of these were taken from the collection housed in the NLS or were replies to letters written by Coffin. In Worthington C. Ford, "Charles Steuart and James Murray Letters, 1766-1772", Procs.MHS, 1st ser., 43 (1909-1910), pp.449-459. The Pennsylvania Historical Society holds other papers relating to Steuart dating from 1762-1763 and 1789.

15. Historians have long been aware of the Whigs' anti-Toryism, although they have neglected to study its significance in colonial politics in any depth. See Bailyn, Ideological Origins, pp.x, 40 and passim; Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.103-108 and passim; Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution (2nd ed., New York, 1963), pp.187-204; Pauline Maier, From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American/

American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776 (New York, 1974), pp.54-60, 121-122, 278, 281-283.

16. The ideological-political context of Loyalism in the commercial communities of eastern Massachusetts deserves to be more accurately developed in the light of John W. Tyler's conclusion in his recent study of the Boston merchants that economics played "a less clear cut role in shaping the political leanings of Loyalist merchants in Boston" than it did for the Patriot merchants. In Smugglers & Patriots: Boston Merchants and the Advent of the American Revolution (Boston, 1986), p.18.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE:

1. Bailyn, Ideological Origins, passim; Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, pp.198-227; Morton White, The Philosophy of the American Revolution (New York, 1978), pp.185-226; Clinton Rossiter, The Political Thought of the American Revolution (New York, 1963), pp.90-93, 105-125, 135-146; Charles F. Mullet, "English Imperial Thinking, 1764-1783", Political Science Quarterly, 45 (1930), pp.548-579.
2. Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.154-156; Lawrence H. Gipson, The British Empire Before the American Revolution 14 vols. (New York, 1936-1969), X, pp.47-50, 55-61. The human cost was high too. Massachusetts's casualties in the French and Indian War and King George's War, 1740-1748, were proportionately higher per head of population than those suffered in the Revolutionary or Civil Wars. Nash, Urban Crucible, p.172.
3. In 1750, the colonies were receiving 11 per cent of all British domestically produced exports. Between 1768 and 1772, 66 per cent of all imports into New England came from the Mother Country. James Henretta, The Evolution of American Society, 1700-1815: An Interdisciplinary Analysis (Lexington, Mass., Toronto, London, 1973), pp.49, 139-143; James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America (Cambridge, 1979), pp.160-161 and passim; Murray G. Lawson, "The Routes of Boston's Trade, 1752-1765", PCSM, 38 (1948), pp.81-85; Arthur M. Schlesinger, The Colonial Merchants and the American revolution, 1763-1776 (ed., New York, 1939), pp.23-25; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill, NC., and London, 1985), pp.79, 222-225, 295, and passim; Stuart Bruchey, The Roots of American Economic Growth, 1607-1861 (New York, 1965), pp.16-73.
4. To be sure, the expectations of some were fulfilled. The exigencies of wartime and the need to supply the British and provincial forces gave full employment to artisans, labourers and seamen. It provided opportunities for wealthy merchants such as Thomas Hancock and John Erving to regale themselves with valuable contracts to supply the army and navy. But by the end of the war a recession began to set in. The high level of imports and the easy credit terms offered by British merchants had a debilitating effect on the colonial economy. In 1760, colonial merchants were indebted to their British counterparts to the tune of £2 million. By 1771, New England merchants owed £1,280,000 to British houses. Nash, /

- Nash, Urban Crucible, pp.12, 161-263; Henretta, American Society, pp.141-147; McCusker and Menard, Economy of British America, pp.80-81; Schlesinger, Colonial Merchants, pp. 36-37; Richard B. Sheridan, "The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American Colonies", Journal of Economic History, 20 (1960), pp.161-186.
5. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.13-16 and passim; Schlesinger, ibid., pp.41-43.
 6. Tyler, ibid., pp.66, 71-73, 91, 95-97; Charles M. Andrews, "Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Movement", PCSM, 19 (1916-1917), pp.159-259.
 7. Tyler, ibid., passim; Andrews, ibid.; Gipson, The British Empire, X, pp.212-214; BGCJ, December 16, 1765, p.3/1
 8. Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.128-129; Gipson, ibid., pp.274-275, 287-289; Ian R. Christie and Benjamin W. Labaree, Empire or Independence, 1760-1776: A British-American Dialogue on the Coming of the American Revolution (Oxford, 1976), pp.41-60; Bernard Knollenberg, Origin of the American Revolution, 1759-1766 (New York, 1966), pp.197-199.
 9. Morgans, ibid., pp.265-279; C.A. Weslager, The Stamp Act Congress (London and New York, 1976), p.60; House Journals 1765-1766, XLII, pp.108-110 and 1767-1768, XLIV, p.164.
 10. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, January 7, 1764, Francis Bernard Papers, 14 vols., III, pp.120-122, Sparks MSS, Houghton Library.
 11. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, Boston, November 18, 1764, ibid., pp.182-185.
 12. Knollenberg, Origin of the American Revolution, pp.188-200; Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, p.136; Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.36-37, 62; Edmund S. Morgan, "Thomas Hutchinson and the Stamp Act", NEQ, 21 (1948), pp.480-492; Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, p.167.
 13. William Bolland to Andrew Oliver, Lisbon, July 7, 1764, MS.G.33.44 American Revolutionary MSS, BPL; Andrew Oliver to Peter Oliver, n.p. n.d. quoted in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VII, p.393.
 14. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 16, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.3
 15. Accounts of the riots are in BGCJ Supplement, August 19, 1765, p.1/1; Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.97-105; Nash, Urban Crucible,/

Crucible, pp.293-297; Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.163-167; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VII, p.394.

16. Thomas Hutchinson, The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 3 vols. ed., Lawrence S. Mayo (Cambridge, Mass., 1936; repr., New York, 1971), III, p.125.
17. House Journals 1766, XLIII part 1, p.184; Benjamin Hallowell to the Commissioners of Customs, Boston, September 7, 1765, T.1/442, Treasury Papers, PRO.
18. Story's statement is in BGCJ, August 26, 1765, p.2/2. According to Hutchinson, Story was a Whig: his "connexions are and always were with the disturbers of Government". In Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, February 25, 1773, Massachusetts Archives, XXVII, p.459, Statehouse, Boston (hereafter, MA). On Hutchinson, see Bailyn, Hutchinson, p.36. Hutchinson mistakenly blamed Whig merchants John Rowe, William Molineux and Solomon Davis for organising the riot of August 26, in Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Pownall, Boston, March 8, 1766, MA, XXVI, pp.207-214. Hallowell's opposition to the measures has been noted in John L. Bullion, A Great and Necessary Measure: George Grenville and the Genesis of the Stamp Act, 1763-1765 (London and Columbia, Missouri, 1982), p.205.
19. Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.187-200; Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.119-143; Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, p.196; Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, pp.67-74; Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, pp.135,208.
20. For example, the Distributors were informed

You have now an opportunity...of shewing whether you are friends or enemies to your country. If we are enslaved it will be thro' the helping hand you lend towards it.

BEP, September 9, 1765, p.1/2.

21. Hoerder, Crowd Action, p.107; Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.165-169, 234; John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (2nd ed., Stamford, Calif., 1960), p.53
22. Henry Bass to Samuel P. Savage, Boston, December 19, 1765, Procs. MHS, 3rd series, 44 (1911), pp.688-689.
23. Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.13, 107.
24. Hoerder, ibid., pp.40-84; Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, pp.xiii, 5-12, 53-74; Patterson, Political Parties, pp.57-60; Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.185-206.

25. Pencak, ibid., p.191.
26. Hoerder, Crowd Action, p.102; Nash, Urban Crucible, pp.296-297.
27. Hoerder, ibid., p.117.
28. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Castle William, August 18, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, pp.12-13.
29. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, December 22, 1766, ibid., IV, pp.274-279; Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, January 20, 1767, in The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence and Illustrative Matter, 1760-70... (Cambridge, Mass., 1912) eds., Edward Channing and Archibald C. Coolidge, p.121 (hereafter, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence.)
30. [Thomas Hulton], Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England from the Establishment of the Board of Customs in America to the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1775, n.d. [post 1783], p.12, Andre De Coppet Collection Princeton University Library. This MSS has been wrongly attributed to Thomas Hulton. The author, as is evident from the personal recollections in the text, was Commissioner of Customs Henry Hulton.
31. On the Salem association see Samuel Curwen to ? [Salem], October 15, 1765, Curwen MSS, III, Essex Institute. The articles of association for the Marblehead volunteers are in MGBPA, October 28, 1765, p.3/1. The Plymouth association organised by Edward Winslow Jr. is mentioned in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XVI, p.103.
32. He believed the Marblehead associaters wanted only to prevent the Whigs from using mobs to close the port. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, October 19, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.10.
33. Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.107-113. Coffin's part is mentioned in The Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson ... ed., Peter O. Hutchinson 2 vols.) London, 1884-1886), I, pp.70-71.
34. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, October 12, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.10; John Phillip Reid, In A Rebellious Spirit: The Argument of Facts, the Liberty Riot, and the coming of the American Revolution (University Park, Penn. and London, 1979), pp.18-19.
35. Records of the Massachusetts Council, 1765-1774, MA, XVI, pp.33-39 (hereafter, Council Records); Francis Bernard to General Thomas Gage, Castle William, August 27, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.62; Bernard to Gage, Boston, September, 12, 1765, ibid., pp.69-70.

36. Francis Bernard to Richard Saltonstall, Castle William, August 28, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.67; Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, Castle William, September 7, 1765, ibid., p.159; Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, September 28, 1765, ibid., p.162; Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, p.254.
37. Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, ibid., p.161; Council Records, pp.40-43, 46-51.
38. Council Records, pp.50-51, 61-64; Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, November 26, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.43.
39. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Castle William, November 1, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.17
40. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, p.146.
41. Bernard favoured an American parliament, Crown salaries for colonial governors and officials, and British troops to be stationed permanently in each of the colonies to deter mobs. By the Declaratory Act of 1719, the British Parliament assumed the right to legislate for Ireland. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Castle William, November 23, 1765, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, pp.95-102. Bernard's proposals were revised and published later in Francis Bernard, Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America; and the principles of law and polity, applied to the American colonies...(London, 1774).
42. Bullion, A Great and Necessary Measure, pp.169-170; Hoerder, Crowd Action, p.92; Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.32, 108; Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, p.100.
43. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, p.103.
44. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, Boston, August 31, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, pp.154-155; Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.92-107.
45. John Boyle, "Journal of Occurrences in Boston, 1759-1778"; NEHGR, 84 (1930), p.169.
46. Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), I, pp.259-260 (hereafter John Adams Diary.) In his "Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law", Adams wrote of the Hutchinson-Oliver clan: "Have we not raised up, one family, in them placed an unlimited confidence, and been soothed and battered and intimidated by their influence, into...tameness and submission?", in BGCJ, October 12, 1765, p.2/1.
Thomas/

Thomas Hutchinson was Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justice of the Superior Court and Probate Judge for Suffolk County. Andrew Oliver was Secretary of State and Stamp Distributor. His son Andrew was a Judge of the Inferior Court of Essex County, and his brother Peter was a Justice of the Superior Court.

47. BGCJ Supplement, August 11, 1766, p.1/1.
48. "A", BGCJ, December 22, 1766, p.2/1-2; BEP, October 28, 1765, p.2/1.
49. The Town of Boston to Dennis De Berdt, Boston, October 22, 1766, BTR, XVI, p.192.
50. Other studies of the Commonwealth tradition and its influence in America include Caroline Robbins, The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, pp.27-48; Rossiter, Political Thought of the American Revolution, pp.67-75.
51. A Dialogue between Sir George Cornwall, A Gentlemen lately Arrived from England...and Mr. Flint (Boston, 1769), pp.4-5.
52. BTR, XVI, p.258; "Hyperion", BGCJ, October 5, 1767, p.1/2.
53. "T.Z." (Samuel Adams), BEP, December 26, 1768 p.2/2-3, authorship attributed by Harbottle Dorr Collection of Newspapers, 4 vols., MHS, II, p.28; "Tacitus" (James Otis), BGCJ, November 16, 1767, p.2/2 and December 7, 1767, p.2/1, attr. Dorr Collection I; "Crito", BGCJ, November 28, 1768, p.2/1.
54. Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787, (Chapel Hill, NC., 1966), p.62.
55. Patterson, Political Parties, p.19.
56. Michael W. Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1970), p.247.
57. For example, John Adams wrote that "All ranks, orders and persuasions," from Georgia to New Hampshire, had found an "unconquerable and irresistible" spirit, and were now "more attentive to their liberties, more inquisitive about them, and more determined to defend them, than they were ever before". In "Earl of Clarendon", BGCJ, January 20, 1766, p.2/2.
58. Bailyn, Ideological Origins, passim.

59. "John Hampden" (James Otis), BGCJ, December 9, 1765,-
December 1, 1766; "The Earl of Clarendon" (John Adams),
ibid., January 13-27, 1766; "Algernon Sidney", ibid.,
August 18, 1766, p.1/2.
60. "John Hampden" (James Otis), ibid., January 27, 1766, p.1/3.
For further discussion of this subject see Owen Dudley
Edwards, "The American Image of Ireland: a Study of its
Early Phases", PAH, 4 (1970), pp.199-282, esp. pp.200-201.
61. "Governor Winthrop" (John Adams), BGCJ, February 9 and
16, 1767; [John Adams], "A Dissertation on the Canon and
Feudal Law", in The True Sentiments of America: Contained
in a Collection of Letters... [comp., Thomas Hollis],
(London, 1768), pp.117-119, 125-127.
62. The Americans were likened to the Israelites and the British
to their Egyptian oppressors, in MGBPA, July 22, 1765,
p.2/2.
63. The item was reprinted from the New York Gazette in BEP,
June 24, 1765, p.1/1, Dorr Collection, I.
64. Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, p.192; Miller, Sam
Adams, pp.112-113; Peter Shaw, American Patriots and the
Rituals of Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp.184-
185. Ideological coercion was not confined to Massachusetts.
The Virginia House of Burgesses discussed whether or not
to adopt a resolve:

That any person who shall, by speaking
or writing, maintain that any person
or persons, other than the General Assembly
of this colony, have any right or power
to impose or lay any taxation whatsoever
on the people here, shall be deemed an
enemy to this his Majesty's colony.

The resolve was not adopted, but the very fact that it was
proposed indicates that anti-Toryism was prevalent in
other colonies. [Thomas Hutchinson], A Collection
of Papers Relative to the Dispute Between Great Britain
and America, 1764-1775 (London, 1777; repr., New York,
1971).

65. Richard Jackson to Francis Bernard, [London], November
8, 1765, in Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts,
1765-1775, ed. Alden Bradford (New York, 1971), p.70.
Bernard feared that "the Americans...have put it out of
the Power of the Ministry to repeal the [Stamp] Act
which otherwise they would have readily and chearfully
done". Francis Bernard to P. Kearney, n.p., May 4,
1766, Bernard Papers, IV, p.123.

66. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, April 28, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, p.108; Bernard to Jackson, Boston, June 7, 1766, ibid., pp.126-127; Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, September 1, 1766, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.113.
67. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, April 23, 1769, Bernard Papers, VII, p.283.
68. Ibid. Bernard often expressed approval for the idea of an expanded civil list: Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, November 7, 1765, ibid., V, p.27; Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, January 4, 1767, ibid., VI, pp.294-295; Bernard to Shelburne, Boston, March 2, 1767, ibid., p.192; Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, December 12, 1768, ibid., VII, pp.117-118.
69. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, October 20, 1768, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.178.
70. Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.143-144, 146-148; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VII, pp.406-407.
71. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, May 9, 1767, Bernard Papers, VII, p.18; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, July 27, 1767, ibid., p.222.
72. Letters of a Loyalist Lady: Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767-1770 (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p.8; Thomas Hutchinson to ? Boston, August 10, 1768, MA, XXVI, pp.318-320.
73. Paxton charged the Collector of Boston, Benjamin Barrons, with twenty infractions of duty. In a long drawn-out dispute, Barrons was dismissed from office but managed to mobilise support among the merchants. In January, 1761, when the merchants protested to the General Court about the writs of assistance, they included in their petition an accusation that Paxton had illegally appropriated fees taken from seizures of vessels and cargoes belonging to owners who had been caught breaking the acts of trade. For a recent account of the dispute see Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.25-64. On Robinson's early career see Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.59-74.
74. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.18.
75. "Candidus", BEP, November 21, p.2/1 and December 12, p.2/1-2, 1768. Paxton travelled with letters of introduction to British cabinet ministers and did consult with Townshend. But there is nothing to suggest that his advice was of crucial importance to the Chancellor. Francis Bernard to/

75. to Lord Barrington, Boston, July 25, 1766, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.111; R.J. Chaffin, "The Townshend Acts of 1767", WMQ, 27 (1970), pp.90-121.
76. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.18
77. Before coming to Massachusetts, Hulton had been a comptroller in Antigua and an inspector in London for the customs service. Little is known of Burch, although it is likely that he had been employed in the customs service in England. Henry Hulton to ?, n.p., April 12, 1772, Letterbooks of Henry Hulton 2 vols., MS.Can.16 1&2, I. p.44, Houghton Library; Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, p.108; Thomas Hutchinson to Israel Mauduit, Boston, November 13, 1767, MA,XXV, pp.223-224. When he was in England, Hulton had contact with Charles Townshend. According to Hulton's own testimony, Townshend sought his advice on what particular items he should lay the proposed duties upon. Hulton did not favour taxing the Americans, and replied: "it may best, Sir, before you lay any new duties to see those well collected that are already." Hulton argued that the widespread resistance to the Stamp Duty demonstrated that the main task of the British government should be to see that officials in the colonies were "protected in doing their duty" before lumbering them with the additional problem of collecting more duties. Henry Hulton to ?, n.p., April 12, 1772, ibid.
78. Hulton, Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England, pp.113-116. An account of Bernard's dispute with Temple is in Jordan D. Fiore, "The Temple-Bernard Affair", Essex Institute, Historical Collections, 90 (1954), pp.58-83.
79. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, December 6, 1770, Ms.5026, pp.189-190, Charles Steuart Papers.
80. Venner was dismissed in January 1769. Accounts of affair are in Thomas Hutchinson to the Commissioners of Customs, Milton, September 17, 1768, MA,XXV, pp.277-278; Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, August 8 & 10, 1768, ibid., XXVI, pp.320-321; Thomas Hutchinson to the Commissioners of Customs, Boston, October 29, 1768, ibid., XXV, p.275; John Robinson to Charles Steuart, Boston, August 11, 1769, Ms.5025, pp.173-174, Charles Steuart Papers.
81. John Temple to George Grenville, Boston, November 7, 1768, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46, in Winthrop Papers, MHS.
82. [John Fisher] to [John Temple], London, March 2, 1769, ibid., reel 47; Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, March 5, 1769, Bernard Papers VII, p.262; James Murray to/

- to Charles Steuart, Boston, March 18, 1769, Ms.5025, pp.111-112, Charles Steuart Papers
83. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, n.p., n.d., MA,XXVI, p.419; Hulton, *Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England*, p.117.
 84. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, August 8 & 10, 1768, MA, XXVI, pp.320-322.
 85. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.9.
 86. Oliver Dickerson ed., Boston under Military Rule, 1768-1769 as revealed in A Journal of the Times (New York, 1970), pp.33,57 (hereafter, Journal of the Times); Thomas Hutchinson to the Duke [of Grafton?], Boston, February 27, 1769, MA,XXVI, pp.341-342.
 87. Accounts of the incident are in MGBNL, September 14, 1769, p.2/3 and BC, September 11-14, 1769, p.3/2.
 88. Hulton, *Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England*, p.84.
 89. Thomas Hutchinson to Nathaniel Rogers, n.p., March 26, 1768, MA,XXVI, p.297.
 90. Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, March 23, 1768, ibid., pp.295-296.
 91. Letters and Diary of John Rowe..., ed. Anne R. Cunningham (Boston, 1903), p.170 (hereafter, John Rowe Diary.)
 92. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May 19, Bernard Papers, VI, p.303.
 93. Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.165-168.
 94. Reid, In a Rebellious Spirit, pp.79-80, 104.
 95. Francis Bernard to General Thomas Gage, Roxbury, July 2, 1768, Bernard Papers, V, p.266.
 96. Thomas Hutchinson to James or Robert Grant, Boston, July 27, 1768, MA,XXV, p.317; Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.12.
 97. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, July 30, 1768, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.169.
 98. Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, p.121; Reid, In a Rebellious Spirit, pp.77-80. Hillsborough's order to Gage is quoted in BGCJ, December 11, 1769, p.2/1.

99. "Troops are not wanted to quell a Riot or a Tumult, but to rescue the Government out of the hands of a trained mob, & restore the Activity of the Civil Power". Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, July 30, 1768, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, pp.167-168.
100. Thomas Hutchinson to Commodore Hood, n.p., September 23, 1769, MA, XXVI, pp.378-379.
101. Francis Bernard to ? December 23, 1768, Barrington--Bernard Correspondence, p.254.
102. Ibid., p.253.
103. Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.122-129.
104. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, January 13, 1769, Bernard Papers, VII, p.253.
105. Thomas Hutchinson to [Thomas Whately], n.p., January 20, 1769, in Copy of Letters Sent to Great-Britain, by His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, the Hon. Andrew Oliver and Several Other Person...(Boston, 1773), p.16 (hereafter, Hutchinson-Oliver Letters); Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, January 28, 1769, MA, XXVI, p.349.
106. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, March 25, 1769, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.272-273.
107. James Murray to Charles Steuart, Boston, March 18, 1769, Ms.5025, pp.111-112, Charles Steuart Papers.
108. The Earl of Hillsborough to Francis Bernard, Whitehall, February 20, 1769, Bernard Papers, XII, p.57.
109. Sewall acted on information about the authors supplied by Charles Paxton, Thomas Flucker, Andrew Oliver and Harrison Gray. In Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, February 21, 1769, ibid., VII, pp.142-148; Bernard to Hillsborough, Boston, February 25, 1769, ibid., pp.148-150.
110. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, December 21, 1768, ibid., p.115; Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, n.p., March 18, 1769, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.197; Carl Ubbelhode, The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, NC., 1960), pp.123-127.
111. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May 25, 1769, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.157-159.
112. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, April 8, 1769, ibid., p.277.

113. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, n.p., n.d. [1769?], MA, XXVI, p.358.
114. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., October 19, 1769, ibid., p.391.
115. Hoerder, Crowd Action.
116. Hiller Zobel, The Boston Massacre (New York, 1970).

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO:

1. Some historians have maintained that Loyalist ideology could not exist in its fully developed state prior to 1774-1775, for the ideological and political alignments which then divided the colonists were not wholly operative. While I accept this point, this dissertation will consider to what extent the friends of government developed a common response to the revolutionary movement that influenced the Loyalists. Brown, Good Americans, p.31; Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, pp.311-312; Nelson, American Tory, pp.5, 12; Mary Beth Norton, The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1784 (London, 1974), pp.7-8.
2. For an explanation of the terms "moderate", "radical" and "conservative" see note 1, pp.484-485.
3. Harrison Gray and his son, Ralph Inman, Thomas Brattle, Joseph Scott, John Timmons, Robert Hallowell, Thomas Apthorp, Gregory Townshend and George Erving. Also present were Whigs John Rowe, Henry Green and Solomon Davis. In John Rowe Diary, p.156.
4. The names of the friends of government in Appendix A were cross-referenced with "An Alphabetical List of the Sons of Liberty Who Dined at Liberty Tree, Dorchester, August 14, 1769", Procs.MHS, 1st ser., 11 (1869), pp.140-142.
5. Andrews, "Boston Merchants", p.205.
6. The names of the subscribers to the agreement are unknown. But because/

6. because nearly three-quarters of the town's traders signed the agreement it is logical to assume that many friends of government were among the subscribers, see Chapter One, pp.
7. Quoted in Gertrude E. Meredith, The Descendants of Hugh Amory, 1605-1805 (London, 1901), p.125.
8. Priscilla Lord Sawyer and Virginia Gamage, Marblehead: The Spirit of '76 Lives Here (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 104-105.
9. Quoted in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, pp.120, 124-127.
10. Quoted in ibid., pp.139-140.
11. John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Nathaniel and Robert Denison, Boston, October 29, 1768, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, pp.153-154.
12. Tyler identified a total of twenty-eight smugglers, although smuggling was far more widespread than this small number suggests, in Smugglers & Patriots, pp.13, 30-32, 258-276.
13. Rogers' views were expressed in the introduction to a work which he edited for publication, William Wood, New England's Prospect (ed., Boston, 1764), pp.xii-xiii, attributed by Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIII, pp.631-637.
14. [Ward Nicholas Boylston], to Captain Samuel Andrews, Boston, July 26, 1773, Boylston Papers, MHS.
15. Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion, eds, Douglass Adair and John A. Schutz (San Marino, Calif., 1961), p.47. In 1756, twelve friends of government signed an agreement to inform on smugglers. There is no evidence to suggest that these men were smugglers: James Apthorp, George Bethune, Ralph Inman, Gilbert Deblois, John Powell II, John Timmins, Jonathan Simpson, Benjamin Greene, Rufus Greene, Nicholas Boylston, Thomas Hubbard and Andrew Oliver, in BEP, December 6, 1756.
16. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, August 4, 1770, MA,XXVI, pp.530-531.
17. The Boylstones were among the first colonial merchants to begin trading with Russia. Samuel E. Morison estimated that by the 1770s their investments and property were worth \$400,000. John Adams observed that Nicholas Boylston's house was a seat worthy of a "noble Man, [or] a Prince." The garden was "the Most Magnificent of any Thing" he had/

17. had "ever seen". Nicholas Boylston died in 1771 and in his will bequeathed £4,000 to his nephew Ward Hallowell (who changed his name to Ward Nicholas Boylston) and £1,500 to Harvard College to endow a new chair of Rhetoric and Oratory. The Boylstons, however, were by no means the richest merchants in Boston. The Barrets, John Hancock and William Phillips were more wealthy. Samuel E. Morison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860 (2nd ed., Boston, 1961), p.25; John Adams Diary, I, p.299; Norman E. Saul, "The Beginnings of the American-Russian Trade, 1763-1766 ", WMQ, 26 (1969), pp.596-600; The Will of Nicholas Boylston, Suffolk Probate Records Lib.70 f.445. Suffolk County Registry of Probate, Courthouse, Boston (hereafter, SPR); David M. Goodfellow, "The First Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory", NEQ, 19 (1946), pp.372-373.
18. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.258-276. Boylston and his friend Benjamin Hallowell amused their dinner guests by telling stories about James Otis and Sam Adams. Hallowell delighted in Otis's inconsistencies in the proclamations he made concerning the colonists' right of exemption from taxation by Parliament. In John Adams Diary, I, pp.294-295.
19. John Adams Diary, ibid.
20. In September that year, five months after Parliament passed the act, Boylston's brig Recovery, John Bryant master, was fitted out for a voyage to the West Indies with a cargo of fish and lumber. The Recovery called at French Hispaniola, where Bryant exchanged his cargo for molasses. He proceeded home to Boston in February. However, an outbreak of ship fever forced him to put into New Providence in the Bahamas. There, customs officers seized the Recovery and its cargo. They brought a prosecution against Boylston in the Vice-Admiralty Court because Bryant was unable to produce the "cockets" or inventory of his original cargo of non-enumerated goods as was required by the Revenue Act. Boylston sought the assistance of the General Court, protesting that the Recovery sailed before the new regulations took effect on September 29. Francis Bernard gave Boylston a letter of introduction to the province agent, Richard Jackson, and Bryant was dispatched to London to wait on Jackson. Bryant spent six months and £200 trying to get Jackson to champion the claim, but without success. Boylston also claimed compensation for losses incurred during the seizure of the Sea Horse in 1761. He was unable to obtain compensation for either losses. Thomas Boylston, Petition to the General Court and Governor, [Boston], May 29, 1765, Massachusetts Papers, 2 vols., I, MHS; Thomas Boylston, Petition to the General Court and Governor, [Boston], November 3, 1766, ibid.;/

- ibid.; House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, pp.21-22, 60, 70, and 1766, XLIII, part 1, p.183; Andrew Oliver to Richard Jackson, n.p., June n.d., 1765, in Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.31-32; Francis Bernard to Lord Colville, Boston, September 30, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.73.
21. The Revenue Act of 1764 permitted customs officers and naval commanders to prosecute violators of the acts of trade in either the common law courts or the courts of Vice-Admiralty. For the first time, customs officers were granted immunity from any subsequent suit for damages or costs brought by the defendant. Gipson, The British Empire, X, pp.228-229; Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, p.93; Ubbelohde, Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution, pp.5, 15, 48-50.
 22. Thomas Boylston, Petition to the General Court and Governor, May 29, 1765, Massachusetts Papers, I.
 23. The case of Boylston and two other merchants were considered by "A", BGCJ, December 8, 1766, p.2/2. For Sam Adams, Boylston was a "great Sufferer by the Mal Conduct of diverse Crown officers....[H]is case is not singular...& if they should multiply...it will...tend to excite a Jealousy in the Minds of the People here of the Mother Country." Samuel Adams to Dennis De Berdt, n.p., November 15, 1766, The Writings of Samuel Adams, 4 vols., ed. Harry Alonzo Cushing (New York, 1904-1908), I, p.99.
 24. Samuel Quincy to [Josiah Quincy], Boston, August 26, 1768, Samuel Quincy Papers, MHS.
 25. Daniel Leonard noted that the terms "Whig" and "Tory" had been "adopted according to the arbitrary use of them" and did not accurately reflect the political divisions of early eighteenth-century Britain where they were in common usage. Thomas Hutchinson observed that "very few, who might have been called Tories in England took the name of Jacobites in America". [Daniel Leonard], Massachusettsensis (Boston, 1775; 3rd ed., London, 1776), pp.vi-vii, 15; Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III p.103.
 26. In 1763, there were twenty-one newspapers printed in the colonies. By 1775, there were forty-two, with every colony except New Jersey and Delaware having at least one. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776 (New York, 1958); Davidson, Propaganda and the American Revolution, pp.225, 312-337.
 27. Stephen Botein, "'Meer Mechanics' and an Open Press: The Business and Political Strategies of Colonial American Printers", PAH, 9 (1975), pp.127-225.

28. Whately was "glad to find that there are men in America who have considered the true state of the case & do not run away with the general current". Thomas Whately to John Temple, [London], May 10, 1765, "Bowdoin-Temple Papers", Coll.MHS 6th ser., 9 (1897), p.52. He was probably referring to [Martin Howard], A Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax to His Friend at Rhode Island, (Newport, RI, 1765).
29. Janice Potter and Robert M. Calhoon, "The Character and Coherence of the Loyalist Press", in The Press and the American Revolution, eds. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench, (Worcester, Mass., 1980), pp.271-272.
30. Potter, The Liberty We Seek, pp.7-9; Nelson, American Tory, pp.65-84; L.F.S. Upton, "The Dilemma of the Loyalist Pamphleteers", pp.71-84.
31. His attack on Otis is in "Jemmibullero", BEP, May 13, 1765. Authorship attributed by Dorr Collection I. Waterhouse had been a court party writer since 1760. See his Proposals for Printing by Subscription, the History of the public Life and distinguished Actions of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Brazen... (Boston. 1760). On his treatment by the Whigs and the origin of his nickname see MG, February 3, 1766, p.3/1 and BGCJ, November 30, 1767, p.1/2.
32. Peter Oliver asserted that "those Printers, who were inclined to support Government, were threatened, & greatly discouraged. So that the People were deprived of the Means of Information; & the Faction had engrossed the Press, which groaned with all the Falsities that seditious Brains could invent." In Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion, p.105. Such claims were exaggerated, but they reflected the Tories' real fear that they did not have a public platform in the press on which to air their political views.
33. MG, March 13, 1766, p.3/3; MGBWNL, October 20, 1768, p.1/2.
34. Letters of James Murray, eds. Nina Moore Tiffany and Susan I. Lesley, (Boston, 1901), p.154.
35. John Adams Diary, I, p.299.
36. Nathaniel Rogers to Thomas Hutchinson, New York, September 16, 1765, MA,XXV, pp.32-34. Henry Hulton observed that "most of the people of property were averse to the new Laws of Parliament", in Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England, p.86. I have discounted the evidence collected by Wallace Brown from the Loyalist Claims (The King's Friends, p.19.) Brown noted that ten/

36. ten Massachusetts claimants equated their Loyalism with support for the Stamp Act or opposition to the Whigs in 1765-1766. Brown erred in taking at face value the assertions made by the Loyalists, which in most cases cannot be substantiated. The Royal commissioners were more sympathetic to those Loyalists who had taken a stand against the Whigs from the onset of the troubles, see Norton, British-Americans, pp.198-199, 226; Eugene R. Fingerhut, "Uses and Abuses of the American Loyalists' Claims: A Critique of Quantitative Analyses", WMQ, 25 (1968), pp.245-258.
37. For the views of British conservatives see: Dickinson, Liberty and Property, p.215; Benjamin W. Labaree, "The Idea of American Independence: The British View, 1774-1776 Procs.MHS, 82 (1970), p.11; Mullet, "English Imperial Thinking", pp.553-555; George Canning, A Letter to the Right Hon... Earl of Hillsborough, on the Connection Between Great Britain and Her Colonies (London, 1768), pp.14, 26; The Constitutional Right of the Legislature of Great Britain to Tax the British Colonies in America (London, 1768), pp.12-15, 18, 23-24, 28; William Knox, The Controversy Between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed... (London, 1769), pp.68, 71, 76.
38. John Cushing to Thomas Hutchinson, [Scituate], February 10, 1767, MA, XXV, p.159.
39. Arthur Savage to Samuel P. Savage, London, January 12, 1765, Samuel P. Savage II Collection, MHS. He was probably referring to [James Otis], The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved (Boston, 1764).
40. Arthur Savage to Samuel P. Savage, London, February 8, 1765, Samuel P. Savage II Collection.
41. John Adams Diary, I, p.309.
42. These men were "wholly inclined to Passive Obedience as the best Way to procure redress." Cleverly and Vesey were "fully convinced" of Parliament's right to levy taxes on the colonists, although Cleverly changed his opinion later. ibid., pp.279-280. In December 1765, Gay delivered a sermon that caused "great Uneasiness" in Hingham. The theme of the sermon was "to recommend Honour, Reward, and Obedience to good Rulers; and a Spirited Opposition to bad ones, interspersed with a good deal of animated declaration upon Liberty and the Times." Ibid., p.309 Gay took his text from St. Paul, Romans, XIII:1-7, which included the line: "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities". Quoted in Robert J. Wilson, "Ebenezer Gay: New England's Arminian Patriarch, 1696-1787" /

42. 1787", p.447, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1980.
43. Byles's role during the Stamp Act Crisis is mentioned in Joseph Harrison to Bishop Terrick, .n.p., May 12, 1768, Fulham Papers, American Colonial Section VI (Massachusetts), pp.66-67, Lambeth Palace Library. On Forbes see Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIII, p.53 and his The Evangelical Preacher's Determination (Boston, 1766), pp.11-12.
44. Henry Caner, The Great Blessing of Stable Times Together with the Means of Procuring It (Boston, 1763), passim; Henry Caner to Thomas Secker, Boston, September 1, 1764, in The Letter-Book of the Rev. Henry Caner, ed. Kenneth W. Cameron (Hartford, Conn., 1972), p.119 (hereafter, Henry Caner Letterbook.)
45. Nelson, American Tory, p.16; John F. Woolverton, Colonial Anglicanism in North America (Detroit, 1984), pp.220-233; Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775 (New York, 1962), passim. Edward Winslow of Braintree "endeavoured to urge upon the people...a special regard to the duties of loyalty to His Majesty, and deference and affection to the supreme Government of our Mother Country". Quoted in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XI, p.102.
46. Henry Caner asserted that Episcopalianism was "the only religious Profession among us that sincerely cultivates the Principles of Loyalty and obedience to the British crown and Government". Henry Caner to [the Bishop of London], Boston, September 10, 1765, Fulham Papers, General Correspondence, VI (Massachusetts), p.60.
47. The Whigs were alarmed at the potential influence of the Anglican clergy on their congregations. They accused Edward Winslow of Braintree of "sending home exaggerated accounts of his success" in converting "church...malignants to Toryism." In "A.W.", BGCJ, May 4, p.1/1 and June 22, 1767, p.3/1. John Adams denounced Winslow's friend Joseph Cleverly, a schoolteacher, for "sowing... pernicious Seeds of Mischief, instilling wrong Principles in Church and State into the People, striving to divide and disunite them, and to excite fears to damp their Spirits and lower their Courage." John Adams Diary, I, pp.279-280. Peter Oliver was one prominent Anglican who shared the views of the clergy, in Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion, pp.42-44, 51. Henry Barnes was another. It was his "firm opinion that the opposition in America would not have risen to the Length they have done, if the propagation of the Established Religion of the Church of England had not been shamefully Neglected,/"

47. Neglected, in not sending over a Bishop." Henry Barnes to Richard Terrick, Bishop of London, Marlborough, September 25, 1769, Fulham papers, General Correspondence, VI (Massachusetts), pp.72-73. Oliver, Cleverly and Barnes are examples of Anglicans who were Tories. But others such as the Borlands and the Vassals were not active in politics until the 1770s, or, like the Ervings and the Debloises, were Whigs. See Appendix A.
48. John Adams Diary, I, p.309.
49. Afterward, Mayhew admitted to Clarke that the sermon had been composed "in a high strain of liberty", but "not higher than...[what is] warranted by the principles of the glorious revolution." He was certain "that no person could, without abusing & perverting it, take encouragement from it to go mobbing". Jonathan Mayhew to Richard Clarke, Boston, September 3, 1765, NEHGR, 42 (1892), pp.16-20. Clarke's biographer makes no mention of his returning to West Church after this incident, in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, pp.553-554.
50. Quoted in Henry Caner to Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Boston, October 23, 1767, in Henry Caner Letterbook, p.130.
51. John Adams Diary, I, p.280.
52. Henry Caner to East Apthorp, n.p., April 28, 1766, in Henry Caner Letterbook, p.126
53. MG, May 8, 1766, p.1/1; MGBNL, June 12, 1766, p.1/1-2.
54. See note 6. John Bernard of Salem was one friend of government who was an exception. He attacked the boycott in BEP, March 31, 1766. Attributed by Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XV, p.175.
55. John Adams Diary, I, p.311.
56. The "Black List" is in BGCJ March 31, 1766, p.2/3.
57. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, October 19, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, pp.10-11.
58. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, n.p., August 22, 1765, ibid., p.146.
59. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, February 26, 1766, MA, XXVI, pp.196-198.
60. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Pownall, Boston, March 8, 1766, ibid., XXV, pp.207-214.

61. Thomas Hutchinson to Benjamin Franklin, Boston, November 18, 1765, ibid., XXVI, pp.14-15.
62. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, pp.122-123.
63. John Osborne to Thomas Hutchinson, Boston, August 28, 1765, MA,XXV, p.29.
64. Edmund Trowbridge to William Bollan, n.p., September 7, 1765, in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, p.514.
65. Henry Caner to Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Boston, May 15, 1766, in Henry Caner Letterbook, p.126.
66. Letters of James Murray, p.154.
67. "Philanthrop" (Jonathan Sewall), BEP, December 1, 1766-August 10, 1767, and occasionally thereafter; "N.P.", "Letters in Answer to the Farmer", ibid., February 6-July 5, 1769.
68. BGCJ, January 18, 1768, p.1/1.
69. For example: "Philanthropos", BC, December 5-12, 1768, p.1/2; "Bostonian", ibid., February 5-March 16, 1770.
70. Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, November 20, 1769, MA,XXV, p.329; Andrew Oliver to [Thomas Whately], Boston, May 11, 1768, in Hutchinson-Oliver Letters, p.25.
71. "A True Patriot", MGBNL, September 24, 1767, p.3/3; "Phil. Paci", EG, August 2-9, 1768, p.1/1; "N.P.", BEP, February 26, 1769, p.4/1.
72. The "Pennsylvania Farmer" (John Dickinson) had drawn a line "to limit the authority" of Parliament in the colonies that "leads directly to the unhinging of the constitution." Its logic "exists only in the imagination, and is impracticable." If allowed, it would be like permitting the inferior county courts of Massachusetts to overturn the decisions of the Superior Court. "N.P.", BEP, February 13, p.4/2, February 20, p.4/1, April 3, p.4/2-3, 1769.
73. Ibid., February 13, p.4/1 and March 6, p.4/1, 1769.
74. "T", BC, March 27-30, 1769, p.4/3.
75. "Philanthrop" (Jonathan Sewall), BEP, January 14, 1771, p.1/1-3.
76. "N.P.", ibid., March 27, 1769, p.4/3.
77. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, pp.18-19.

78. Nathaniel Rogers, BGCJ, November 21, 1768, p.2/2-3; Francis Bernard to John Pownall (private), Boston, November 25, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.167.
79. The Clergy of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island to [The Bishop of London], Boston, September 22, 1768, Fulham Papers, General Correspondence, VI (Massachusetts), p.68. The ten Loyalists were John Troutbeck, William Walter, William McGilchrist, Henry Caner, Esward Bass, Edward Winslow, Jacob Bailey, Joshua Wingate Weeks, Moses Badger, Willard Wheeler.
80. James Murray to Charles Steuart, Boston, November 12, 1769, Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5025, p.232.
81. "Pacificus", BC, February 15-19, 1770, p.3/3.
82. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, July 25, 1769, MA, XXV, pp.317-318.
83. Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, January 23, 1770, ibid., pp.352-359.
84. "Julius", BEP, June 20, 1768, p.3/1-2.
85. Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, November 20, 1769, MA, XXV, p.329; William Williams to Oliver Partridge, n.p., March 21, 1768, quoted in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, p.652; Henry Caner to Thomas Lane, Boston, May 5, 1768, in Henry Caner Letterbook, p.135.
86. For example, Thomas Cushing to Dennis De Berdt, Boston, May 9, 1767, in "Letters of Thomas Cushing From 1765-1767", Coll.MHS, 4th ser., 4 (1858), pp.348-349.
87. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, October 30, 1769, Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5025, pp.222-225.
88. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, May 22, 1770, ibid., Ms.5026, pp.56-59.
89. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, June 29, 1770, ibid., pp.74-76. James Murray thought that eventually the "poor People, many of whom are almost starving for want of Employment, [are] going to plunder the Rich and then [proceed to] cutting their throats." Letters of James Murray, p.132.
90. Andrew Oliver to Benjamin Lynde, Boston, March 6, 1770, Oliver Papers, MHS.
91. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, November 6, 1770, Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5026, p.169; Coffin to/

91. to Steuart, Boston, December 6, 1770, ibid., pp.189-190.
92. Hulton, Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England, p.40.
93. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, August 18, 1766, Bernard Papers, IV, pp.246-247.
94. Reid, In a Rebellious Spirit, pp.24-32.
95. Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, p.243; "Essex County Loyalists", Essex Institute, Historical Collections, 43 (1907), pp.312-313; Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, July 2, 1770, C.O.5/759, pp.234-240, Colonial Office Papers, PRO.
96. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, May 22, 1770, Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5026, pp.56-59; Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May 21, 1770, MA, XXVI, p.488.
97. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, ibid., p.58.
98. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.39. Accounts of the incident are in ibid., pp.21-25 and Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, June 29, 1770, Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5026, pp.74-76.
99. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.39.
100. Ibid., pp.39-40; Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 29, 1770, MA, XXV, pp.512-513.
101. Arthur Savage to Thomas Hutchinson, Falmouth, February 20, 1770, MA, XXV, pp.355-360.
102. Ibid.
103. Savage's ordeal did not end there. In November 1771, a mob dragged him from his house and in full view of his neighbours forced him at gunpoint to reveal the identity of a customs house informer. Witnesses to the incident refused to testify in court. Savage had to abandon his suit, though he himself claimed to be able to identify his assailants. Arthur Savage to the Commissioners of Customs, Falmouth, November 9, 1771, in Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783, 21 vols (Dublin, 1972-1981) . II, pp.238-240; Enoch Freeman to Thomas Hutchinson, Falmouth, January 20, 1772, MA, XXV, pp.500-501; Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 15, 1772, MA, XXVII, pp.363-365.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE:

1. The town meeting was the basic participatory political unit in Massachusetts. The residents voted in elections to choose town officials and representatives to the General Court. In the elections to the House, held each May, the franchise extended to white adult males possessing £40 rateable (freehold) property. The voting qualifications for town elections, usually held in March, was £20. Restrictions were never rigidly enforced, and as many as 60 per cent of adult males in Boston and the larger towns like Salem and 80 per cent in the smaller towns voted in elections. Artisans, shopkeepers and yeomen regularly participated in politics - something which would have been denied them in Europe. It was the contention of the Tories that the Whigs were extending the franchise illegally to youths and propertyless artisans in order to win their political support. Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.23-24; Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.16-17.
2. Robert Zemsky concluded that the business and functions of the House depended upon a hierarchy of leadership, comprising "leaders", "subleaders", and "backbenchers". The Speaker was the most powerful man in the House and was elected each year by the representatives with the approval of the Governor. He appointed the members of committees, for which he needed the approbation of the House. There were no standing committees, and committee membership normally reflected the divisions or spectrum of opinion within the chamber. Another factor which facilitated the formation of political coalitions was the opportunity given by the open debates to charismatic politicians and orators like James Otis to influence those around them. The lobbying of representatives inside and outside the House was also common practice. Zemsky observed that "persuasion, rather than tactical manoeuvring, was the only way to defeat or pass legislation" (p.18.) Robert Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods: An Essay on Eighteenth-Century American Politics (Boston, 1971), pp.12-13, 22-24, 28-38;
3. Some historians of the "consensus" school, notably Robert E. Brown and Michael Zuckerman, have maintained that the party political system did not begin to evolve until the 1780s because the people of Massachusetts already participated in a political democracy by the time of the Revolution. Parties were abhorred as "factions" and were held to be/

3. be unnecessary. Generally, representatives and town officials were responsive to the wishes of their constituents, and townspeople were unafraid to exercise their political power. Representatives attended the House armed with a set of instructions written by a committee of townspeople setting down the policy guidelines that he should follow when came to voting in the House. Between 1715 and 1774, there was a high turnover rate of representatives. On average, three out of every seven towns installed new representatives each year. Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, pp.21-37, 53, 66-67, 78-99, 129-131; Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms, pp.192-198, 200-209; Richard Buel Jr., "Democracy and the American Revolution: A Frame of Reference", WMQ, 21 (1964), pp.165-190. However, deferential political behaviour acted as a counterweight to the exercise of political democracy. Edward Cook Jr. concluded that while regularly exercising a freedom of choice in selecting representatives and town officials townspeople restricted their choice to a "leadership pool", whose members were conspicuous by their social and economic prominence in the town. Less than 1 per cent of Boston's inhabitants belonged to the "leadership pool"; between 1 and 3 per cent of people in towns with populations over 1,000; between 3 and 6 per cent of people in towns with 500 and 1,000 inhabitants. Those who were elected were not oligarchs, but an elite who came to dominate the decision making process at both local and provincial levels. Those who elected them were endorsing the widely accepted opinion in British-American culture that positions of leadership should be filled by laymen of social standing in the community, although they themselves retained the ultimate power of selecting the leaders. Edward M. Cook Jr., The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership Structure in Eighteenth-century New England (Baltimore and London, 1976), pp.10-22, 30-37, 80-84, and *passim*. See also J.R. Pole, "Historians and the Problem of American Democracy", AHR, 67 (1962), pp.626-646; Patterson, Political Parties, p.24; Nash, Urban Crucible, p.35. Despite the prevalence of and continuity in traditional forms of politics that precluded the existence of a party political system, Richard D. Brown has shown that elections contested along party lines and ideologies were a feature of politics in Massachusetts during the 1760s and 1770s. They contributed to the high turnover rates of House membership. (From 1764 to 1773, 30 per cent of representatives elected each year were men who were not incumbents or who had never been elected before. Richard D. Brown, "The Massachusetts Convention of Towns", WMQ, 26 (1969), pp.95-96.
4. Nash, "Social Change and the Growth of Pre-Revolutionary Urban Radicalism", pp.26-28; *idem*, Urban Crucible, pp.273-280; Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, pp.183-185; Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.150-153; Gipson, The British Empire, X, p.129.

5. There were over four hundred patronage posts in Massachusetts. The Crown appointed the senior executive officers (the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of State) and the Judges of the Admiralty courts. The House of Representatives elected the Council, the Treasurer, the Impost Officers and Indian Agent. Together, the House and Council selected the London-based province agent. The Governor and Council appointed the senior judicial officers and judges, the Justices of the Peace and the county Sheriffs. The British government appointed all customs officers. The only positions to which the Governor had the sole right of appointment were the officers of the province militia. Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods, pp.53-54
6. Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.159-161; Patterson, Political Parties, pp.52-53.
7. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Castle William, May 1, 1762, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, pp.52-53.
8. John Cushing to Thomas Hutchinson, Scituate, January 6, 1767, MA,XXV, pp.158-159.
9. Quoted in Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, p.161.
10. Colonel James Otis had been promised the post by Governor Pownall. John J. Waters and John A. Schutz, "Patterns of Massachusetts Colonial Politics: The Writs of Assistance and the Rivalry Between the Otis and Hutchinson Families", WMQ,24 (1967), pp.543-567.
11. The Court faction was strongest in commercial-farming towns and ports such as Salem, Marblehead and Marshfield. In all, there were around fifty Court towns. The Country party had the allegiance of around fifty-two towns including Boston, Braintree and Taunton. Patterson, Political Parties, pp.41-42.
12. William Bollan was dismissed from the post of agent in 1762. He was replaced by Jasper Mauduit, a leading English non-conformist. Mauduit defeated both Jackson and Hutchinson in the election. However, the Whigs engineered his dismissal on the grounds of his inadequate performance in defending the colony's interests over the introduction of the Revenue Act. In Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.58-59.
13. House Journals. 1764-1765, XLI, p.11.
14. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, November 7, 1764, Bernard Papers, III, p.260.
15. The committee extracted paragraphs which contained an assertion/

15. assertion of the colonists' "exemption from parliamentary taxes in positive Terms as a right" and substituted others that "insinuated it in the way of praying a continuance of...favour and indulgence." Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, November 7, 1764, ibid., pp.262-263. The revised document reflected the Tory views of Thomas Hutchinson. Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.64-65.
16. It was adopted because "the business by degrees got into the hands of Moderate men and friends to Government." Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, Boston, November 10, 1764, (postscript), Bernard Papers, III, p.189.
17. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, November 7, 1764 ibid., pp.262-263.
18. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, Boston, November 10, 1764, ibid., p.189.
19. This estimate is based on the House vote of February 1, 1764, when twenty-one Tories were among those who refused to accept Hutchinson's request that he be allowed to withdraw his nomination in the election for a special agent to assist Jasper Mauduit in protesting against the Revenue Act. Hutchinson's duties as Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Justice prevented him from taking up the commission. See Appendix B and Bailyn, Hutchinson, p.62.
20. The votes were:
- | | Richard Jackson | Israel Mauduit | Thomas Hutchinson |
|---------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Council | 17 | 3 | 1 |
| House | <u>45</u> | <u>41</u> | <u>1</u> |
| | 62 | 44 | 2 |
- In Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, January 25, 1765, Bernard Papers, III, pp.279-281.
21. House Journals, 1764-1765, XLI, pp.203, 216, 222, 225, 293.
22. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, April 8, Bernard Papers, III, p.210.
23. Promises of office, however, were made to Whigs in an effort to woo their political allegiance. For example, John Adams was offered the post of Advocate-General in 1767 following the resignation of Jonathan Sewall. Adams did not accept it and later accused Thomas Hutchinson of seducing his associates Sewall and Daniel Leonard with the promise of places. In Sibley's Harvard Graduates,/

23. Graduates, XI, pp.144-147.
24. Nonetheless, Bernard urged the British government to promote the careers of Tories in order to strengthen the provincial administration. He supported Robert Auchmuty in his efforts to be appointed Advocate-General of the Vice-Admiralty Court and a Judge of that court too because Auchmuty had been "firm in engagements, learned & eloquent in his Arguments, & faithfull to the Kings service". Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, Boston, May 17, 1764, Bernard Papers, III, pp.218-219.
25. Hulton, Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England, p.142.
26. John Adams Diary, I, p.309.
27. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, June 5, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.6.
28. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, June 5, 1765, ibid., p.5.
29. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, July 20, 1765, ibid., p.8.
30. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, June 5, 1765, ibid., p.6.
31. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, September 27, 1765, ibid., V, p.6.
32. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, September 10, 1765, ibid., p.2.
33. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, September 28, 1765, ibid., IV, p.163.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., pp.163-164.
37. Francis Bernard to Lord Colville, Boston, September 26, 1765, ibid., p.71.
38. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, September 28, 1765, ibid., p.163.
39. Bernard dispatched news of his speech and strategy to Britain on September 28, ibid. On receiving the report, Conway instructed Bernard and the other royal governors to suppress/

39. suppress "Tumults, which seem to strike at the very Being of all Authority and Subordinations amongst you." He was warned that the "intemperate Conduct" of the Americans in resisting the implementation of the Stamp Act "can in no way contribute to the removal of any Grievance...but may tend to impede and obstruct the exertion of his Majesty's benevolent Attention to the Ease and Comfort, as well as to the welfare of all his People." Bernard was to paint "in the strongest colours...the dreadful Consequences that must inevitably attend the forcible and violent Resistance to Acts of the British Parliament." In short, Conway urged Bernard to do what he had already done. Conway's letter made no mention of the prospect of gaining compensation for the victims of the riots. Henry Conway to Francis Bernard, London, October 24, 1765, in House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, pp.217-218. Bernard explained that compensation was his idea in Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, November 30, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p,175.
40. House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, pp.118-123.
41. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, Castle William, September 7, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.161.
42. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, January 21, 1766, ibid., p.193.
43. "Humphrey Ploughjogger" (John Adams), BGCJ, October 14, 1765, p.1/3.
44. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, September 28, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, pp.163-164.
45. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, November 25, 1765, ibid., pp.170-171.
46. House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, pp.131-139.
47. The other Whigs were Thomas Gray, Artemis Ward and Edward Sheaffe. Samuel White, the Speaker, and Samuel Witt were the town non-aligned men. On October 23, the day before the address was presented to the House for approval, the radical Jerathmeel Bowers and the Tory Dudley Atkins were added to the committee to replace Bourn and Winslow. It is unlikely that in this short space of time they could have contributed substantially to the committee's report. House Journals, ibid., pp.124-125. Bernard considered Speaker White to be a "prudent Man, & in principle a friend to Government, tho' he now gives Way to the times. In Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, March 10, Bernard Papers, V, p.86; Thomas Hutchinson to/

47. to Thomas Pownall, Boston, March 8, 1766, MA,XXVI, pp.212-214; John Adams Diary, I, p.309; the Black List is in BGCJ, March 31, 1766, p.3/2.
48. House Journals, ibid., pp.130, 143.
49. Ibid. The resolves were composed by Sam Adams, attributed by Writings of Samuel Adams, ed. Cushing, I, pp.23-25.
50. House Journals, ibid., p.153; Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Castle William, November 1, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.16.
51. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, October 22, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.31.
52. House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, p.153. The members of the committee that prepared the resolves were Whigs Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Samuel Dexter, Jerathmeel Bowers, Edward Sheaffe, Thomas Saunders and Major Humphrey, and non-aligned members Speaker White and Samuel Witt, ibid., p.139
53. Ibid., pp.157-159.
54. Hoerder, Crowd Action, p.91.
55. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, November 30, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.179. Instructions from the town of Salem in BEP, October 28, 1765, p.1/3; Marblehead in BGCJ, October 14, 1765, p.1/1.
56. Newburyport in BGCJ Supplement, November 4, 1765, p.1/-2; Plymouth in ibid.; Bridgewater in BEP, September 30, 1765, p.3/1.
57. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, September 27, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.7; Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, January 10, 1766, ibid., IV, pp.186-188.
58. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, November 25, 1765, ibid., IV, p.174.
59. House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, pp.186-189; Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, November 25, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.173.
60. The Whigs were represented by radicals James Otis, Thomas Cushing and Edward Sheaffe, and Samuel White who was now counted on their side. House Journals, ibid., p.108; Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, n.p., n.d. [1765], Bernard Papers, IV, p.134.

61. Lucius R. Paige, History of Hardwick, Massachusetts (Boston, 1883), pp.482-483; John Adams Diary, I, pp.83, 107; Weslager, Stamp Act Congress, p.5.
62. Weslager, ibid., pp.59-62.
63. Ibid., pp.182-183.
64. Francis Bernard to Timothy Ruggles, Boston, September 20, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.72.
65. Ibid.
66. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, September 27, 1765, ibid., V, p.7.
67. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, n.p., n.d. [1765], ibid., IV, p.134.
68. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, March 29, 1766, ibid., V, p.99 Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, March 10, 1766, ibid., IV, p.212.
69. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, September 27, 1765, ibid., V, pp.6-7.
70. Weslager, Stamp Act Congress, p.5.
71. Ibid., pp.122-123.
72. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, IX, pp.199-200; John Adams Diary, I, pp.255-256.
73. Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, p.144.
74. Ibid., pp.148-152.
75. Weslager, Stamp Act Congress, pp.150-151.
76. In the BGCJ, May 5, 1766, p.1/2.
77. Weslager, Stamp Act Congress, pp.204-214; Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, November 7, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, pp.26-27.
78. Ruggles's testimony is in BGCJ, May 5, 1766, p.1/1-2.
79. "Remarks on Brigadier Ruggles's reasons for his dissent from the resolution of the Congress at New York", ibid., May 12, 1766, pp.1-3.
80. Ibid., p.2/3.

81. House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, pp.254, 271-272, 294.
The testament is in BGCJ, May 5, 1766, p.1/1-2 and BPBA,
May 5, 1766, p.1.
82. BGCJ Supplement, January 13, 1766, p.2/1.
83. House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, pp.214-215. See
Appendix B.
84. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, January 25, 1766,
Bernard Papers, IV, p.199.
85. Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, April 21,
1766 (draft), MA,XXVI, pp.227-228.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR:

1. Black List, BGCJ, March 31, 1766, p.2/3; Francis Bernard
to the Lords of Trade, Boston, July 7, 1766, Bernard Papers,
IV, p.230.
2. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, May 30, 1766,
Bernard Papers, V, p.115.
3. BGCJ, April 14, 1766, p.1/3.
4. "B.W.", ibid., p.1/1-3; ibid., March 31, 1766, p.2/1-3.
5. "B.W.", ibid.
6. Richard D. Brown, "The Massachusetts Convention of Towns",
p.95.
7. John Adams Diary, I, p.312; House Journals, 1764-1774,
vols. XLIII, part 1-XLIX.
8. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, pp.3-4; John Cushing to
Thomas Hutchinson, Scituate, December 15, 1766, MA,XXV,
pp.116-118.
9. For a brief survey of the Tories in the towns see John
A. Schutz, "Those who became Tories: Town Loyalty and
Revolution in New England", NEHGR, 129 (1975), pp.94-105
10. The election of Tory representatives, 1765-1774, does
not/

10. not mean that there was widespread support for the friends of government. Appendix A shows that there were only a handful of friends of government who resided in Hampshire and Berkshire Counties. Until 1774, the Westerners's attention was focused on local not provincial or imperial affairs. Gregory H. Nobles, Divisions Throughout the Whole: Politics and Society in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, 1740-1775 (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp.30-32.
11. With the exception of Thomas Flucker who was voted a selectman in 1765 (although he never took up the office), no Tory was ever elected to an important office in Boston between 1765 and 1775, see Table 1, pp.55-57. Friends of government generally were elected to minor offices. It was the Whigs who dominated the proceedings in electing selectmen, town representatives, clerks, and committee men. Robert F. Seybolt, The Town Officials of Colonial Boston, 1634-1775 (Cambridge, Mass., 1939).
12. The clubs, voluntary associations and three "caucuses" (the South End Caucus, the North End and the Middle District) operated independently, although their membership overlapped, and fostered support for the Whigs among the merchants, artisans and townspeople of Boston. See Nash, "Social Change and the Growth of Pre-Revolutionary Urban Radicalism," pp.25-28; Alan Day and Katherine Day, "Another Look at the Boston 'Caucus'", JAS, 5 (1971), pp.19-42; G.B. Warden, Boston, 1689-1776 (Boston and Toronto, 1970), pp.94-96, 157-158.
13. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, May 30, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, pp.115-116; Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, June 7, 1766, ibid., pp.126-127.
14. Bernard to Pownall, ibid.
15. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, pp.29-31.
16. Henry Conway to Francis Bernard, [Whitehall], March 31, 1766, in BGCJ, June 19, 1766, p.2/1. Bernard received this letter on May 31. On the differences between the resolutions of the Commons and Lords see P.D.G. Thomas, British Politics and the Stamp Act Crisis: The First Phase of the American Revolution, 1763-1767 (Oxford, 1975), p.251.
17. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, June 6, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, p.125.
18. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, pp.29-33.
19. On Conway and America see Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.95-96, 272-275, 278.

20. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, p.67.
21. The other committee members were James Otis, Samuel Adams, Joseph Hawley, Thomas Saunders, Jerathmeel Bowers and Speaker Thomas Cushing. Ibid., p.35.
22. Ibid., pp.78, 125.
23. Ibid., pp.134-135.
24. Ibid., p.143.
25. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, June 28, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, p.134.
26. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, July 19, 1766, ibid., IV, p.240
27. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, December 24, 1766, ibid., p.287.
28. "Paskalos" (Dr. Joseph Warren), BGCJ, November 10, 1766, p.2/1; "A", BGCJ, November 17, 1766, p.2/1.
29. "T.S.", BGCJ, July 21, 1766, p.2/3.
30. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, July 5, 1766, Barrington -Bernard Correspondence, p.110.
31. John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Devonshier and Reeve, Boston, June 16, 1766, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.140.
32. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, November 14, 1766, in Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, pp.113-115; BTR XVI, p.188; Miller, Sam Adams, p.109.
33. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Milton, November 7. 1766, MA,XXVI, p.249; Samuel A. Bates ed., Records of the Town of Braintree, 1640-1793 (Randolph, Mass., 1886), pp.412-413.
34. Robert J. Taylor, Western Massachusetts in the Revolution (Providence, Rhode Island, 1954), p.56; Paige, History of Hardwick, p.63.
35. John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Devonshier and Reeve, Boston, June 16, 1766, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.140.
36. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, July 19, 1766, in Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, p.109.

37. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Jamaica Farm, September 14, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, pp.158-159.
38. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, October 6, 1766, ibid., p.163. Hutchinson agreed that the "general opinion without doors" was in favour of making compensation, in Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Milton, November 7, 1766, MA, XXVI, p.249.
39. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, November 14, 1766, in Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, p.114.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, pp.153-159.
43. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Milton, November 7, 1766, MA, XXVI, p.249. In addition to their commitment to the Whig protest movement, Bowers and Hawley had good personal reasons for leading the opposition to the government over this issue. Bowers was one of the six councillors elected by the House in May negatived by Bernard. As for Hawley, Hutchinson believed his opposition stemmed from a confrontation the pair had had the previous autumn when Hutchinson and the Superior Court were on circuit in Berkshire County. The court fined for rioting a man whom Hawley represented. Since when, according to Hawley's cousin Israel Williams, Hawley had been "under the influence of Strong Irregular Passions". Thomas Hutchinson to ?, ibid.; Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, December 28, 1766, MA, XXV, pp.234-235; Ernest Francis Brown, "The Law Career of Major Joseph Hawley", NEQ, 4 (1931), pp.503-508.
44. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, ibid.
45. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Jamaica Farm, November 17, Bernard Papers, V, p.168.
46. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, pp.156, 166; Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Milton, November 7, 1766, MA, XXV, p.249.
47. House Journals, ibid., pp.166, 170-171.
48. Ibid., pp.180, 192, 203; Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, November 29, 1766, MA, XXVI, pp.119-120; Ernest Francis Brown, Joseph Hawley: Colonial Radical (New York, 1931), pp.63-68.
49. House Journals, ibid., pp.209-210. By this act, Hutchinson received/

49. received £3,194.17s.6d., Oliver - £172.4s.0d., Hallowell - £385.10s.9d., and Story - £67.8s.10d. In ibid., pp.185-186, 189-190.
50. Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, November 29, 1766, MA,XXV, pp.119-120.
51. John Murray served on the committee appointed by the House on November 7 to liquidate the losses sustained by Thomas Hutchinson. Stephen Hall belonged to the committee dealing with Andrew Oliver's petition, while Sampson Stoddard was a member of the committee concerned with Hallowell's claim. In House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, pp.179-180.
52. Hardwick had decided to "leave it to his [Ruggles's] discretion to act as he may think proper and best for the interest of the province", but nevertheless instructed Ruggles to "vote for the substance" of the second compensation bill, in Paige History of Hardwick, p.66. Browne and Taylor are mentioned in Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Milton, November 7, 1766, MA,XXVI, p.249. It has not been possible to trace information relating to three Tories who also abstained: John Noyes, John Chadwick and William Williams.
53. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, ibid.
54. The Whig Timothy Pickering was the only one present at the meeting who voted against the change of instructions. In Benjamin Lynde Jr. to Thomas Hutchinson, Salem, November 29, 1766, MA,XXV, p.111; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, November 14, 1766, in Collection of Papers, ed., Hutchinson, p.115.
55. Francis Bernard observed that "many members who were instructed [to vote] against the [first] question, have undertaken to endeavour to procure leave to consent to the bill." Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Jamaica Farm, November 17, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, pp.168-169. Samuel Adams noted that on the first question "the Generality of the Members of the House or rather the Majority of them were instructed against making Compensation." Samuel Adams to Dennis De Berdt, n.p., November 15, 1766, in Writings of Samuel Adams, ed. Cushing, I, p.102.
56. Bernard to Jackson, ibid.
57. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, p.191.
58. Ibid., pp.206-211.
59. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, December 24, 1766, Bernard Papers, IV, pp.283-284.

60. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, May 9, 1767, ibid., VI, p.18.
61. Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, pp.137-141; Gipson, The British Empire, p.26; Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, p.102.
62. The Earl of Shelburne to Francis Bernard, Whitehall, September 13, 1766, in Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, pp.92-93.
63. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, pp.226, 232.
64. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, February 28, 1766 [1767], Bernard Papers, VI, pp.196-197.
65. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, May 4, 1767, ibid., p.208.
66. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, May 30, 1767, ibid., p.211.
67. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, June 20, 1767, ibid., p.27.
68. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, June 6, 1767, ibid., p.215; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, November 14, 1767, ibid., p.253.
69. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, January 21, 1768, ibid., pp.256-261; Francis Bernard to ?, Boston, January 16, 1768, ibid., p.64.
70. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, January 8, 1768, ibid., pp.58-59.
71. House Journals, 1767-1768, XLIV, pp.121-141.
72. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, January 30, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.263.
73. Gipson, The British Empire, XI, p.149. The circular letter was composed largely by Sam Adams, attributed by Writings of Samuel Adams, ed. Cushing, I, pp.184-188.
74. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, January 28, 1768, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.133.
75. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, February 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.80-81.
76. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, January 28, Barrington-Bernard/

76. Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, pp.137-139. Hawley's change of thought has been examined in Shaw, American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution, pp.146-147.
77. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, February 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.79-80. The circular letter rejected the idea of American representation in Parliament owing to the travelling distances between the two countries, House Journals, 1767-768, XLIV, p.134.
78. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, January 28, 1768, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, pp.137-139.
79. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, February 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.79-80. It is well known that Otis often contradicted himself and the arguments he advanced in The Rights of the Colonists...(Boston, 1764). For example, at the Stamp Act Congress, he upheld Britain's right to tax the colonists, irrespective of colonial liberties. In Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.140-141. At times when he was affected by mental disorder, Otis could be more conservative "than the most rabid of the Massachusetts Tories". Shaw, American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution, pp.100-102.
80. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, January 28, 1768, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, pp.137-139.
81. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, February 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.79-80.
82. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, January 30, 1768, ibid., p.263.
83. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, February 1, 1768, ibid., pp.79-80.
84. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, February 16, 1768, ibid., p.265; Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.134-136.
85. House Journals, 1767-1768, XLIV, p.134.
86. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, February 16, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.265-266; "Z.T.", BEP, October 17, 1768, p.1/1.
87. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, February 20, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.90-91; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May 19, 1768, ibid., p.301. Timothy Ruggles composed a paper of five resolutions setting forth the reasons why he opposed the motion. The House voted not to enter the resolutions in/

87. in its Journals. They were published in the BC, February 29-March 7, 1768, pp.5/3, 6/1. Bernard lavished praise on Ruggles: "the Perseverance of this good Man in his avowed Princi[ples] that Submission to Great Britain is the true In[terest] of these Colonists ought to have received some public Mark of Approbation". Francis Bernard to John Pownall, n.p., March 14, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.102.
88. The Earl of Hillsborough to Francis Bernard, [Whitehall], April 22, 1768, in Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, pp.203-204.
89. House Journals, 1767-1768, XLIV, pp.214-215.
90. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, March 5, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.277.
91. "A Puritan" (Samuel Adams), BGCJ, April 11, 1768, p.1/1-2. Attributed by Writings of Samuel Adams, ed. Cushing, I, pp.201-202.
92. "A Puritan" (Samuel Adams), BGCJ, April 18, 1768, p.1/1-2.
93. The Earl of Hillsborough to Francis Bernard, [Whitehall], April 22, 1768, in Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, pp.203-204.
94. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 17, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.325; House Journals, 1768-1769 XLV, p.68.
95. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 25, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.326-331.
96. House Journals, 1768-1769, XLV, pp.72, 75; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 25, 1768, ibid. The committee "consisted of the most violent heads of the Faction" (Bernard to Hillsborough, ibid.): Thomas Cushing, James Otis, Sam Adams, Colonel James Otis, John Hancock, Jerathmeel Bowers, Colonel Warner, Thomas Saunders and Walter Spooner. In House Journals, ibid., p.71.
97. John Murray and William Bourn were absent or abstained.
98. Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, December 28, 1767 [1768], MA, XXV, pp.234-235; Sayward quoted in John H. Cary, "'The Judicious are intirely neglected': The Fate of a Tory", NEHGR, 134 (1980), p.104.
99. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, January 25, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.330.
100. House Journals, 1768-1769, XLV, pp.90-94. Sam Adams composed the/

100. the address, Writings of Samuel Adams, ed. Cushing, I, pp.229-236.
101. BGCJ, July 11, 1768, pp.1-3.
102. BGCJ Supplement, August 15, 1768, p.1/2.
103. House Journals, 1768, XLV, pp.90-94.
104. John Rowe Diary, p.167.
105. BGCJ, July 18, 1768, p.3/2.
106. Ibid., July 25, 1768, p.3/1 and August 1, 1768, p.2/1.
107. Richard D. Brown, "The Massachusetts Convention of Towns", pp.95-104.
108. The list of delegates to the Convention is in ibid., pp.103-104. Their names were cross-referenced with those in the Black List, BGCJ, March 31, 1766, p.2/3 and Appendix B.
109. EG, October 4-11, 1768, p.3/1-2.
110. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, February 20, 1769, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.190.
111. The Earl of Hillsborough to Francis Bernard, Whitehall, October 12, 1768, Bernard Papers, XII, p.1.
112. "Essex County Loyalists", p.290. Whigs replaced nine of the ejected Tories, House Journals, 1768-1769, XLV, pp.130-131.
113. " A Bridgewaterian", BEP, May 29, 1769, p.3/1.
114. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, May 30, 1769, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.203. The purge of the Tories contributed to a 39 per cent changeover in membership, in Richard D. Brown, "The Massachusetts Convention of Towns", p.95.
115. House Journals, 1768-1769, XLV, pp.117-138.
116. The resolutions were prepared by a committee of James Otis, Colonel James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Edward Sheaffe, Colonel Prebble, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Walter Spooner and Elisha Porter, ibid., pp.118-119, 168-172. The same committee prepared the petition to the King, ibid., pp.191-199.
117. Andrew Oliver to Jasper Mauduit, [Boston], July 10, 1769, Andrew/

117. Andrew Oliver Letterbook, I, p.106, MHS. Also quoted in Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, p.259.
118. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, n.p., May 29, 1769, MA,XXVI, pp.352-353.
119. Jonathan Sayward to Thomas Hutchinson, York, August 22, 1769, MA,XXV, p.328. Sayward, however, later accepted an appointment as a Judge of the Inferior Court of York County. William H. Whitmore, The Massachusetts Civil List for the Colonial and Provincial Periods, 1630-1774... (Albany, 1870), p.116; Jonathan Sayward to Thomas Hutchinson, [York], July 6, 1772, MA,XXV, pp.521-522.
120. Hutchinson noted that "[Timothy] Ruggles tells me the town [of Boston] has the entire command of the House". Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., March 25, 1770, MA,XXVI, pp.471-472.
121. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, March 18, 1770, ibid., p.456.
122. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Hood, Boston, April 9, 1770, ibid., p.470.
123. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, May 23, 1770, MA,XXVI, p.492. Hutchinson blamed the "levelling principles" of the Whigs in the town meetings for encouraging voters not to return the "principal men of the province for understanding and Estate". Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Whatley, Boston, October 3, 1770, MA,XXVII, pp.11-12.
124. See Donald C. Lord and Robert M. Calhoon, "The Removal of the Massachusetts General Court from Boston, 1769 to 1772 ", JAH,55 (1969), pp.735-755.
125. House Journals, 1770-1771, XLVII, pp.17-18.
126. Ibid., p.22; The Earl of Hillsborough to Thomas Hutchinson, Whitehall , October 3, 1770, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed., Davies, II, p.199.
127. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, August 4, 1770, MA,XXVI, p.500. John Murray did not attend the House until October 4, when he was sworn in. House Journals, ibid., p.86.
128. John Worthington to Thomas Hutchinson, Springfield, September 15, 1770, MA,XXV, pp.427-428.
129. House Journals, 1770-1771, XLVII, pp.90-91.
130. Ibid., pp.113-164, 172-174; Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, pp.275-278.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE:

1. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, September 11, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.29. The role of the Council in the Revolution has received scant attention from historians. The exceptions are, Brown, Middle Class Democracy; Francis G. Walett, "The Massachusetts Council, 1766-1774: The Transformation of a Conservative Institution", WMQ, 4 (1949), pp.605-627; idem., "James Bowdoin, Patriot Propagandist", NEQ, 23 (1950), pp.320-328. However, these works do not examine the ideological and political divisions within the Council to any great extent; this will be the primary task of this chapter.

2. By the Charter of 1691, the Council functioned in many different capacities: as an executive Board, legislative upper house, and judicial court. Its judicial powers were minor and concerned only with probate wills and the administration of estates. The Council's executive authority was limited to an advisory capacity for the benefit of the Governor, although in most instances he was not obliged to act upon the advice proffered. The Council's legislative powers were the same as those of the House. However, before and during the 1760s and 1770s the House contended that it retained a superior legislative authority in the matter of money bills. Two sources of a Governor's influence over the Council were derived from his right of presiding over executive sessions of the Board and from his presence at legislative sessions. (He could not preside over legislative meetings.) The Governor's limited powers of patronage were also used to great effect to win the allegiance of councillors. He could, moreover, refuse to accept any councillor elected by the House. Ellen E. Brennan, Plural Office-Holding in Massachusetts, 1760-1780: Its Relation to the 'Separation of Departments of Government' (Chapel Hill, NC., 1945), pp.13-17. *

3. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, June 29, 1764, Bernard Papers, III, pp.156-157.

4. Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.23-27; Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.64-66.

5. They were "Gentlemen of the first character" according to Bernard. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, May 30, 1769, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.203. Flucker was ridiculed by the Whigs as one of Bernard's "little creatures", in A Dialogue Between Sir George Cornwall... and Mr. Flint, p.9.

6. Trowbridge, for example, liked to think of himself as a moderate. After the War of Independence, he claimed that he had "often told Governor Hutchinson and that party, and James Otis and that party, that if the Devil was not in them they would not behave as they did, that they never would leave off 'till they brought us into a war." Edmund Trowbridge to William Fletcher, n.p., September 17, 1783, Dana MSS, MHS, and Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, p.519. Nonetheless, Hutchinson thought that Trowbridge and the other Superior Court Justices were "all hearty friends to Government" (Trowbridge was appointed to the Court in 1767.) Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, October 19, 1768, MA,XXV, pp.283-284. The Whigs also accused Trowbridge, Hubbard and Russell of being Tories and friends of government, in BGCJ, February 2, 1767, p.1/3. Benjamin Lincoln's Toryism was noted in John Adams Diary, I, p.277.
7. Robert Zemsky examined the distribution of political power within the Council during the 1750s by , in part, measuring the frequency of members' attendance and service on committees, in Merchants, Farmers and River Gods, pp.218-229.
8. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Pownall, n.p., March 8, 1766, MA,XXVI, pp.207-214.
9. Quotations from John Adams Diary, I, p.271. For Adams's comments on Gray's relationship with Mayhew see Coll.MHS, 74 (1918), p.xxvi. Gray composed a eulogy of Mayhew after his death, L.L. Tucker ed., "Memoir of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew by Harrison Gray" • Bostonian Society Proceedings, 80 (1961), pp.28-48.
10. Gray was a member of the popular party during the 1750s, Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.150-153. Also, in 1764, Gray's daughter married Samuel Allyne Otis, brother of the Whig leader James Otis. James Otis [Sr.] to Harrison Gray, Barstable, December 10, 1764, Harrison Gray Otis Papers, microfilm reel 1, MHS.
11. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, October 17, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, pp.167-169. The Cambridge instructions were notable for their strident language rather than for their political extremism: "Let this [Stamp] Act but take Place, Liberty will be no more - Trade will languish and die - our Cash will be sent into his Majesty's Exchequer - and Poverty come upon us like an armed Man." In MGBNL, October 17, 1765, p.3/1.
12. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Castle William, November 5, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.21.
13. "A Puritan" (Sam Adams), BGCJ, April 25, 1768, p.2/1-2. Brattle/

13. Brattle was identified as the "weathercock" in Dorr Collection, II, p.82.
14. Present were Tories Hutchinson, Andrew Oliver, Hubbard, Russell, Flucker and Trowbridge; Whigs Danforth, Erving, Gray and Tyler; and the non-aligned Andrew Belcher. Council Records, pp.32-33, 36.
15. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, p.121.
16. Present at the August meeting were Tories Hutchinson, A. Oliver, Lynde, Hubbard, Flucker, and Russell; and Whigs Erving, Gray, Tyler and Danforth. Present on October 2 were Hutchinson, Russell, Hubbard, Gray, Erving, Tyler and Belcher. Council Records, pp.39, 50-51.
17. Quotation from Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, Boston, August 31, 1765, Bernard Papers, IV, p.156. See also Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, September 28, 1765, ibid., p.165.
18. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, October 17, 1765, ibid., p.166. Thomas Hutchinson concurred with Bernard's assessment: "The warm spirit, which appeared...against all who would not go the full length of opposition to the stamp act, was not without influence over many of the members of the council." In his History of Massachusetts, III, p.154.
19. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Castle William, November 1, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.21. Otis was probably referring to those Tories who regularly attended Council meetings, August-October: Hutchinson, A. Oliver, Trowbridge, Lynde, Hubbard, Flucker and Russell. Council Records, pp.39-51.
20. It included Whigs Sam Adams, Thomas Cushing and Joseph Gerrish, and Tories Joseph Lee, Thomas Foster, Thomas Clap, John Winslow, Ebenezer Nichols, William Bourn, Sampson Stoddard and Jonathan Ashley. House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, p.170.
21. The statement was printed in ibid, pp.177-179.
22. Ibid., pp.143-145, 155; Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.65-66. Only one member of the joint committee opposed the vote, Francis Bernard to John Pownall Castle William, November 1, 1765, Bernard Papers, V, p.17.
23. House Journals, ibid., pp.172-173; BTR, XVI, p.159. In studying the Council's response to the Whigs' demands that the law courts be opened, Edmund and Helen Morgan failed to take into account the political divisions within the/

23. the Board, in Stamp Act Crisis, pp.182-186.
24. William Brattle to Francis Bernard, Cambridge, December 19, 1765, Ch.F.11.20., American Revolutionary MSS.
25. Present on the 21st were Tories Hutchinson, Lynde, Ropes, Flucker, Russell and Andrew Oliver; Whigs Danforth, Erving, Gray, Tyler, Royall and Brattle; and the non-aligned Andrew Belcher. Council Records, pp.76-79. Bernard's account of the debates is in Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, December 21, 1765, V, pp.66-68.
26. Bernard to Conway, ibid.
27. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, January 11, 1766, ibid., p.70.
28. "A", BGCJ, December 22, 1766, p.2/2.
29. He believed their temporary unity was a sham intended to placate the radicals in the Boston town meeting. He noted that a "considerable Majority" of councillors were present at the town meeting which voted to reject the Board's reply. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, January 11, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, p.70; Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, January 10, 1766, ibid., IV, pp.186-188.
30. House Journals, 1765-1766, XLII, pp.200-201; Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, p.184; [James Bowdoin], Message from the Council to the House of Representatives, n.p., February n.d., 1766, (draft), Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46.
31. Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, January 21, 1766, Bernard Papers, IV, p.192; Francis Bernard to Henry Conway, Boston, January 25, 1766, ibid., p.199.
32. Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.65-67.
33. Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.110-111; Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, March 10, 1766, Bernard Papers, IV, p.210; Peter Oliver to Thomas Hutchinson, Middleborough, December 16, 1765, Photostat, MHS; John Adams Diary, I, pp.259-260.
34. [James Bowdoin], Message from the Council to the House of Representatives, n.p., February n.d., 1766, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46. Judge Cushing reasoned that "If we admit Evidence unstamped Ex necessitate... it can be said we do no wrong." John Cushing to Thomas Hutchinson, n.p., February 9, 1766, MA, XXV, pp.55-56.

35. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, December 24, 1766, Bernard Papers, IV, p.289.
36. Ibid.; Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, July 7, 1766, ibid., pp.231-233.
37. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, June 16, 1766, ibid., V, p.128. The three Whigs whom Bernard accepted were Jeremiah Powell, Samuel White and James Pitts. The six who were rejected were Thomas Saunders, Joseph Gerrish, Col. James Otis, Jerathmeel Bowers, Nathaniel Sparhawk and Samuel Dexter. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, pp.8-10.
38. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, May 31, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, p.121. According to John Rowe, the whole episode cause "great murmerings in some & rejoicing in other." John Rowe Diary, p.98.
39. House Journals, 1766, XLIII, part 1, p.12.
40. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, July 7, 1766, Bernard Papers, IV, p.235.
41. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, n.p., May 26, 1768, MA, XXVI, p.306.
42. House Journals, 1767, XLIII, part 2, pp. 260, 293; Council Records, PP.186-187, 194; BGCJ, May 2, 1768, p.2/1.
43. Bernard tried to compromise with the Whigs and promised that he would not veto any of the councillors elected by the House if the members returned Hutchinson. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, May 30, 1767, Bernard Papers, VI, p.212. In 1768, the tide turned against Hutchinson during the election when it was disclosed by Samuel Adams that Hutchinson was to receive a grant of £200 from the Crown. James Otis then "ran about the house" collecting votes for the Whig Artemis Ward. Thomas Hutchinson to Nathaniel Rogers, Milton, May 31, 1768, MA, XXV, pp.258-259; Thomas Hutchinson to ?, n.p., May 26, 1768, ibid., XXVI, pp.306-307. Bernard crowed that he had done a great deal to encourage the friends of government in the House to support Hutchinson's candidacy. "It was owing to me that he did make so good a figure; for I took uncommon pains to exert themselves on this Occasion". Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, June 6, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.122.
44. The Tories were Lincoln, Hubbard, Israel Williams, Russell, Flucker, Ropes, Paine, Chandler. The moderate Whigs were Danforth, Gray, White, Royall, Erving and Brattle. The radicals were James Bowdoin, John Bradbury, Royal Tyler and Jeremiah Powell. Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil/

44. Civil List, p.62.
45. Council Records, p.161; Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, Boston, October 10, 1766, Bernard Papers, IV, p.253; Reid, In a Rebellious Spirit, pp.22-27.
46. Jackson was an unpopular choice as agent. In December, the "generality" of councillors rejected James Otis's proposal that Jackson be dismissed. Others disapproved of the House's "special agent" Dennis De Berdt. But on February 5, 1767, the Council fell into line and concurred with the House in the dismissal of Jackson. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, December 15, 1766, Bernard Papers, V, p.171; House Journals, 1767, XLIII, part 2, pp.27, 250.
47. House Journals, ibid., pp.229-230, 243-244; Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, pp.169-170; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, February 14 and 18, 1767, in Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, pp.133-134.
48. House Journals, ibid., pp.299-300.
49. [James Bowdoin], Message from the Massachusetts Council to the House of Representatives, [Boston], February 17, 1767, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46.
50. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, February 21, 1767, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.187-188.
51. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, May 30, 1767, ibid., pp.211-212.
52. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, May 9, 1767, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.19-20. Those vetoed were Gerrish, Saunders, Bowers, Dexter and James Otis Sr. Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p.65.
53. House Journals, 1767-1768, XLIV, pp.7, 23; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, May 30, 1767, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.211-212.
54. House Journals, ibid.
55. Andrew Oliver to [Thomas Whately], Boston, May 7, 1767, Hutchinson-Oliver Letters, p.20.
56. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, May 30, 1767, Bernard Papers, VI, p.212.
57. John Rowe Diary, p.150.

58. "A True Patriot" (Dr. Joseph Warren), BGCJ, February 29, 1768, p.1/1; Collection of Papers, ed. Hutchinson, p.199; Council Records, p.293.
59. Danforth; Royall, Lincoln, Erving, Brattle, Bowdoin, Bradford, Hubbard, Sparhawk, Gray, Russell, Flucker, Ropes, Paine, Bradbury, Tyler, Chandler, White, Powell and Pitts. Council Records, pp.293-294.
60. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, March 5, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.274.
61. Ibid.
62. House Journals, 1767-1768, XLIV, pp.210-211.
63. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, March 5, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.275-277.
64. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, March 12, 1768, ibid., pp.278-280.
65. The Earl of Shelburne to Francis Bernard, Whitehall, September 17, 1767, in Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.117-120.
66. House Journals, 1767-1768, XLIV, pp.18-19. For their part, the members claimed that Shelburne's letter was evidence that the Governor had deliberately misrepresented the state of the province to ministers, ibid.
67. Francis Bernard to Richard Jackson, Boston, June 6, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.122. The negatived councillors were Saunders, Bowers, Gerrish, Colonel James Otis, John Hancock, Artemus Ward. Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p.65.
68. The moderate Whigs were: Sparhawk, White, Danforth, Gray, Royall, Erving, Brattle. The Tories were: Lincoln, Flucker, Russell, Ropes, Hubbard, Paine and John Worthington. The radicals were: Dexter, Pitts, Bowdoin, Bradbury, Tyler and Powell. The neutrals were John Hill and Gamaliel Bradford. Whitmore, ibid.
69. Reid, In a Rebellious Spirit, pp.122-124. The Commissioners of Customs wrote Gage urging him to send troops forthwith. Gage replied that he could not do so until he had received a formal request from the civil government. General Thomas Gage to the Commissioners of Customs, New York, June 21, 1768, Massachusetts Papers, I.
70. Council Records, pp.319-320; Francis Bernard to the Earl of/

70. of Hillsborough, Roxbury, June 14, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.315-319.
71. Francis Bernard to General Gage, Roxbury, July 2, 1768, ibid, V, pp.267-268.
72. Report of the Resolves [of the joint committee of the House and Council] Relative to the Riot of June 10, [Boston], June 14-16, 1768, (draft), Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46.
73. The Tories were Josiah Edson, Joseph Williams, Jonathan Sayward, Thomas Clap and Stephen Hall. House Journals, 1767-1768, XLIV, p.53.
74. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.331-333; Council Records, pp.330-331; "Letters from the Council", BC, July 31-August 3, 1769, p.1/3; James Bowdoin to Barlow Trecothick, Boston, July 18, 1768, ("not sent"), Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46; John Erving, Report and Resolutions of the Council, Boston, June 30, 1768, in Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.156-157.
75. Bowdoin's authorship of this document is not mentioned by his biographer, Wallet, "James Bowdoin, Patriot Propagandist". It is clear from the handwriting that the document was composed by Bowdoin. The Council Records, ibid., also note that the address was delivered to the meeting by Bowdoin. We may deduce that Bowdoin wrote the petition. [James Bowdoin], Petition of the Massachusetts Council to the King, [Boston], July 7, 1768, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46 and "Bowdoin-Temple Papers", Coll.MHS, 9 (1897), pp.93-99.
76. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, p.333.
77. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Pownall, Boston, April 17, 1769, MA, XXVI, p.351.
78. James Bowdoin to Barlow Trecothick, Boston, July 18, 1768, ("not sent"), Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46.
79. Those councillors present on July 7 when the petition was approved were: Bowdoin, Pitts, Tyler, Erving, Royall, Gray, Hubbard, Flucker and Russell. Council Records, p.331. The petition contained no radical Whig doctrines asserting the Americans' right of exemption from taxation by Parliament. Never once did it mention the vitally important question on whether Parliament or the colonial assemblies were the source of legislative supremacy in America./

79. America. The petition concentrated on the adverse effects that the Townshend Acts were having on the colonial economy: the "drain of specie" to pay the duties; the inflationary effects of the duties; the decline in exports as a result of increased taxes; and the overall restrictive nature of the acts of trade on American commerce with Europe. [James Bowdoin], Petition of the Massachusetts Council to the King, [Boston], July 7, 1768, "Bowdoin-Temple Papers," pp.93-99. Bernard observed that the petition was written with a view to "avoiding disputing the Right of Parliament...[to impose] Port Duties." Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 16, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.7.
80. Francis Bernard to General Gage, Roxbury, July 2, 1768, Bernard Papers, V, p.267; Bernard to Gage, Boston, July 18, 1768, ibid., pp.273-274; Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 30, 1768, ibid., VI, p.14; Bernard to Colonel Dalrymple, Roxbury, July 3, 1768, ibid., V, pp.332-336.
81. Council Records, pp.332-336.
82. Ibid., pp.337-345; Proceedings of the Council on July 27 and 29, 1768, in BGCJ, October 16, 1768, pp.2-3. The Council's attack on the Commissioners for precipitating the Liberty Riot was similar to that contained in a petition of the Boston town meeting, Address of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston to Governor Bernard, Boston, June 14, 1768, in Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, pp.488-489.
83. John Erving, Report and Resolutions of the Council, Boston, June 30, 1768, in Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.156-157; Proceedings of the Council on July 27 and 29, 1768, in BGCJ, October 16, 1768, pp.2-3.
84. Present were: Tories Lincoln, Hubbard, Flucker, Ropes, Paine and Russell; Whigs Danforth, Royall, Erving, Brattle, Bowdoin, Gray, Sparhawk, Tyler, Pitts and Dexter. Council Records, pp.336-337.
85. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, July 30, 1768, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, pp.169-170.
86. Ibid., pp.167-168.
87. Zobel, Boston Massacre, pp.88-89.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX:

1. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, September 16, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.37-39; Francis Bernard to General Gage, Jamaica Farm, September 16, 1768, ibid., p.196.
2. Miller, Sam Adams, pp.147-149.
3. The Massachusetts Council to Governor Bernard, Boston, September 11, 1768, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46.
4. Gipson, The British Empire, XI, p.160; Council Records, pp.353-354.
5. Council Records, ibid.
6. Ibid., p.355; [John Erving], Minutes of the Massachusetts Council September 11-21, Boston, September 21, 1768, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46.
7. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, September 23, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.49.
8. On Massachusetts see Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, pp.156-159. For the dispute in New York see Gipson, The British Empire, XI, pp.39-69.
9. It is not clear what changes Bernard proposed. Accounts of the incident are in Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, September 26, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.57; Council Records, pp.356-357; The Council to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 15, 1769, in BC, July 27-31, 1769, p.1/1; James Bowdoin and John Erving, Minutes of the Massachusetts Council, September 22-October 5, n.p., n.d., Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46.
10. Bernard to Hillsborough, ibid.
11. James Bowdoin and John Erving, Minutes of the Massachusetts Council, September 22-October 5, n.p., n.d., Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46. This paragraph was included in the copy entered in the Council Records, pp.355-360.
12. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, September 26, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.58.
13. Council Records, p.357.

14. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, September 26, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.58.
15. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, October 1, 1768, ibid., pp.67-70; Council Records, pp.361-362; Journal of the Times, p.1; Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, p.213; The Council to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 15, 1769, in BC, July 27-31, p.1/3.
16. Council Records, p.365; Journal of the Times, p.3; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, October 5, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.73.
17. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, September, 30, 1768, ("Supplement"), Bernard Papers, VII, pp.65-66.
18. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, October 5, 1768, ibid., pp.74-75; Council Records, pp.364-365. A few weeks before, Bernard had intimated to General Gage that his personal preference was to have one regiment quartered in Castle William and the others in the town But he did not follow this line during the dispute with the Board. Francis Bernard to General Gage, Jamaica Farm, September 5, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.192-193.
19. Bernard to Hillsborough, ibid.; Council Records, pp.364-365.
20. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.83-93; Council Records, pp.368-369.
21. Council Records, pp.368-370. The accusation over Bernard's private minutes was made in The Council to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 15, 1769, BC, July 27-31, 1769, p.1/3.
22. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 1, 1768, in BEP, April 10, 1769, pp.5-8.
23. Journal of the Times, p.8.
24. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.83-93.
25. The Council to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 15, 1769, in BC, July 27-31, p.2/2.
26. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, p.215.
27. Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, October 19, 1768, MA,XXV, pp.283-283; Francis Bernard to the Earl of/

27. of Hillsborough, Boston, November 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.83-93. Brown obtained a writ of trespass against Greenleaf. Bernard asked the Council to contribute towards Greenleaf's legal expenses on the grounds that Greenleaf was acting as their "bailiff". The Council refused. Brown won the suit in the Inferior Court of Suffolk County, but Greenleaf made an appeal to the Superior Court. There the matter lay in 1774. Council records, pp.384-387; Journal of the Times, p.41; House Journals, 1773-1774, L, p.126.
28. Bernard to Hillsborough, ibid.; Council records, pp.366, 371-372.
29. Two Justices did not sign the deposition and refused to explain why. Bernard to Hillsborough, ibid.; Journal of the Times, p.11.
30. Oliver protested that Justices had been appointed by the Governor and Council "when there is no kind of expectation of...[their] undertaking the trust [of office]". Andrew Oliver to [Thomas Whately], Boston, February 13, 1768, Hutchinson-Oliver Letters, p.31. After the Liberty Riot, Hutchinson observed that "The persons who are to assist the Sheriff in the execution of his Office are Sons of Liberty and determined to oppose him in every thing which shall be contrary to their Schemes." Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, n.p., June 16, 1768, MA,XXVI, pp.310-312.
31. General Thomas Gage to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, October 31, 1768, The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage and the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775 2 vols., ed. Clarence E. Carter (New Haven, 1931-1933), I, pp.202, 204-205. Of the eight signatories to the JPs address six were Sons of Liberty: Richard Dana, John Avery, John Ruddock, John Hill, Edmund Quincy, and John Tudor. "An Alphabetical List of the Sons of Liberty...1769"; Journal of the Times, p.11. Avery was also a member of the Loyal Nine, and, according to Hutchinson, Dana and Ruddock in the past had "Justified the Riots to my face." Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, p.307; Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., October n.d., 1770, MA,XXVII, p.30.
32. Quoted in Journal of the Times, p.18.
33. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 14, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.103-108.
34. ibid.; Council records, p.373. The next step for Bernard was to address the Justices. He issued a verbal/

34. verbal rather than a written warning as was recommended by Hillsborough. On November 10, he enjoined the JPs to undertake "a vigorous exertion of their authority as occasion may require." Council Records, pp.376-377; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, November 12, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.103-104.
35. Journal of the Times, pp.32, 58; Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, pp.130-152.
36. One Whig observed "that the Enemies to this Town and Province are much chagrin'd to perceive this Town in that Peace and good Order which has astonished the Gentlemen of the Military, who by the Representations mad to them might have expected to have found us in a State of Disorder and Rebellion." In BEP, October 3, 1768, p.3/2.
37. John and Jonathan Amory to Robert Bird, Boston, October 3, 1768, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.151.
38. Francis Bernard to General Gage, Boston, October 9, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.205.
39. Journal of the Times, p.3; BGCJ Supplement, October 10, 1768, p.1/2.
40. Journal of the Times, p.3; Loyalist Claims, A.O.12/74, Audit office Papers, pp.319-324, PRO.
41. They were "warm head-long sticklers for government", in Writings of Samuel Adams, ed. Cushing, I, pp.241 and BGCJ Supplement, October 10, 1768, p.1/1.
42. Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.183-184.
43. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.36; Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, November 25, 1768, (private), Bernard Papers, VI, p.166.
44. General Gage to the Earl of Shelburne, New York, April 3, 1767, Correspondence of General Gage, ed. Carter, I, p.127.
45. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 1, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.83-93.
46. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 5, 1768, ibid., pp.93-99.
47. Ibid. Bernard had already urged the Commⁱssioners to return, Francis Bernard to the Commⁱssioners^A of Customs, Roxbury, October 19, 1768, ibid., pp.212-213.

48. Bernard noted that the five "out of towners" signed the Address of the Massachusetts Council to General Gage, Boston, October 27, 1768, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46. The fifteen subscribers to the Address included nine who lived outside Boston. The Tories Lincoln, Flucker, Ropes and Paine also lived outside Boston, but did not sign the Address. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, ibid.; Council Records, pp.369-370.
49. Address of the Council to General Gage, ibid. and BGCJ, October 31, 1768, p.2/3.
50. General Gage to the Council, [Boston], October 28, 1768, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46.
51. One Whig accused Bernard and the six councillors of having "broke in upon the rights of the people". "Legipotens", BGCJ, October 31, 1768, p.3/1.
52. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, October 30, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.153-154.
53. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 5, 1768, ibid., VII, pp.93-99.
54. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 12, 1768, ibid., pp.103-104.
55. Ibid.
56. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 30, 1768, ibid., pp. 112-113. Hutchinson thought that because of the "harmony and reciprocal communications" between Bowdoin and Sam Adams "the measures of the council and house were harmonized...and were made reciprocally subservient to each other". Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, III, p.293.
57. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, October 14, 1768, Bernard Papers, ibid., p.78.
58. [James Bowdoin], Petition to the King to Remove Governor Bernard, [Boston], October 27, 1768, (draft), Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 46. The petition carried the inscription "to be laid before the Council". But there is no record of this having been done, Council Records, pp.364-381 (for October and November 1768.)
59. Bowdoin denied he had an undue influence over the other councillors. The Council "see and act for themselves: they have no leaders - no guide but law, reason and the constitution." James Bowdoin to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 15, 1769, in BC, August 3-7, 1769, p.1/3.

60. Samuel Danforth to William Bollan, Boston, December 5, 1768, "Bowdoin-Temple Papers", pp.113-114.
61. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, January 24, 1769, Bernard Papers, VII, p.124.
62. Samuel Danforth to William Bollan, Boston, December 5, 1768, "Bowdoin-Temple Papers", pp.113-114.
63. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, November 30, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.113-114; James Bowdoin to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 15, 1769, in BC, August 3-7, 1769, p.1/3.
64. Samuel Danforth to William Bollan, Boston, December 5, 1768, "Bowdoin-Temple Papers," p.115. Bernard examined and refuted the arguments in the Council's petition one by one in the covering letter which he sent. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 16, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.2-7.
65. Danforth to Bollan, ibid., pp.113-115.
66. Ibid. They "differ[ed] in nothing essential from the petition to the King." ibid. I was unable to locate a copy of the petition to the House of Commons. That sent to the Lords is in, Petition of the Major Part of the Council to the House of Lords, [Boston], December 5, 1768, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 47.
67. William Bollan to Samuel Danforth, [London], March 18, 1769, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, ibid.
68. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, December 5, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.114-115.
69. In Thomas Whately to Thomas Hutchinson, London, February 11, 1769, MA,XXV, pp.289-301.
70. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Pownall, Boston, December 2, 1768, MA,XXVI, p.331.
71. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, December 5, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.114-115.
72. Thomas Hutchinson stated that Erving was unhappy at the Council's proceedings, but "that until he received letters from the Lords of the Treasury to the contrary he thought he was obliged to sign every thing that was voted by the Board." Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., August 11 and 17, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.363.
73. The Massachusetts Council to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 12, 1769, in BC, August 3-7, 1769, p.2/1-2.

74. Gipson, The British Empire, XI, p.235; William Bollan to Samuel Danforth, [London], January 30, 1769, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 47.
75. Samuel Danforth (for the Council) to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 12, 1769, in Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.162-165.
76. An inventory of the items and letters published is in BGCJ, April 3, 1769, p.2.
77. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, February 4, 1769, Bernard papers, VII, pp132-137.
78. Francis Bernard to John Pownall, Boston, April 12, 1769, (private), ibid., p.282. Henry Hulton, however, did support Bernard's schemes. Had "the plans proposed by Governor Bernard for an alteration in the Charter been adopted it is possible that the Constitution might have been settled without further disturbances". In Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England, pp.172-173. The Hutchinson-Oliver Letters, exposed by the Whigs in 1773, reveal that Andrew Oliver was thinking along similar lines to Bernard. He favoured restricting Council membership to an order of "Patricians", men whose landed estates were worth at least £100 per annum. Councillors were to be appointed by the Crown for life (quam diu bene gesserit), with only malpractice or bankruptcy being grounds for removal. Andrew Oliver to [Thomas Whately], Boston, February 13, 1768, ibid., pp.29-32. Thomas Hutchinson also favoured the introduction of wide-ranging constitutional reforms intended to nullify the political power of the Whigs. He suggested that the Governor rather than the Crown should have the power to appoint twelve of the twenty-eight councillors, the others being elected every three years by the House. He did not think it expedient to introduce such a controversial measure as a mandamus Council. Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, August 18, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.366; Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, October 19, 1769, ibid., p.391.
79. There was no article defending Bernard published in any of the Boston newspapers.
80. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, April 12, 1769, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.278.
81. The Massachusetts Council to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 15, 1769, in BC, July 27-31, 1769, pp.1-3. The signatories were Samuel Danforth, Isaac Royall, John Erving, William Brattle, James Bowdoin, Thomas Hubbard, Harrison Gray, James Russell, Royal Tyler, James Pitts and Samuel Dexter. Ibid.

82. Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p.62; Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, May 30, 1769, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.203.
83. Whitmore, ibid.
84. Francis Bernard to Lord Barrington, Boston, May 30, 1769, Barrington-Bernard Correspondence, p.203. It was "one of the defects of the Constitution that the Governor must either give his consent to men he dont like in order to keep up the number of the 2nd branch else by giving his negative must lessen the number and in that way take from the the weight of that branch." Thomas Hutchinson to ?, n.p., May 26, 1768, MA,XXVI, pp.306-307.
85. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Whately, Boston, April 30, April 30, 1770, MA,XXV, p.399.
86. Address of the Council to the Lieutenant-Governor, [Boston], March 20, 1770, in Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.197-198.
87. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., May 3, 1770, MA,XXV, p.401. Gray recommended to Hutchinson that the Whig JP John Ruddock be dismissed from his post. "For this and other declarations in support of government", Gray was "threatned with the loss of his Treasurer's place in [the] Council". Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, February 28 and March 12, 1770, ibid.,XXVI, pp.450-451.
88. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, June 1, 1770, MA,XXVI, p.496.
89. Bernard urged him to use his "own Judgement & Discretion" in deciding whether or not to use his powers of veto. Francis Bernard to Thomas Hutchinson, Pall Mall, December 5, 1769, Bernard Papers, VIII, pp.30-31.
90. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, June 1, 1770, MA,XXVI, p.496.
91. William Brattle, Nathaniel Sparhawk, Colonel James Otis, Benjamin Greenleaf, Thomas Saunders, Joseph Gerrish, Joshua Henshaw, Artemis Ward, Walter Spooner. In Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p.63.
92. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 16, 1770, MA,XXVI, p.505; Address of the Council to the Lieutenant-Governor, [Boston], June 12, 1770, in House Journals, 1770-1771, XLVII, pp.32-36. For a discussion of the address and the House's dispute with Hutchinson see Lord and Calhoun, "The Removal of the Massachusetts General Court", pp.744-745.

93. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, June 26, 1770, MA,XXVI, pp.514-516.
94. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, June 17, 1770, ibid.,XXVI, p.506.
95. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, August 5, 1770, ibid., p.532.
96. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, August 4, 1770, ibid., pp.530-531. At a Council meeting, Erving declared that the colonists should "order a good stock of Goods and then immediately...enter into a new [non-importation] combination...until the Molasses Act and every other Act we don't like shall be repealed." Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, July 24, 1770, ibid., pp.523-525.
97. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, August 4, 1770, MA,XXV, pp.530-531.
98. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, n.p., September 30, 1770, ibid.,XXVII, pp.9-10.
99. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., September 28, 1770, ibid.,p.6.
100. For Hutchinson: Danforth, Royall, Brattle, Erving, Hubbard, Sparhawk, Gray, Russell, Hall, Leonard, Gowen and Humphrey. Against Hutchinson: Bowdoin, Otis Sr., Bradbury, Tyler, Pitts, Powell, Sever, Dexter, Greenleaf, Saunders, Gerrish, Henshaw, Ward and Spooner. Source of Council membership:Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p.63.
101. [Andrew Oliver], A Fair Account of the Late Unhappy Disturbances at Boston in New England (London, 1770), Appendix, pp.26-27. The pamphlet was intended as a rejoinder to James Bowdoin, A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston (Boston, 1770). Walleat, "James Bowdoin, Patriot Propagandist", p.320-321.
102. Oliver, A Fair Account,pp.26-27. A copy of this pamphlet as well as the proceedings of the committee of investigation are in House Journals, 1770-1771, XLVII, pp.257-289.
103. House Journals, ibid. Oliver prepared the minutes to read:

Divers gentlemen of the Council...were of the opinion that it was the determination of the people to have the troops removed from the town; and that this was not the sense of the inhabitants of the town of/

103. of Boston only, but of the other towns in the neighborhood, who stood ready to come in, in order to effect this purpose.

Bowdoin's amendment read: that the people

were so incensed, on account of the inhuman and barbarous destruction of a number of inhabitants by the Troops, that they apprehended imminent danger of further bloodshed, unless the Troops were forthwith removed from the body of the town, which, in their opinion was the only method to prevent it.

In Wallet, "James Bowdoin, Patriot Propagandist", pp.320-321.

104. The committee of investigation were all Whigs: Brattle, Bowdoin, Hall, Otis Sr., and Bradbury. House Journals, ibid.
105. ibid.
106. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VII, p.405.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN:

1. BTR, XVI, p.223.
2. "A Tradesman", BGCJ, January 4, 1768, p.3/1; "A Puritan" (Sam Adams), ibid., April 4, 1768, p.3/1.
3. Andrews, "Boston Merchants", p.192; House Journals, 1767-1768, XLVI, pp.98-99.
4. Ezekiel Goldthwait, Henderson Inches, John Barret, Edward Payne and Melatiah Bourne, BTR, XVI, p.249. The scheme to use the Manufactory House as the building for housing operations was promoted by a petition signed by twenty-five merchants. Only three were friends of government: John and Jonathan Amory, and Thomas Hubbard. Subscribers to the Town Linen Manufactory, [Boston], March 15, 1768, Ezekiel Price Papers, MHS.
5. Journal of the Times, p.3.

6. Josiah Paine, A History of Harwich, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, 1620-1800 (Rutland, Vt., 1937), p.307.
7. Robert Auchmuty to David Watson & Co., n.p., December 29, 1769, Boylston Papers; Account of Benjamin Hallowell with Thomas Finney, n.p., November 5, [1768] to September 2, 1769, ibid.
8. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, November 14, 1767, Bernard Papers, VI, p.252. See also, Bernard to Shelburne, Boston, October 30, 1767, ibid., pp.248-251.
9. The Amorys complained to their agents in London of their tardiness in dispatching consignments. They asked them in future to "Purchase every thing on the Best terms... as the profits are almost reduced to nothing & the Rivalship among the sellers greater that ever. John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Harrison, Bernard & Spragg, Boston, July 11, 1768, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.148.
10. MGBNL, November 26, 1767, p.2/1.
11. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, October 30 1767, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.248-251; Bernard to Shelburne, Boston, November 21, 1767, ibid., p.254.
12. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, August 31, 1767, ibid., p.236.
13. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, September 7, 1767, ibid., p.237.
14. Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, n.p., December 9, 1767, MA,XXV, p.230.
15. The Bostonians were cautioned to "avoid excesses and licentiousness in every form", in BEP, January 11, 1768, p.1/3. Attributed to Frye by Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XI, p.400.
16. Articles of Non-Importation, [Boston], March n.d., 1768, Massachusetts Papers I; Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.113-114; Andrews, "Boston Merchants", p.202; BGCJ Supplement, April 25, 1768, 1/1; Francis Bernard to the Earl of Shelburne, Boston, March 21, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.290-294. For the response of the towns see Table 8, pp.
17. For example, Thomas Cushing to Dennis De Berdt, Boston, January 19, 1768, "Letters of Thomas Cushing", pp.350-352; William Cooper to Ward Hallowell [a.k.a. Ward Nicholas Boylston], Boston, October 7, 1768, Boylston Papers.
18. Morgans, Stamp Act Crisis, pp.346, 363.

19. Six firms named on the list were absent from Boston; six others had their names scored out for a reason which I cannot determine. [Samuel P. Savage], A List of Subscribers to the Non Importation Agreement of March 1768, "reported March 9, 1768", Samuel P. Savage II Collection.
20. An "X" was placed against the names of those who either pledged to observe the agreement or signed it, ibid.
21. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, p.113.
22. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, [Boston], March 21, 1768, in BEP, August 21, 1769, p.3/1.
23. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, [Boston], July 30, 1768, Massachusetts Papers, I.
24. A copy of the August agreement is in BEP, May 8, 1769, p.2/1; Andrews, "Boston Merchants", pp.205, 226.
25. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, August 9, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.23.
26. BEP, May 8, 1769, p.2/1; Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, p.114.
27. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, August 9, 1768, Bernard Papers, VII, p.23.
28. A Whig editorial claimed that the August agreement was accepted "with greater unanimity than was shown at the time of the Stamp Act", in BGCJ, August 15, 1768, p.1/1.
29. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.115-116.
30. John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Harrison, Bernard & Spragg, Boston, July 11, 1768, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.148; John and Jonathan Amory to Samuel Eliot, Boston, August 2, 1769, ibid., p.157.
31. John Rowe Diary, p.153.
32. BEP, May 8, 1769, p.2/1; Andrews, "Boston Merchants", pp.201-203.
33. Journal of the Times, p.100.
34. BEP, May 8, 1769, p.2/1.
35. BGCJ, August 14, 1769, p.2/1. Included in the committee were friends of government William Bowes, Jonathan Amory and Thomas Brattle, BEP, July 31, 1769, p.3/1.
36. It comprised three merchants and included one friend of government, Gilbert Deblois, in BC, August 14-17, 1769, p.1/1-2.

37. BGCJ, August 14, 1769, p.2/1; BC, August 14-17, 1769, p.1/1-2; Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., August 8, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.361.
38. BEP, August 21, 1769, pp.1-2; MGBWNL, January 11, 1770. pp.1-5; BC, January 11-15, 1770, p.2/1-2.
39. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., August 8, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.361.
40. BGCJ, August 14, 1769, p.2/1.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., September 11, 1769, p.1/1.
43. Ibid., August 28, 1769, p.1/1.
44. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Pownall, n.p., September 26, 1769, MA,XXVI, pp.379-380.
45. Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, October n.d., 1769, ibid., pp.387-389.
46. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, October 30, 1769, Ms.5025, pp.222-225, Charles Steuart Papers.
47. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., August 8, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.361.
48. Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, August 19, 1769, MA,XXVI, pp.365-366.
49. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, August 26, 1769, ibid., pp.368-369. Nathaniel Rogers had been forced to sell tea at 2/9d per pound, although he had to pay the Townshend Duty of 3d per pound of tea he imported. Thomas Hutchinson to William Palmer, Boston, December 3, 1768, ibid., p.332.
50. John and Jonathan Amory to Samuel Eliot, Boston, August 26, 1769, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.160. The Clarkes' names did not appear in the next issue of the Boston Gazette, August 28, 1769.
51. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, August 26, 1769, MA,XXVI, pp.368-369.
52. BGCJ, January 22, 1770, p.3/1.
53. Ibid., October 9, 1769, p.1/1-2; BC, January 11-15, 1770, p.2/2-3.
54. BGCJ, ibid. and January 22, 1770, p.3/1; Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, October 5, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.384.

55. Adams quoted in Miller, Sam Adams, p.203; Hutchinson to Bernard, ibid.
56. BTR, XVI, p.298.
57. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, October 5, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.384.
58. Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.209-210.
59. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, October 5, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.384; Hutchinson to Bernard, Boston, October 4 1769, ibid., p.383; Hutchinson to Bernard, Boston, October 6 1769, ibid., p.387.
60. Hutchinson to Bernard, Boston, October 6, 1769, ibid.
61. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, October 4, 1769, MA,XXVI, p.383.
62. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Pownall, n.p., November 17, 1769, ibid., p.406.
63. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, October 6, 1769, MA,XXVI, ibid., p.387.
64. In Thomas Hutchinson to ?, n.p., n.d., MA,XXVII, pp.280-281.
65. Andrews, "Boston Merchants", pp.224-225.
66. BGCJ, May 8, 1769, p.2/1.
67. Ibid., July 10, 1769, p.3/2; EG, June 27-July 4, 1769, p.3/3.
68. See Chapter Four, p.141.
69. Francis Bernard to Benjamin Pickman and Robert Hooper, Boston, March 4, 1767, Bernard Papers. Quotation from Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIV, p.486.
70. Violations of the agreement were taken from the cargo manifests published in BC, July, 1769-June, 1770. On the adoption of non-importation see Sawyer and Gamage, Marblehead, p.92. On Gerry see George A. Billias, Elbridge Gerry: Founding Father and Republican Statesman (New York etc., 1976), pp.14-15.
71. [Jonathan Sewall] to Mr. Hall, [Cambridge], January 10, 1770, Robie-Sewall Collection, MHS and EG, January 9-16, 1770, p.1/1-2. Robie's cargoes had been brought into Boston.

72. BEP, November 6, 1769, p.1/3; EG, December 19-26, 1769 and January, 2-9, 1770.
73. EG, January, 9-16, 1770, pp.1/1-2, 2/1.
74. Thomas Robie to Richard Clarke & Sons, Marblehead, January 13, 1770, Miscellaneous Bound MSS, MHS.
75. John Mein was a burgess and guildsman of Edinburgh who emigrated from Scotland to Boston in 1764. In October the following year, he went into partnership with John Fleeming, a printer and fellow Scot. Together, they published the Boston Chronicle (BC). The Whig printers of the Boston Gazette, Benjamin Edes and John Gill, were quick to accuse Mein of Toryism, although it was not until June 1769 that the Boston Chronicle adopted a clear pro-government stance. The accusation so incensed Mein that he physically assaulted John Gill. John Alden, "John Mein: Scourge of Patriots", PCSM,³⁴ (1937-1942), pp.571-599.
76. He did, however, list the items brought into Boston by twenty-one vessels since January 1, 1769. In BC, June 22-26, 1769, p.3/3.
77. Mein had violated the agreement by importing paper worth between £300 and £400 Massachusetts currency, BC, August 14-17, 1769, p.1/1. In his account of the non-importation controversy in Smugglers & Patriots, pp.109-170, John Tyler argues that the rich Whig wholesale merchants did try to use the boycott as a smokescreen to damage the interests of their smaller competitors. As a result, opponents of the agreement were mainly shopkeepers, young merchants and Scottish factors. The account of the controversy in this chapter and Chapter Eight differs markedly from Tyler's. It examines the impact of the controversy not only in Boston but in other ports and towns as well, and concentrates upon the political and ideological aspects of the controversy rather than on the economic and business aspects.
78. The names of the importers listed by Mein, BC, July 1769-January 1770 were cross-referenced with those in Savage, A List of the Subscribers to the Non-Importation Agreement of March 1768.
79. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.137-138.
80. Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Hood, n.p., February 23, 1770, MA, XXVI, pp.444-445.
81. See Appendix A.
82. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May 8, 1769, Bernard Papers, VII, pp.162-163.

83. Colborn Barrell, BC, October 5-9, 1769, p.4/2-3.
84. Colborn Barrell, ibid, November 13-17, 1769, p.1/4 and December 7-11, 1769, p.5/1.
85. Colborn Barrell, ibid, December 4-7, 1769, p.4/2.
86. Colborn Barrell, ibid, December 7-11, 1769, p.5/2.
The quotation was: "Political liberty does not consist in an unrestrained freedom. In governments, that is, in societies directed by law, liberty can consist only in the power of doing what we ought to will, and in not being constrained to do what we ought not to will.... Liberty...is a licence to everyman to pursue and secure his own interest and happiness by every means in his power, consistent with the peace and security of society."
87. Colborn Barrell, ibid., December 4-7, 1769, p.1/4.
88. "Protestant" (Dr. Thomas Young), BEP, December 11, 1769, p.2/1-2.
89. Superior Court of Judicature, [Suffolk County], Indictment of Colborn Barrell, Boston, November 21, 1770, Ch.M.1.7.70, American Revolutionary MSS.
90. Theophillus Lillie, BC, January 11-15, 1770, p.2/1-3.
91. John and Jonathan Amory to Thomas Mifflin, Boston, August 18, 1769, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, pp.157-159.
92. John and Jonathan Amory to Samuel Eliot, Boston, August 2, 1769, ibid., p.157.
93. John and Jonathan Amory to Samuel Eliot, Boston, September 1, 1769, ibid., p.161.
94. John and Jonathan Amory to Samuel Eliot, Boston, November 20, 1769, ibid., p.163.
95. John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs.Lane, Son & Frazer & Co. and Messrs. Kilby & Syme, Boston, October 4, 1768, ibid., pp.151-152.
96. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.116, 129-131; Andrews, "Boston Merchants", pp.230-231; Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, October 12, 1769, Ms.5025, pp.205-206, Charles Steuart Papers.
97. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, October 27, 1769, MA, XXVI, pp.395-396.
98. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, October 30, 1769, Ms.5025, pp.222-225, Charles Steuart Papers.

99. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, October 27, 1769, MA,XXVI, pp.395-396.
100. John and Jonathan Amory to Samuel Eliot, Boston, October 21, 1769, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, pp. 162-163.
101. John and Jonathan Amory to Samuel Eliot, Boston, December 27, 1769, ibid., pp.164-165.
102. John and Jonathan Amory to Samuel Eliot, Boston, August 18, 1769, ibid., p.160.
103. Erving's reply to Mein is in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIV, pp.151-153. To Francis Green, Mein was a "Mushroom Judge" who spoke without any influence, in ibid., pp.612-614. Palfrey defended his employer John Hancock from Mein's attack in BEP, August 28, 1769, p.1/3.
104. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, p.116; [John Mein], A State of Importations from Great-Britain into the port of Boston, from the beginning of January, 1770... (Boston, 1769), pp.54-60.
105. Palfrey's letter is in MGBNL, August 24, 1769, p.1/3 and BEP, August 28, 1769, pp.1/3, 3/2. Irving resented the accusation and confronted the printer of the Massachusetts Gazette (MGBNL), Richard Draper, who was physically handicapped, and threatened him with a beating. Irving was apprehended by a Justice of the Peace and bound over to keep the peace. He returned later to continue his argument with Draper. This time a Whig mob gathered outside Draper's house and "his'd laughed flouted & gave three Huzzas to the Hero, who had the Resolution to attack a poor sick disabled Printer." Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, September 4, 1769, Ms.5025, p.185, Charles Steuart Papers. For Irving's account of the incident see Thomas Irving to Charles Steuart, Boston, September 4, 1769, ibid., p.183.
106. BEP, August 28, 1769, p.2/1-3.
107. "Alfred" (Samuel Adams), BGCJ, October 2, 1769, p.2/3.
108. "An Overhearer", BEP, October 9, 1769, p.3/1.
109. Unsigned article, ibid.
110. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, September 4, 1769, Ms.5025, p.185, Charles Steuart Papers; Coffin to Steuart, Boston, October 12, 1769, ibid., pp.205-206.
111. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, October 30, 1769, ibid., pp.222-225.

112. BC, October 23-26, 1769, p.1/1. This issue was not published until October 28.
113. This account is based on Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, October 30, 1769, Ms.5025, pp.222-225, Charles Steuart Papers. Other accounts are Elizabeth Cuming to Elizabeth Smith, Boston, October 28, 1769, J.M. Robbins Papers, MHS and Alden, "John Mein", pp.586-589.
114. Alden, ibid., pp,586-589; James Murray to Charles Steuart, Boston, November 12, 1769, Ms.5025, pp.232-233, Charles Steuart Papers; John Mein to Thomas Hutchinson, n.p., n.d., MA,XXV, pp.455-456a; Thomas Hutchinson to General Gage, Boston, October 29, 1769, MA,XXVI, pp.398-399. Mein's ordeal continued, however, and served as a warning to those who dared to defy the Whig-merchant leadership. Thomas Longman, the English publisher, pursued Mein for a debt of £1,600, which he had promised to settle by the spring of 1769. Longman enlisted the help of John Hancock and gave the Whig his power of attorney. When he arrived in Britain, Mein was arrested and incarcerated in the King's Bench Prison. Meanwhile, Hancock secured a writ to seize Mein's assets, and it was executed on March 1, 1770. James Murray organised a subscription among Mein's friends to pay his debt and submitted in writing to Hancock and his lawyer, John Adams, a proposal for an accomodation. Hancock refused to accept the collection, which meant that until the matter was settled in court Mein's friends could not sell his goods or property in order to satisfy Longman's demands. Murray and John Fleeming pleaded with Sheriff Stephen Greenleaf to try and prevent Mein's assets being "frozen", and argued that Hancock was pursuing a personal vendetta against Mein in which he was supported by the Whigs. Eventually, the case came before the Inferior Court of Suffolk County in January 1771, and the next year the Superior Court gave a final judgment against Mein. Mein was released from prison by February 1771. Affidavits sent to England by James Murray and Thomas Hutchinson attesting to the unusual political and personal circumstances surrounding Hancock's prosecution were instrumental in securing his release. It is not certain if Mein was also penalised by an English court. His release may have come under the terms of the recent Insolvency Act. John Mein to Thomas Longman, n.p., September 2, 1768, Hancock Papers, II, MHS; Deposition of John Mein, King's Bench Prison, November 22, 1770, ibid.; Thomas Longman to John Hancock, London, December 4, 1769, ibid.; James Murray to [John Hancock], n.p., March 2, 1770, ibid.; John Hancock to [James Murray], n.p., March 3, 1770, ibid.; James Murray to Stephen Greenleaf, n.p., April 25, 1770, ibid.; Stephen Greenleaf to James Murray and Jonh Fleeming, n.p., May 4/

114. 4, 1770, ibid.; Certificate of Thomas Hutchinson, n.p., September 29, 1770, ibid.; [John Hancock] to Thomas Longman et.al., Boston, January 16, 1771, ibid.; Thomas Longman to John Hancock, n.p., [February 1771 ?], ibid.
115. Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.163-164; McCusker and Menard, The Economy of British America, p.286; Henretta, American Society, pp.49, 139-143.
116. Small retailers simply could not compete with the larger firms in stockpiling goods. Stephen Greenleaf Jr., a Son of Liberty, decided, even before non-importation was adopted, that because "the Trade in English goods has deterr'd for the worse...to desist from any further importations." In John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Harrison, Bernard & Spragg, Boston, December 1, 1767, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.143.
117. "The Merchants of England were so fond of getting rid of their Goods, that they gave a Credit to any who asked for it, & many who had no Estates at all....It was therefore the Art of the great Traders to ruin the lesser ones, & engross the whole of the Business to themselves; both which they, in some Degree, effectuated." Peter Oliver's Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion, p.72.
118. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May 8, 1769, Bernard Papers, VII, p.163.
119. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, January 24, 1770, Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, II, p.34.
120. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, July 18, 1767, MA,XXVI, pp.281-283.
121. BEP, October 2, 1769, p.4/1.
122. "Bostonian", BC, February 1-5, 1770, p.1/2.
123. Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May 21, 1768, Bernard Papers, VI, pp.299-300.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT:

1. BC, November 1769-January 1770.

2. Theophilus Lillie, ibid., January 11-15, 1770, p.2/3.
3. BGCJ, January 1, 1770, p.2/2 and January 8, 1770, p.1/3. The Greenes were wholesale merchants who supplied many traders and retailers in western Massachusetts including John Chandler. Benjamin Greene, Wastebook and Cash Accounts, 1763-1748, Greene Papers, MHS. Unfortunately, the pages concerning the period of non-importation, 1767-1771, are missing from this document. They might have been able to show the extent to which one merchant ignored the boycott by selling imported goods.
4. BGCJ, February 5, 1770, p.4/1 and February 26, 1770, p.1/1. Williams's action was consistent with his Tory attitudes of defiance to Whig-imposed authority. He wrote: "The Merchants are acting an Arbitrary imperious part, which is a recent proof that neither Character or Property will be long secure". Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, January 23, 1770, MA,XXV, p,353.
5. Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.195-197; Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.114, 143-144; Andrews, "Boston Merchants", p.206; BGCJ, January 29, 1770, p.1/3, Dorr Collection III, p.25. One historian has likened the Body to a modern protest rally, Warden, Boston, p.219.
6. BGCJ, January 22, 1770, p.3/1-2; John Rowe Diary, p.196.
7. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.145-146.
8. BGCJ, January 22, 1770, p.3/2.
9. ibid.; John Rowe Diary, p.196; Nathaniel Rogers to Thomas Hutchinson, Boston, January 19, 1770, MA,XXV, p.351.
10. Council Records, pp.444-446.
11. BGCJ, January 22, 1770, p.3/2.
12. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, January 27, 1770, MA,XXVI, pp.434-435. He confessed to Hillsborough that "whilst my family was interested in this dispute I should be under much greater difficulty both from the Council and every other quarter than I should be if they were out of the question." Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, January 24, 1770, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, II, pp.33-34.
13. Hutchinson to Bernard, ibid.; Hutchinson to Hillsborough, ibid.
14. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, January 13, 1770, MA,XXVI, p.431.

15. His conference with the importers is mentioned in Thomas Hutchinson to Thomas Hood, Boston, January 29, 1770, MA, XXVI, p.436; Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, II, pp.33-34.
16. Council Records, p.448; Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, January 27, 1770, MA, XXVI, pp.434-435.
17. BGCJ, January 29, 1770, p.1/1-3.
18. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, January, 24, 1770, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, II, pp.34-36.
19. Council Records, p.450.
20. BGCJ, January 29, 1770, p.1/1-3.
21. For biographical information on the Cumings see Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, p,149; on the McMasters, Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.209-210; on Bernard, Jones, ibid., pp.29-30.
22. BGCJ, January 22, 1770, p.1/1-3.
23. "An Independent", BGCJ, February 26, 1770, p.2/2-3.
24. "Civis", ibid., February 5, 1770, p.2/3.
25. Ibid., February 12, 1770, p.3/1. In late January, Jackson's house was set on fire, ibid., January 29, 1770, p.1/3.
26. Ibid., February 19, 1770, p.2/3. John Mein had been suspended from the Free American Fire Company of Boston because of his anti-Whig activities, in Alan Day and Katherine Day, "Another Look at the Boston 'Caucus'", p.24.
27. Council Records, p.455; Hulton, Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England, p.153; Henry Hulton to Mr. General de Waldheim, n.p., May 5, 1770, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, p.23.
28. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, p.149.
29. BTR, XVIII, p.16.
30. In BGCJ, February 5, 1770, p.2/2.
31. In ibid., March 6, 1770, p.2/2.
32. The town of Roxbury voted to read out the names of importers at the annual town meetings held to elect office bearers, in ibid., March 12, 1770, p.1/2.

33. Sudbury in BEP, April 9, 1770, p.2/2; Sandwich in ibid., p.2/3.
34. "Martyr", BC, February 1-5, 1770, p.4/1; "Incredulous", ibid, February 8-12, 1770, p.2/2-3; "Pacifîcus", ibid., February 15-19, 1770, p.1/2.
35. "Bostonian", ibid., February, 15-19, 1770, p.1/2.
36. Ibid., March 1-5, 1770, p.2/2.
37. "Martyr", ibid., February 1-5, 1770, p.4/1.
38. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, February n.d., 1770, MA, XXVI, pp.440-442.
39. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, August 4, 1770, ibid., pp.530-531.
40. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.150-152.
41. Ibid.; Andrews, "Boston Merchants", p.239; BGCJ, April 30, 1770, p.2/3, Dorr Collection, III, p.104.
42. Rev. Andrew Elliot to Charles Steuart, New York, April 25, 1770, Ms.5026, p.46, Charles Steuart Papers.
43. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, May 22, 1770, ibid., pp.56-59.
44. Ibid.; Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, n.p., May 3, 1770, MA, XXV, p.401; Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, p.154.
45. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, May 18, 1770, MA, XXVI, p.484.
46. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 27, 1770, MA, XXV, pp.391-394.
47. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, April 28, 1770, ibid., p.396.
48. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, May 18, 1770, ibid., p.484.
49. Samuel Salisbury to Stephen Salisbury, Boston, May 23, 1770, Salisbury Papers, AAS.
50. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, May 22 and 23, 1770, MA, XXVI, pp.491-492.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.

53. BGCJ, May 28, 1770, p.2/1.
54. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, May 23, 1770, MA,XXVI, p.492.
55. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May 27, 1770, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, II, p.98.
56. BEP, May 21, 1770, p.1/3.
57. BGCJ, May 28, 1770, p.2/1 and June 11, 1770, p.1/1.
58. Andrews, "Boston Merchants", pp.243, 248; BEP, June 25, 1770, p.3/1 and July 2, 1770, p.2/3.
59. The Earl of Hillsborough to Thomas Hutchinson, Whitehall, July 31, 1770, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, II, p.156.
60. Andrews, "Boston Merchants", pp.243, 248.
61. BGCJ, June 11, 1770, p.1/1-3.
62. Adams quoted in Letters of a Loyalist Lady, pp.26-27.
63. BGCJ, May 7, 1770, p.1; Dorr Collection, III, p.111.
64. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.27.
65. Council Records, pp.487-488.
66. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, June 29, 1770, Ms.5026, pp.74-76, Charles Steuart Papers. Another account of the incident is in Letters of a Loyalist Lady, pp.26-27.
67. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, n.m. 28, 1770, MA,XXVII, p.6; Council Records, pp.487-488.
68. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.26.
69. BGCJ Supplement, August 6, 1770, p.1/1.
70. EG, May 8-15, 1770, p.1/1-2 and May 15-22, 1770, p.1/2.
71. Robert Jamieson to Thomas Hutchinson, Salem, May 30, 1770, MA,XXV, pp.409-410.
72. Ibid.
73. Mrs Barnes to Elizabeth Smith, n.p., June n.d., 1770, in Letters of James Murray, pp.175-177; BGCJ, June 11, p.3/2.
74. Mentioned in Letters of James Murray, p.178.

75. Nathaniel^a Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, June 29, 1770, Ms.5026, pp.74-76, Charles Steuart Papers. Accounts of Cutler's ordeal are also in BEP, July 2, 1770, p.2/1 and Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.107-108.
76. The contents of the letter sent to Barnes are recounted in Coffin to Steuart, ibid.
77. BEP, July 23, 1770, p.3/2.
78. Council Records, p.489.
79. Ibid.; Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, July 2, 1770, C.O.5/759, pp.234-240. Ebenezer Cutler brought a lawsuit against two Whigs who had been involved in carting him, Robert Pierpont and Caleb Davis. No jury could agree on a verdict and the case was dismissed. In BGCJ, August 27, 1770, p.3/1-2.
80. BEP, July 23, 1770, p.3/2-3.
81. "An Honest Ploughjogger" (Henry Barnes ?), BGCJ Supplement, August 6, 1770, p.2/2-3.
82. Andrews, "Boston Merchants", pp.224, 225n. The letter to Molineux is in BGCJ, August 13, 1770, p.3/1.
83. The other importers were John Appleton, Abigail Epes and Elizabeth Higginson, EG, September 25-October 2, 1770, p.2/1. The committee charged Frye with hiding the original copy of the town's non-importation agreement of March 1769, which was in his care during his period as chairman of the merchants' committee. In ibid., October 9-16, 1770, p.1/2.
84. Matthew Mansfield, EG, October 9-16, 1770, p.1/2 and October 16-23, 1770, p.2/2-3.
85. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, September 15, 1770, MA, XXVII, pp.1-3; Andrews, "Boston Merchants", p.254; Tyler, Smugglers and Patriots, pp.165-166.

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE:

1. He received addresses from the ministers of the Episcopal, Baptist /

1. Baptist, and Congregational churches in Boston; the Justices of the Superior and Inferior Courts; and the merchants and lawyers of Boston. The identities of the subscribers are unknown. In MGBWNL, March 25, 1771, p.3/3. It was estimated that around 100 merchants signed their address, in "Cautua", BGCJ, March 25, 1771, p.3/3. The Earl of Hillsborough learned of the addresses with "great satisfaction". The Earl of Hillsborough to Thomas Hutchinson, Whitehall, July 1, 1771, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, III, p.103.
2. Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.146-148.
3. Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.149-153.
4. Francis Bernard to Thomas Hutchinson, Hampstead, October 6, 1770, Bernard Papers, VIII, p.127. Rogers noted his interest in the post, which carried a province salary of £300 per annum, in Nathaniel Rogers to Thomas Hutchinson, Portsmouth, March 12, 1770, MA,XXV, p.369.
5. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VI, p.258; Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p.70. Hutchinson would have preferred John Worthington to William Cushing, but he did not approach Worthington because he was under the impression that Worthington would not have accepted the post. Thomas Hutchinson to John Worthington, Boston, January 16, 1772, MA,XXVII, pp.282-283.
6. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 25, 1772, MA,XXVII, pp.349-352.
7. Nathaniel Hatch, Stephen Miller, Jonathan Bagley, John Murray, John Worthington, Jonathan Bliss, George Leonard, John Ashley, William Williams and William Browne. MGBPA, July 29, 1771, p.1/1.
8. Henry S. Ruggles, General Timothy Ruggles, 1711-1795 ([Wakefield], Mass., 1897), p.12. Ruggles's appointment came after a trip to England with Thomas Flucker to "get handsome places", in Letters of James Murray, p.132.
9. MGBPA, July 29, 1771, p.1/1.
10. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, January 29, 1772, MA,XXVII, pp.286-287.
11. Quincy succeeded Jonathan Sewall. His salary was to be paid from the Tea Duty and amounted to £250 per annum. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIII, p.481. Before the appointment, Quincy had been criticised for his associations with the government, although he was a Whig. In "Chatterer", BGCJ, August 20, 1770, p.1/1.

12. Thomas Hutchinson to Benjamin Pickman, Boston, March 27, 1771, MA, XXVII, pp.135-136.
13. Andrew Oliver to Thomas Whately, n.p., May 15, 1771, Andrew Oliver Letterbook, II, p.17.
14. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, April 8, 1771, Ms.5026, p.261, Charles Steuart Papers.
15. Thomas Hutchinson to Timothy Ruggles, Boston, March 25, 1771, MA, XXVII, p.134.
16. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, May n.d., 1771, ibid., p.157; House Journals, 1770-1771, XLVII, pp.187, 189.
17. House Journals, ibid., p.246; Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.202-203.
18. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, May 10, 1771, MA, XXVII, pp.163-164; Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, May 24, 1771, ibid., pp.171-173.
19. Hutchinson to ?, ibid.
20. "Mutius Scaevola", BGCJ, March 4, 1771, p.1/1; "An Elector" (James Lovell), ibid., April 29, 1771, p.2/2.
21. Ibid., March 11, 1771, p.1/2.
22. "The House was very near equally divided, the whole of last Session, and these two members will be able to make a ballance in favour of Timidity, Artifice, and Trimming. How easily the People change, and give up their Friends and their Interest." John Adams Diary, II, p.15. Of the 410 votes cast in the Boston election, Otis received 399, Adams 403, and Hancock and Cushing 410 apiece. In Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, p.283.
23. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 22, 1771, MA, XXVII, pp.188-189; Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.302-303.
24. Quotation from Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, April 23, 1771, MA, XXVII, pp.153-154. His comments on the Council are in Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, December 10, 1770, ibid., pp.72-74; Hutchinson to Bernard, Boston, February 18, 1770, ibid., XXVI, p.442.
25. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 1, 1771, ibid., XXVII, pp.202-204. The Council's position is stated in Massachusetts Council to William Bollan/

25. Bollan, [Boston], October 30, 1770, in Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.273-277.
26. Council Records, pp.577-580.
27. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, September 30, 1771, MA, XXVII, pp.236-237.
28. "Muscius Scaevola" (Joseph Greenleaf), Massachusetts Spy, November 14, 1771, reprinted in The Censor, November 23, 1771, p.1; "Fidelis", BGCJ, November 11, 1771, p.2/2.
29. The Censor, November 23, 1771, pp.2-3.
30. Council Records, pp.596-597; BGCJ, January 13, 1772, p.1/1-2.
31. "Chronus" (Henry Caner), MGBPA, November 28, 1771-February 17, 1772; "Freeman" (Andrew Oliver), The Censor, December 14, 1771-January 4, 1772.
32. "Freeman", ibid., December 21, 1771, p.18 and January 25, 1772, p.39; "A", ibid., November 30, 1771, pp.6-8.
33. "Freeman", ibid., January 11, 1772, pp.29-33 and January 18, 1772, pp.36-40.
34. "Chronus", MGBPA, December 16, 1771, p.3/2, January 6, 1772, p.4/2, and January 13, 1772, p.4/1-2.
35. "Chronus", ibid., January 13, 1772, p.4/2 and January 27, 1772, p.4/1-2; "Freeman", The Censor, December 21, 1771, pp.17-18.
36. Leadership should be borne by "grave, learned and judicious men, who have estates and property of their own, and who are therefore likely to be as tenacious of the public rights and liberties as any other person can be."
"Chronus", ibid., January 6, 1772, p.4/1.
37. Ibid.
38. "Freeman", The Censor, December 14, 1771, p.13.
39. "Candidus" (Samuel Adams), BGCJ, December 2, 1771, p.2/1-2 and December 23, 1771, p.2/2.
40. House Journals, 1771-1772, XLVIII, pp.119-122.
41. Although Hutchinson was forbidden to return the assembly to Boston, "he probably assumed that he still possessed discretionary authority to do so as soon as the Court ceased to challenge the prerogative of the crown to instruct a/

41. a governor on the location of an assembly. An instruction dated July 3, 1771, reiterated that discretion; and Hutchinson's hands were probably not completely tied at any time during the controversy." Lord and Calhoon, "The Removal of the General Court", p.737.
42. Samuel Adams to James Warren, Boston, April 13, 1772, Warren-Adams Papers, p.10, MHS.
43. Adams to Warren, ibid.; Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, April n.d., 1772, MA,XXVII, pp.313-315. On Hancock's disillusionment see W.T. Baxter, The House of Hancock: Business in Boston, 1724-1775 (New York, 1965), pp.280-281.
44. House Journals, 1771-1772, XLVIII, pp.191-195.
45. Historians of this period Donald C. Lord and Robert M. Calhoon, in "The Removal of the General Court", failed to acknowledge this fact. Hutchinson, they said, made the proposal to return the assembly to Boston because he was "worried by the length and direction of the controversy", for the General Court had not met since July 5, 1771 (p.750.)
46. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, April 10, 1772, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, V, p.64.
47. Lord and Calhoon, "The Removal of the General Court", p.737.
48. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 15, 1772, MA,XXVII, p.344.
49. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, May 9, 1772, MA,XXVII, p.332.
50. Arthur Lee returned to the Council's dispute with Andrew Oliver over the reporting of the Boston Massacre in "Junius Americanus", BGCJ, April 6, 1772, p.1. James Lovell as "An Elector" produced a series of rejoinders to "Chronus" in ibid., February 3-March 16, 1772.
51. "The friends of Government are more numerous than they have been." Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 2, 1772, MA,XXVII, p.355. A "considerable number of good men [were] added to the House this year". Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, May 29, 1772, ibid., p.341.
52. Hutchinson to Bernard, ibid.

53. Hutchinson to Bernard, ibid., p.340.
54. Harrison Gray to John Boylston, Boston, February 15, 1772, Boylston Papers.
55. BGCJ, August 31, 1772, p.2/2, Dorr Collection IV.
56. Hutchinson wrote of Bowdoin: "If I see any chance for bringing him over and making him a friend to Government I will try it". Thomas Hutchinson to James Gambier, Boston, May 7, 1772, MA,XXVII, pp.330-331.
57. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, May 29, 1772, ibid., p.340; House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, pp.7-8. In the Boston elections, Hancock's supporters withheld their votes for Sam Adams. Of the 723 voters, 699 declared for Thomas Cushing, 668 for William Phillips, 690 for Hancock and 505 for Adams. In Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, p.289.
58. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, June 15, 1772, (not sent) MA,XXVII, p.342.
59. Ibid., pp.342-343; House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, pp.11-12.
60. Hutchinson to Pownall, ibid.; House Journals, ibid.; Lord and Calhoon, "The Removal of the General Court", p.751.
61. Hutchinson to Pownall, ibid.; House Journals, ibid.
62. House Journals, ibid., pp.29, 52; Bailyn, Hutchinson, p.203.
63. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall (?), n.p., n.d. [1772]. MA,XXVII, p.360.
64. It was not because, as Josiah Quincy suspected, Hutchinson had received fresh instructions from Hillsborough to do so ("Marchmont Needham", BGCJ, June 15, 1772, p.2/1-2 and June 22, 1772, p.2/2.) Nor was it because Sam Adams had "outwitted him", as historians Lord and Calhoon suggested in "The removal of the General Court," p.751. Hutchinson gave credence to Lord and Calhoon's explanation by claiming that the moderates who endorsed Adams's reply did not fully understand the significance of a statement which said that the Governor was originally unjustified in removing the Court to Cambridge; according to Hutchinson, this clause amounted to a denial of the Governor's authority to follow royal instructions. "After continuing the court sitting ten days I found it to be the express declaration of the members in general when they were out of the House that they had no double intention and that they intended to avoid in their Answer to my Speech whatsoever might be construed to be a denial of my Obligations to observe his Majesty's Instructions. This opinion spread through the /

64. the Province and an apprehension was prevailing that I had deceived them and never really intended to remove the Court to Boston." Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, June 15, 1772, MA,XXVII, p.344. This explanation is unconvincing in view of the fact that assertions such as Adams wrote into the House's reply to Hutchinson, and counter-claims by the Governor, had been the substance of the two year dispute. Debates had revolved around the semantics and form of arguments as much as they did the principles involved, see Lord and Calhoun, ibid. The moderates, therefore, would surely have understood the full meaning of Adams's address and willingly supported it. Moreover, Lord and Calhoun made no reference to the salary controversy in their version of events leading up to Hutchinson's change of mind. As is shown in the main text, this issue was the main reason why Hutchinson placated the moderates and returned the assembly to Boston.
65. When Hutchinson informed Israel Williams that he was to receive a grant of £200 from the Crown in 1768, Williams wrote that the "the plan for the Appointment of civil officers, will bring us into a State of Servile dependence". Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, Hatfield, May 3, 1769, MA,XXV, p.308. Williams's Whiggish attitudes on the salary issue were not shared by those who expected to benefit directly, such as Andrew Oliver and Robert Auchmuty. In Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VII, pp.406-408; Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.13,16. James Boutineau, however, was one rank-and-file friend of government who approved the idea of Crown salaries, in Francis Bernard to Thomas Hutchinson, Hampstead, April 6, 1771, Bernard Papers, VIII, p.166.
66. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, June 15, 1772, MA,XXVII, pp.342-343.
67. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, Boston, July 2, 1772, ibid., p.355; Lord and Calhoun, "The Removal of the General Court", p.751.
68. House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, p.52.
69. Ibid., pp.104-107.
70. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall (?), n.p., n.d. [1772], MA,XXVII, pp.358-359.
71. House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, pp.104-107.
72. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall (?), n.p., n.d. [1772], MA,XXVII, p.360.

73. "When I ask the Members separate[ly] what good can come from such rash intemperate measures they answer that the House in general have no prejudice against the Governor but they suppose a design is formed to inslave them by degrees and they shall be justified to posterity by asserting their just rights which may be easier reassumed than if they had been tamely given up. Many well meaning men in the House when I ask them the reasons of their conduct answer that it is not with [a] design to distress or trouble me but they ought to make a stand against the measures which the Ministry are taking to inslave them altho they were sure they were unable to carry their point." Hutchinson to Pownall, ibid.
74. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, July 21, 1772, ibid., pp.365-366.
75. Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall (?), n.p.,n.d. [1772], ibid., p.361.
76. Ibid.; Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, July 21, 1772, ibid., pp.365-368.
77. Hutchinson to Pownall, ibid., p.359.
78. The speech was an attempt to bring to a wider audience many of the ideas he had set down in the manuscript "A Dialogue between Europe and America", c.1768. In Bailyn, Hutchinson, p.204.
79. House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, pp.72-73, 127-132.
80. The Chief Justice of the Superior Court was to receive £400 per annum and the other Justices £200 each. The senior law officers were to get £150 per annum. In BGCJ, September 28, 1772, p.2/1-2.
81. Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, p.165; The Earl of Dartmouth to Thomas Hutchinson, Whitehall, September 2, 1772, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed Davies, V, p.182.
82. Samuel Adams to James Warren, Boston, November 4, 1772, Warren-Adams Papers, p.11.
83. On the formation of the committee see Miller, Sam Adams, pp.270-271 and Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774 (New York, 1970; repr. 1976), pp.45-56 and passim. Hutchinson believed the Whigs set up the committee because they could not "revive the old spirit of mobbing". Thomas Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, November 10, 1772, (private), in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, V, p.218.

84. BTR, XVIII, pp.95-108; Brown, Revolutionary Politics, pp.66-67.
85. Brown, ibid., pp.70-80.
86. The section on the "State of Rights " included a paragraph referring to the colonists rights as Christians and noted that liberty of conscience in matters of religion had been guaranteed in Massachusetts by the Charter of 1691 and in England by the Toleration Act of 1689. Specifically excluded from the benefits of toleration were the Roman Catholics and all "those who teach Doctrines subversive of the Civil Government under which they live." As well as documenting the colonists' libertarian heritage, this passage may also have been an oblique justification of the Whigs' anti-Tory tactics, given that Sam Adams's "Puritan" and "Anti-Pope" letters firmly established in Whig iconography the association between Toryism and Roman Catholic Jacobitism. The Boston Pamphlet, as Richard Brown notes (ibid., p.71), was composed by Sam Adams, James Otis and Josiah Quincy. These men, as Brown did not note, had written virulent anti-Tory propoganda in the recent past. The paragraph mentioned above is in BTR, XVIII, pp.95-96.
87. Brown, ibid., pp.66-67, 79.
88. Samuel Adams to [James Warren], Boston, December 9, 1772, Warren-Adams Papers, p.13.
89. William Brattle, MGBPA, January 4, 1773, p.1/1-3.
90. Adams observed that "The Tories are determined to play a poor [?] hand to the best Advantage; they are therefore for instructing their Representatives to prevent the Independency of the Judges taking place - but it must be done by enlarging their Salaries, which would be a tacit Acknowledgement of a Right in the Crown and making a mean Bargain. This Manouvre in my Opinion...must...be apprehended." Samuel Adams to [James Warren], Boston, December 9, 1772, Warren-Adams Papers, p.13.
91. Brattle's letters are in MGBPA, January 25, 1773, p.2/1-3 and BGCJ, January 18, 1773, p.3/1. Adams's replies are in Papers of John Adams, 6vols., ed. Robert J. Taylor (Cambridge, Mass., 1977-1983), I, pp.253-273.
92. "Q.E.D", BWNL, November 12, 1772, 3/1-2.
93. The Marblehead Protest, December 18, 1772, BEP, December 28, 1772, p.3/1.
94. In BEP, December 26, 1772, p.1/1. See the reply by the Whig William Heath in ibid., January 4, 1773, p.1/1-2, Dorr Collection IV.

95. Peter Oliver to Thomas Hutchinson, Middleborough, December 16, 1772, MA, XXVII, pp.548-549.
96. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XV, pp.291-292.
97. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, February 22, 1773, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, VI, p.89. On the nature of the towns' responses see Brown, Revolutionary Politics, pp.66-148.
98. Thomas Hutchinson to General Gage, Boston, March 7, 1773, MA, XXVII, p.461; Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, January 7, 1773, ibid., p.437.
99. Hutchinson to Dartmouth, ibid., pp.436-437. He "knew the people were more attentive to any matter which came from the Governor in this way than to any other Publications [sic]." Thomas Hutchinson to General Gage, Boston, March 7, 1773, ibid., p.461.
100. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, February 22, 1773, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, VI, p.89.
101. House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, pp.138-143.
102. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, March 10, 1773, MA, XXVII. p.465.
103. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, February 1, 1773, MA, XXVII, pp.443-444.
104. Address of the Council to Governor Hutchinson's Speech of January 6...[Boston], January 25, 1773, in Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.343-345.
105. Sam Adams wrote: "Our Governor in a manner forced the Assembly to express their Sentiments of so delicate though important a Subject as the supreme Authority of the Parliament of Great Britain over the Colonies. The Silence of the other Assemblies of late upon every Subject that concerns the joynt Interest of the Colonies, rendered it somewhat difficult to determine what to say with Propriety. As the Sense of the Colonies might possibly be drawn from what might be advanced by this Province, you will easily conceive, that the Assembly would rather have chosen to have been silent till all the Sentiments of at least Gentlemen of Eminence out of this province could be known; at the same time that Silence would have been construed as the Acknowledgement of the Governor's Principles and a Submission to the fatal Effects of them." Samuel Adams to John Dickinson, Boston, March 27, 1773, Writings of Samuel Adams, ed. Cushing, III, pp.13-14.

106. House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, pp.178-190. The other members of the committee which drafted the reply were Hancock, Bowers, Hobson, Foster, Samuel Phillips and Thayer. Ibid., p.145.
107. Thomas Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Boston, March 10, 1773, MA,XXVII, p.465.
108. House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, pp.72-73.
109. Ibid., pp.196-202, 206-208.
110. Thomas Hutchinson to General Gage, Boston, March 7, 1773, MA,XXVII, p.462.
111. House Journals, 1772-1773, XLIX, pp.229-241.
112. Payments of £250 were made to the Justices and £300 to the Chief Justice. They were backdated to January 1, and in future were to be made quarterly rather than annually. Ibid., pp.247-248, 255.
113. Ibid., pp.280-282.
114. "That in every Government there must be somewhere a supreme uncontrollable Power, an absolute Authority to decide and determine - That two such Powers cannot coexist, but necessarily will make two distinct States - That in a State of Society we give up Part of our natural Liberty in order to secure that legal Freedom which it is the great End of Government to maintain and preserve - That a Right in Individuals or Parts of a Government to judge of the Decisions of the Supreme Authority and to submit or not submit as they think proper, cannot consist with a State of Government and must work the Dissolution of it." Ibid., pp.293-299.
115. House Journals, 1773-1774, L, pp.13-14.
116. One-sixth of the replies to the Pamphlet came from towns expressing an interest in provincial and imperial politics for the first time. Brown, Revolutionary Politics, pp.92-121.
117. Ibid., p.98.
118. While Bacon had said many "handsome things" in the House about the Boston committee of correspondence, he had since turned against the Whigs and was left out of the House at the may elections. Samuel Adams to James Otis, [Boston], March 19, 1773, Boston Committee of Correspondence, Letters, New York Public Library, copies in MHS.

119. Dartmouth was "well persuaded that with the generality the seat of the disorder is rather in the head than in the heart, and therefore...cannot but entertain some hope that a time may come when it may be possible to apply with effect a remedy directed to this view of the case. Reason and argument it is true have not hitherto had that good effect which might have been expected from them, but reason and argument cannot take place where passion and prejudice prevail." The Earl of Dartmouth to Thomas Hutchinson, Whitehall, December 9, 1772, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, V, pp.239-240. Hutchinson believed the time was right to deliver his discourse. He incorporated into his address to the House a paragraph contained in Dartmouth's letter and copied out in note 114.
120. Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.218-219; Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, June 1, 1773, MA,XXVII, p.486-488.
121. Bailyn, ibid., pp.213-218; Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.165-166.
122. For a full account of the discovery and publication of the letters see Bailyn, ibid., pp.221-244.
123. House Journals, 1773-1774, L, pp.26-35; BGCJ, June 28, 1773, p.2/1. For the Tories see Appendix B. The seven moderates were: Josiah Howe (Milton), John Pickering Jr. (Salem), Jeremiah Learned (Oxford), William Tyng (Falmouth), James McCobb (Georgetown), David Ingersoll (Sheffield), David Noble (Williamstown). BGCJ, ibid. Only Learned, Tyng and Ingersoll became friends of government; the others remained loyal to the Whigs. Five councillors opposed the adoption of the resolves. Their identities are unknown. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, July 16, 1773, MA,XXVII, p.514-515.
124. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, July 3, 1773, MA,XXVII, p.507.
125. Thomas Hutchinson to ?, Boston, July 16, 1773, ibid., pp.514-515.
126. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, September [16], 1773, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, VI, p.221.
127. Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.245-248.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN:

1. Benjamin W. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party (New York and Oxford, 1964), pp.38-79. The Indemnity Act of 1767, which had allowed the Company a full drawback on duties on tea shipped to the colonies, had now expired. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, p.193.
2. Labaree, ibid.
3. Labaree, ibid., pp.106-110, 120-121; Brown, Revolutionary Politics, pp.158-161; Proceedings of the Boston Town Meeting, November 5, BGCJ, November 8, 1773, p.2/1.
4. The province newspapers reprinted articles from the New York and Philadelphia papers condemning the consignees as Tories and comparing them to the "STAMP MASTERS" of 1765. For example, "Scaevola" (Thomas Mifflin), BGCJ, October 25, 1773, p.2/1-2. When the consignees refused to obey a summons to appear at the Liberty Tree on November 3, a mob of over five hundred, including selectmen and leading Whigs such as Sam Adams and William Molineux, besieged Richard Clarke's store, where the consignees and their friends (Nathaniel Hatch, Joseph Lee, Nathaniel Cary and Henry Laughton) had taken refuge. The mob forced its way into the store, smashing windows and furniture before dispersing. A noisy crowd also interrupted a party at the Clarkes on the 17th. Accounts of the incidents are in Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.406-408; Thomas Hutchinson to William Tryon, Boston, November 21, 1773, MA,XXVII, pp.572-574; Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, n.p., November 4, 1773, Boston Tea Riots, bms.Am. 1501 (1), Houghton Library; Josiah Green Narrative, ibid., 1501 (5).
5. Benjamin Faneuil Jr., the younger Clarkes and Thomas Hutchinson Jr. took refuge in Castle William, where they were also joined by the Commissioners of Customs. Richard Clarke was at Salem, Joshua Winslow at Marshfield and Elisha Hutchinson at Middleborough. Thomas Hutchinson to William Palmer, Boston, December 9, 1773, MA,XXVII, pp.584-585; Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, p.122; Henry Hulton to Thomas ?, Castle William, December 2, 1773, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, pp.70-71.
6. Labaree, ibid., pp.125-142; L.F.S Upton, "Proceedings of Ye Body Respecting the Tea", WMQ, 22 (1965), pp.287-300, esp. pp.290-298; Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, January 5, 1773, Ms.5028, pp.153-154, Charles Steuart Papers.

7. John Adams to James Warren, Boston, December 17, 1773, Warren-Adams Papers, p.16; Samuel Adams to James Warren, Boston, December 29, 1773, ibid., pp.17-18; "Marchmont Needham" (Josiah Quincy Jr.), BGCJ, January 3, 1774, p.2/1.
8. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, pp.165-169.
9. On November 19, the consignees presented a petition to the Governor and Council asking them to take charge of the tea when it arrived, until such time as they would be able to start selling it in safety. The Council delayed replying until the 29th, thus placing the consignees in an uncomfortable position. The ten councillors present on the 29th, including moderates Danforth, Royall, Erving and Russell, unanimously approved a report prepared by radicals James Bowdoin, Samuel Dexter and John Winthrop affirming their opposition to the Tea Act and Tea Duty and refusing to give protection to the consignees. Thomas Hutchinson observed that the members were of the opinion that the consignees should resign and that the tea should not be landed. "Documents Drawn from the Papers of Richard Clarke, 1762-1774", PCSM, 8 (1902-1904), pp.82-83; Council Records, pp.741-749; Thomas Hutchinson to William Tryon, Boston, November 21, 1773, MA, XXVII, pp.572-574.
10. Committee of the Council (John Erving, William Brattle, James Pitts and James Bowdoin) to William Bollan, Boston, December 20, 1773, "Bowdoin-Temple Papers", p.332.
11. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, December 24, 1773, MA, XXVII, p.603.
12. Isaac Royall to the Earl of Dartmouth, Medford, January 18, 1774, Procs.MHS, 1st ser., 13 (1873-1875), pp.179-182.
13. Thomas Hutchinson to the Directors of the East India Company, Boston, December 19, 1773, MA, XXVII, pp.297-299; Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, pp.125-142.
14. Such was the view of Henry Hulton. He believed the province verged on "Anarchy", with "narrow and illiberal" ideas holding sway and a growth in "disrespect [shown] towards all distinctions of rank and authority". Henry Hulton to ?, n.p., January 8, 1774, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, p.80.
15. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, January 5, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.153-154, Charles Steuart Papers.
16. Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, December 18, 1773, MA, XXVII, pp.586-588; Hutchinson to Dartmouth, Boston, December 24, 1773, ibid., p.603. John Adams was one Whig who feared a conservative-moderate backlash against Boston. "Threats, Phantoms, Bugbears, by/

16. by the million, will be invented and propagated among the People upon this occasion - Individuals will be threatned... Armies and Navies will be talked of...Charters annull'd, Treason-Tryals in England and all that - But - these Terms, are all but Imaginations, - Yet if they should become Realities they had better be Suffered than the great Principle of Parliamentary Taxation given up." John Adams to James Warren, Boston, December 17, 1773, Warren-Adams Papers, p.16.
17. A copy of the Plymouth Protest is attached to BGCJ, December 27, 1773, p.4, Dorr Collection, IV, p.421.
18. Seventeen were for quitting the sale of all tea but did not subscribe; 11 "were for quitting provided it became general"; 9 declared against dutied tea only; 4 refused to give a satisfactory answer; 7 others were absent from town or never gave an answer. A List of Principal Dealers in Tea, Agreement of Non-Importation, Boston, January n.d., 1774, MHS.
19. Freetown, BWNL, February 10, 1774, p.1/1-2; Pittsfield in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, p.652; Falmouth in ibid., XIV, p.372.
20. A copy of the Resolves is in Lysander S. Richards, History of Marshfield, 2 vols. (Plymouth, Mass., 1901-1905), I, pp.102-103. The committee members were Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Dr. Isaac Winslow, Elisha Ford, Seth Bryant, William Stevens, John Baker, Ephraim Little, in BGCJ, February 7, 1774, p.2/2-3.
21. Albert A. Lovell, Worcester in the War of the Revolution... 1765-1783 (Worcester, Mass., 1876), p.29.
22. Barnabas Hedge, BGCJ Supplement, December 27, 1773, p.1/3; Samuel Adams to James Warren, Boston, December 29, 1773, Warren-Adams papers, pp.17-18.
23. The thirteen recanters are named in EG, January 25-February 1, 1774, p.1/2. The non-recanters are named in BGCJ, March 28, 1774, p.2/2. Fifteen subscribed to a paper which read: "We Signed the Recantations...from a Sense of Duty, and from a clear Conviction of the great Impropriety of our having Protested against the Proceedings of the Town [of Plymouth], as well as those of...Boston." In BGCJ, February 14, 1774, p.3/1.
24. Samuel Adams to James Warren, Boston, January 10, 1774, Warren-Adams Papers, p.20.
25. The Whig protest was approved by the town meeting on February 23 and is in BGCJ, February 28, 1774, p.1/2.

26. Henry Hulton to Thomas ?, n.p., March 15, 1774, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, pp.84-85.
27. They hoped that if Britain took action against the Boston radicals it would precipitate widespread defections from the protest movement. "The Friends of Government,... if they dare to show themselves, are afraid, that instead of resenting this last daring affront [the Boston Tea Party], the administration will pass it over as they have done many others, & will promote the repeal of the Tea Duty in order to restore tranquility to the Colonies. I do not know what Effect it might have in the other Colonies, but this I am sure of, that whoever perswades the Ministry that yielding this point will quiet us will grossly deceive them". Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, January 5, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.153-154, Charles Steuart Papers.
28. The Judges reported that their salaries from the Crown would be backdated to July 1772. The awards from the General Court were for the year ending January, 1773. Hence, the Judges believed they could only accept that part of the province grant covering the first six months of 1772. In House Journals, 1773-1774, L, pp.86-90.
29. Ibid., p.106.
30. Ibid., pp.113, 117.
31. Foster Hutchinson was required to re-write his reply before it was accepted. Ropes was also asked to sign his paper again after Richard Derby Jr. had first presented it to the House. In Ibid., pp.136-139.
32. Peter Oliver to the House of Representatives, n.p., February n.d., 1774, Robert Treat Paine Papers, MHS and House Journals, 1773-1774, L, p.198.
33. The other moderates who joined the friends of government were Jeremiah Learned, William Tyng and Mark Hopkins. House Journals, ibid., pp.149-150.
34. Ibid., pp.153-154; "E. Ludlow" to Peter Oliver, BEP, January 24, 1774, p.2/1. For Oliver's attitudes and role in the affair see Thomas Weston, "Peter Oliver, The Last Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay", NEHGR, 40 (1886), pp.241-252, 352-356.
35. House Journals, ibid., pp.162, 167, 173.
36. Ibid., pp.182-183.

37. The eight were Tories Jones, White, Edson and Gilbert, and moderates Jeremiah Learned, William Tyng, Samuel March and Edward Bacon. In Ibid., pp.194-204.
38. Ibid., p.205.
39. Ibid., pp.210-217.
40. Ibid., pp.232-236.
41. Committee of the Council to William Bollan, n.p., March 30, 1774, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, microfilm reel 47.
42. John Adams and Abigail Adams to James Warren, Boston, April 9, 1774, Warren-Adams Papers, p.22.
43. Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.269, 273.
44. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, pp.170-184; Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.186-188.
45. Christie and Labaree, ibid.
46. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, pp.183-184. A copy of the Port Act was printed in BGCJ, May 16, 1774, p.4.
47. Labaree, ibid., pp.170-216; Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.183-195.
48. Labaree, ibid.; Christie and Labaree, ibid.
49. Christie and Labaree, ibid., p.189.
50. John Rowe Diary, p.269. The Port Act was published in BGCJ, May 16, 1774, p.1. The Administration of Justice Act is in ibid., June 6, 1774, p.2/1-2 and the Massachusetts Government Act is the same issue, pp.2/2-3.
51. Opposition was slight and came principally from the Rockingham Whigs, in particular William Dowdeswell, Sir George Savile, General Henry Conway and Edmund Burke. The majority of moderates and "friends" of America approved the introduction of the Coercive Acts. The government's supporters defeated a motion by 182 votes to 49 to repeal the Townshend Duty on tea, although the debate was notable for Edmund Burke's spirited defence of colonial rights. While they disagreed strongly on the nature, extent and exercise of Parliamentary authority in America, most contributors to the debates in Parliament and the newspapers did not compromise on the supremacy of the British legislature in the colonies. In Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, pp.186, 197-201; Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.186-195./

51. pp.186-195. Parliamentary debates on the introduction of the Port Act and Massachusetts Government Act were reported in BGCJ, May 16, 1774, p.1.
52. William Bollan presented a petition to the House of Commons on behalf of Boston while the members were about to take a vote on the Port Bill. The House refused to hear the petition by 170 votes to 40 on the grounds that Bollan did not represent the Massachusetts General Court but only the Council. The petition was eventually read in the House of Lords. The Commons did, however, admit a petition against the Port Bill from thirty-nine Americans resident in London, including Bostonians John Boylston and Josiah Quincy Jr. In Labaree, ibid., pp.188, 202; William Bollan to John Erving, William Brattle, James Bowdoin, and James Pitts, Covent Garden, April 1, 1774, Miscellaneous Bound MSS; William Bollan to the same, Covent Garden, April 30, 1774, ibid.; "Petition of the Native Americans Residing in London, to His Majesty George III in 1774", NEHGR, 19 (1865), p.21.
53. Labaree, ibid., pp.219-220; Brown, Revolutionary Politics, p.188.
54. "Letters of John Andrews, 1772-1776", Procs.MHS, 1st ser., 8 (1864-1865), p.329; Brown, Revolutionary Politics, p.189.
55. For example, on May 16, John Andrews wrote that "nothing will save us but an entire stoppage of trade, both to England and the West Indies, throughout the continent." "Letters of John Andrews", p.327.
56. Henry Hulton noted that Erving opposed the Boston town meeting's decision to proscribe the tea consignees and continued in his opposition to the Whigs during the Tea controversy. "The Gentleman who has shown the most spirit in opposing these measures is G.E." Henry Hulton to Thomas ?, Castle William, December 2, 1773, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, pp.70-71.
57. The Amorys wrote: "The Grievances we complain of are real: the taking away our Charter Rights, the subjection of our Property to the King's Pleasure, & those who may murder us being rendered not amenable to any Tribunal of Justice in America, are too glaring Attacks upon our political as well as natural Rights, not to be felt by the most dull & stupid." John and Jonathan Amory to ?, Boston, September 17, 1774, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, pp.192-193. They believed that "A Subordination to Parliament in Regard to [the] Regulation of Trade is universally consider'd as necessary for the Good of both Countries," but asserted that "no Sufferings" would "induce the Colonies to acknowledge a Right in Parliament to tax us at Pleasure." John/

57. John and Jonathan Amory to Mark Huish, Boston, May 30, 1774, pp.182-183. Another dissident, Harrison Gray, like the Amorys supported the legislative supremacy of Parliament to regulate colonial commerce, but not to tax Americans directly. He wanted the Coercive Acts repealed "provided it could be done consistent with the Honor & dignity of Parliments [sic]." Harrison Gray to ?, [Boston], August 20, 1775, "Letters of Harrison Gray and Harrison Gray Jr., of Massachusetts", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 8 (1901), p.229.
58. In January, the rate of exchange for colonial currency to sterling was 2.5 per cent above par. John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Harrison and Ashley, [Boston], Janusry 25, 1774, in Meredith, ibid.
59. The Amorys were not prepared to wait on the deliberations and decisions of other colonies and decided to take their fate into their own hands: "Those who have the lead here buoy up the Minds of the People with the Expectation of the Concurrence of the other Colonies in some measures for our Relief & think it is best to take no step without their Advice & Co-operation." John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Harrison and Ashley, Boston, May 30, 1774, in ibid., p.183.
60. "Letters of John Andrews", p.329. For his efforts, Erving had his house smeared with "Hillsborough paint." With a wry humour, he informed the perpetrators, via the province newspapers, that he was "not insensible of the di-STINK-tion they have shewn me, and therefore request, that the next visit of this sort they make me, however late it may be, that they would knock me up, and that I may entertain them according to their real merits." Quoted in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIV, pp.151-152.
61. "Letters of John Andrews," p.327. One may speculate on the possibility that support for Amory's proposal might have been greater had Samuel Adams and the radicals not suppressed the contents of a letter from Benjamin Franklin, dated February 2, in which he urged the Whigs to pay for the tea they had destroyed. The letter is mentioned in Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, p.221.
62. Brown, Revolutionary Politics, p.189.
63. For example: "The late agitations about liberty, has set the common people & youth loose from all restraint. [T]he authority of the parent, & master, & of the Minister, & Magistrate is lost." Henry Hulton to Samuel ?, n.p., May 24, 1774, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, pp.91-92.
64. It was noted that "There is scarcely any one, even among the highest Tories that does not consider the last Act of/

64. of Parliament [the Port Act] as most cruel & inhumane as it involves the innocent & Guilty without Distinction in the same Calamity." John and Jonathan Amory to Mark Huish, Boston, May 30, 1774, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.182. Harrison Gray observed that the Port Act "serves only to co-operate with the Rebels to starve & ruin the friends of Government who reside in Boston." Harrison Gray to ?, [Boston], August 20, 1775, in "Letters of Harrison Gray and Harrison Gray Jr.", p.229. Tories such as Henry Caner and Peter Oliver would have preferred the British government to have arrested the Whigs responsible for the Tea Party. The Massachusetts Government Act fulfilled the wishes of some Tories respecting constitutional reform. But again, it was a grossly unpopular measure to have defended successfully in public. In Henry Caner to Governor Wentworth, [Boston], June 14, 1774, in Henry Caner Letterbook, p.158; Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion, p.113.
65. As the moderate John Andrews put it: "[to] acknowledge and ask forgiveness for all past offences, whether we have been guilty of any or no; give up the point so long contested; and acknowledge the right of parliament to d[am]n us whenever they please....When that is done, where are we? Why, in much the same situation as before, without one flattering hope of relief." "Letters of John Andrews", p.328.
66. A copy of the address is in Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.124-125. Hutchinson mediated with Lord North's government in an attempt to have the Port Act repealed. He encouraged George Erving to circulate a subscription in favour of compensating the East India Company. (It has not come to light.) Thomas Hutchinson to George Erving, n.p., July 20, 1774, in Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, ed. Hutchinson, I, pp.189-191; Thomas Hutchinson to [George Erving], n.p., September 24, 1774, Egerton MSS, 2661, p.59, British Library.
67. BGCJ, May 30, 1774, p.1/1-3.
68. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, May 30, 1774, Ms.5028, p.204, Charles Steuart Papers.
69. Copies of all the addresses are in Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.124-131. All were published in the province newspapers, except that to Hutchinson from his neighbours at Milton. Stark wrongly dates The Address to Governor Gage from the Merchants and Others of Boston, June 12, 1774, ibid. Gage was presented with this address on June 8 by a committee comprising Harrison Gray, Thomas Gray, John Erving Jr., George Erving, Richard/

69. Richard Lechmere, John Timmons, Joshua Winslow, Francis Green, James Forrest and James Anderson. In John Rowe Diary, pp.273-274. It was published in the BGCJ, June 13, 1774, p.4.
70. Daniel Leonard observed that "a very considerable proportion were persons that had of choice kept themselves at a distance from the political vortex." "Massachusettensis", MGBPA, January 2, 1775, p.2/1.
71. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, July 6, 1774, Ms.5028, p.226, Charles Steuart Papers.
72. Richard Lechmere, a distiller-merchant of Taunton and Boston, complained that there would now be "a total stagnation of every kind of Business", leaving "nine tenths of the Inhabitants...wretchedly miserable, and to add to our misery, I do not see the least disposition among our Vile Sons [of Liberty] to take any Steps to relieve our distresses, but it is with pleasure I can say, that the friends of Governm[en]^t have now dared to show themselves, by Addressing Gov[erno]^r Hutchinson in a suitable manner." Richard Lechmere to Lane Son & Frazer & Co., Boston, May 30, 1774, Miscellaneous Bound MSS.
73. BTR, XVIII, p.176.
74. See p.491, note 3.
75. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, pp.227-235; Ammerman, In the Common Cause, pp.19-33.
76. Brown, Revolutionary Politics, p.191; Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.218-219.
77. The title of the agreement and pledge required of subscribers followed closely the Solemn League and Covenant drawn up in Edinburgh in 1643 by the Scottish protestants. The Scottish Covenanters promised to defend the reformed religion and extirpate Popery, and engaged with the English protestants in a mutual defence pact. In this instance, the analogy between Scotland and America has not gone unnoticed (Brown, ibid., pp.191-192) - except in one respect: the Solemn League and Covenant of 1774 expressed the radicals' firm determination to stamp out Toryism in much the same spirit as the Scottish Covenanters pledged to destroy Roman Catholicism. The Boston Covenant continued the radical anti-Toryism of the Boston Pamphlet of 1772. Copies of the Boston Covenant and the committee's covering letter are in Albert Matthews, "The Solemn League and Covenant, 1774", PCSM, 18 (1915-1916), pp.103-122. For an eighteenth-century view of the Scottish Covenanters that/

77. that was popular in the colonies see David Hume, The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688, 3 vols. (London, 1763; repr., 1786), III, pp.306-307.
78. Brown, ibid, pp.190-191; Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, p.225; Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, pp.218-219.
79. Merchants also feared that the radicals would urge people to withhold repayments of debts to Britain and to merchants trading with Britain. Th Amorys, for example, owed £11,195 to British firms which they needed to recoup from their debtors in Massachusetts. Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.188.
80. "P.R.", MGBPA, June 13, 1774, p.1/3.
81. Henry Hulton to ?, n.p., June 19, 1774, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, p.94.
82. These men had been having discussions with the Amorys since June 3. John Rowe Diary, pp.273-274.
83. "Letters of John Andrews", p.329.
84. New York wrote Boston on June 7 and Philadelphia replied on June 11. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, pp.241, 244.
85. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, July 6, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.226-227, Charles Steuart Papers. John Andrews claimed that he did not know a single person who had signed the Covenant. "Letters of John Andrews", p.330
86. John Rowe Diary, p.275.
87. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, pp.225-226; Brown, Revolutionary Politics, p.193.
88. [Harrison Gray], The Two Congresses Cut Up (New York, 1774), pp.1-8.
89. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, July 6, 1774, Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5028, p.227. The town records noted that the vote passed "with only one Dissentient". BTR, XVIII, pp.176-177.
90. BTR, XVIII, pp.176-177.
91. The battle lines had been drawn in Boston when Governor Gage vetoed twelve of the councillors elected by the House and refused to accept the House's answer to his opening speech, for/

91. for it cast aspersions on the administrations of his predecessors. Speeches of the Governors, ed Bradford, pp.414-415; House Journals, 1774-1775, LI, p.8; Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, pp.63-64.
92. Speeches of the Governors, ed Bradford, pp.415-417.
93. Memorandum of Robert Treat Paine, n.p., June n.d., 1774, Robert Treat Paine Papers.
94. Ibid.; Speeches of the Governors, ed. Bradford, pp.416-417.
95. BTR, XVIII, pp.176-177. It was noted that it was "perhaps the largest assembly ever conven'd here." "Letters of John Andrews", p.331. The biggest so far had been on the night of the Tea Party.
96. Jonathan Williams to John Adams, Boston, June 28, 1774, John Adams Papers, MHS.
97. Quotation from ibid. Accounts of the proceedings are in BTR, XVIII, pp.176-177 and BGCJ, July 4, 1774, p.2/2-3.
98. Williams to Adams, ibid.; BTR, ibid, p.177; Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, July 6, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.226-227, Charles Steuart Papers.
99. "Letters of John Andrews", pp.330-331; Williams to Adams, ibid.; BGCJ, July 4, 1774, p.2/3.
100. "Letters of John Andrews ",pp.330-331.
101. Eliot's speech reported in ibid., p.331. The other speakers were noted in Jonh Rowe Diary, pp.276-277.
102. Rowe believed the committee of correspondence had "exceeded their Power" in drawing up the Covenant, in John Rowe Diary, pp.276-277. Andrews was placed in a similar situation. However, he "did not expect the vote would have been put as it was; i.e. to censure and dismiss ye Committee; but rather expected it would tend only to order them to suspend ye Covenant till ye Congress should meet". "Letters of John Andrews", p.331.
103. John Rowe Diary, p.276; Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, July 6, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.226-227, Charles Steuart Papers; BGCJ, July 4, 1774, p.2/3.
104. Their membership is noted in Brown, Revolutionary Politics, p.197.

105. BTR, XVIII. pp.177-178.
106. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, July 6, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.226-227, Charles Steuart Papers.
107. Ibid.
108. BTR, XVIII, p.178. Protestors against the vote of approval were "bore down by numbers". Henry Hulton to Rev. ?, n.p., July 6, 1774, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, p.99.
109. Copies of the Protest and subscription list are in BGCJ, June 27, 1774, p.4/1-2, Dorr Collection, IV, p.523, and "Protestors against the Solemn League and Covenant", Procs.MHS, 1st ser., 11 (1869-1870), pp.394-395.
110. Unfortunately, the occupations of most of these men are unknown, and this suggestion cannot be substantiated.
111. Copies are in BGCJ, June 27, 1774, p.4 and Dorr Collection, IV, p.523.
112. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, p.227.
113. Nathaniel Noyes to William Henshaw, Boston, July 13, 1774, NEHGR, 43 (1889), p.144.
114. Few towns were prepared to risk precipitating political disputes over the enforcement of the Covenant. Brown, Revolutionary Poltics, pp.199-203.
115. "Praedicus", BGCJ, July 25, 1774, p.3/1.
116. ? to Messrs. T. and J. Fleet, n.p., July 14, 1774, I. Walcutt Papers, MHS.
117. James Warren to Samuel Adams, Plymouth, July 1 and 10, 1774, Samuel Adams Papers, NYPL and Sibley's Harvard Graduate, X, p.102. John Winslow and the Judges of the Inferior Court of Plymouth County planned to deliver an address to Thomas Hutchinson in England. Nothing came of their plans, probably because Winslow soon died. In BGCJ, August 8, 1774, p.4/1.
118. George Sheldon, A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts, 2 vols. (Deerfield, Mass., 1895-1896; repr. 1972), II, pp.678-679.
119. Copies of all documents relating to the dispute have been reprinted in Lovell, Worcester in the War of the Revolution, pp.34-35. On the differences between the Boston and Worcester Covenants see Matthews, "The Solemn League and Covenant, 1774", pp.113-115.

120. Lovell, ibid.

121. Letters of a Loyalist Lady, p.73.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN:

1. Paul H. Smith, "The American Loyalists: Notes On Their Organization and Numerical Strength", WMQ, 25 (1968), pp.259-277. The Loyalists frequently exaggerated their strength. Thirty-one Massachusetts Loyalists wrongly claimed that the "greater number" of colonists entertained the "firmest attachment and Allegiance" to the Crown. Petition [of the Massachusetts Loyalists] to George III, [London], July 6, 1776, in Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, p.307. John Mein asserted that less than a quarter of Americans were Patriots and that most were Loyalists. Sagittarius's Letters (Boston, 1775), p.39. The statistic for the emigration of the Loyalists is from Maldwyn Jones, The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1980 (Oxford and New York, 1983), p.48.
2. Nelson, American Tory, pp.57-88; Brown, Good Americans, pp.226-229; Philip Ranlet, The New York Loyalists (Knoxville, Tenn., 1986), p.16.
3. Patterson, Political Parties, pp.91-100; Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, pp.344-346; Noble, Divisions Throughout the Whole, pp.170-176; Lee Nathaniel Newcomer, The Embattled Farmers: A Massachusetts Countryside in the American Revolution (New York, 1933), pp.32-48.
4. Brown, Revolutionary Politics, p.212.
5. The Boston committee of correspondence fully expected "that a uniformity of Conduct may take place thro ye province with Respect to ye Act[s], & every Person whether Councillor Judge Justice Sheriff Juror or Attorney who shall presume to carry into Execution such a flagrant piece of Injustice, be convinced that he from that Time will become obnoxious to his injur'd Countrymen, & that every legal Step will be used by ye Community to resist ye Injury. Surely no Government can proceed in its Measures, when ye whole oppose; & there will be probably no great Difficulty to rivet in ye Minds of ye Collective Body suitable Sentiments against...all...[the] Train which shall endeavour to carry these unjust Acts into Execution." Boston Committee of/

5. of Correspondence to the Committee of Correspondence of Marblehead, Boston, July 28, 1774, Boston Committee of Correspondence Letters.
6. Berkshire in BGCJ, July 25, 1774, p.1/1-2; Worcester in ibid., September 5, 1774, p.1/3.
7. One Tory wrote that "to violate all the Laws of Society to Insult, Abuse their fellow Subjects deprive them of their Liberty & the Rights of English Men & even of Men and that under pretence of Supporting & Securing Liberty is such an Inconsistent Jumble of Ideas as one would think could ever be Collected in the head of a Madman."
Samuel Fitch to Thomas Allen, n.p., July 11, 1774, U.S. Revolution MSS II, AAS.
8. "Letters of John Andrews", p.337.
9. The list of councillors is in Additional Instructions to General Gage, n.p., May 20, 1774, in "Documents Relating to the Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council, 1774-1776", PCSM, 32 (1933-1937), pp.465-466.
John Erving Sr.'s name was added to the list in place of Judge William Cushing, in The Earl of Dartmouth to General Gage, Whitehall, June 3, 1774, ibid., pp.468-469.
Thomas Hutchinson played no part in the selection procedure, for he did not arrive in England until June 29. Baily, Hutchinson, pp.274-280.
10. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Salem, August 27, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", pp.470-471.
11. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Salem, August 25, 1774, ibid., p.473; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XII, p.154.
In the end, his decision was no doubt greatly influenced by the fact that between 1771 and 1774 he had made loans to the Massachusetts government totalling £18, 648.
At a rate of compound interest, this amount was worth £32,000 in 1783. [^] A List of Notes Reloaned the Government by John Erving, n.d. [1787?], David Greenough Papers, Box 5, MHS.
12. [Israel Williams] to [General Gage], n.p., August 10, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", pp.472-473. Worthington "gave the same reasons" as Williams for refusing the commission. "From the reputation of his abilities, firmness and influence, [he] is of more loss than all the rest who have refused". General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Salem, August 25, 1774, ibid., p.473.
13. "Letters of John Andrews", p.338; Nathaniel Coffin to Charles/

13. Charles Steuart, Boston, August 27, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.261-264, Charles Steuart Papers; General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Salem, August 27, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", p.471.
14. This was recognised by Henry Hulton: "It is a bad presage, where [meaning, when] Men of property, who are appointed to the posts of honour & authority, shrink back, and betray a timidity of spirit. [T]ill the resolves of the [British] Government are known on the proceedings of the [Continental] Congress I have little expectation of any spirited measures being taken by the advice of [the] Council." Henry Hulton to ?, n.p., August 12, 1774, Henry Hulton Letterbooks, I, pp.100-101. Nathaniel Coffin was also sceptical of the councillors' resolve. Before he saw the list of councillors, he predicted that "the Council will consist of Persons scattered all over the Province, & who have been considered as friends to government, & who formerly had the greater weight in the several Counties where they reside". "God knows they have little or none now", he commented. "Who in his Senses would accept of a place that is not attended with any one emolument, & which would expose a person to all...Evils." Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, July 6, 1774, Ms.5028, p.227, Charles Steuart Papers.
15. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Salem, August 27, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", p.471.
16. Daniel Leonard to General Gage, Boston, August 31, 1774, ibid., pp.481-482.
17. "Mr. Loring's Narrative", Boston, August 31, 1774, ibid., pp.480-481; William Pepperell to General Gage, Boston, August 31, 1774, ibid., pp.482-483; Daniel Murray to John Murray, Rutland, August 28, 1774, ibid., pp.478-479; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XVII, p.563; Edward P. Coffin, "Some Historical Nôtes About 'Tory' John Murray and his Family", Worcester Historical Society, Publications new series 2 (1940), pp.233-246; "Letters of John Andrews", pp.349-350; D. Kingman to T. and J. Fleet, Bridgewater, September 16, 1774, T. Walcutt Papers, MHS.
18. Timothy Paine to General Gage, Worcester, August 27, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", pp.476-478.
19. Lovell, Worcester in the War of the Revolution, pp.37-42. William Campbell recanted later, in EG, July 13-21, 1775, p.1/2. Three protestors are unaccounted for.

20. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Salem, July 5, 1774, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, VIII, p.141; Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, p.12.
21. Salem Committee of Correspondence to the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Salem, August 25, 1774, Boston Committee of Correspondence Letters; Thomas Flucker to Timothy Pickering, Salem, August 24, 1774, Pickering Papers, MHS; BGCJ Supplement, August 29, 1774, p.2/1; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XI, pp.401-403.
22. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, p.20. Brattle defended his actions in a letter to the press, MGBPA, August 29-September 5, 1774, p.2/1.
23. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, September 2, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", p.474.
24. Proceedings of the Council on August 31, 1774, ibid., pp.475-476. See also, Gage to Dartmouth, ibid., pp.474-475.
25. The letters to Gage are listed in note 17. For example, Daniel Murray informed Gage that the "few troops" he had under his command the Whigs "consider as nothing; therefore, I hope none will be sent, as it would throw us all into the greatest confusion." Daniel Murray to John Murray, Rutland, August 28, 1774, ibid., pp.478-479. Timothy Paine also "dread[ed] the consequence" of enforcing the Coercive Acts "by a Military Power". Timothy Paine to General Gage, Worcester, August 27, 1774, ibid., p.478.
26. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, September 2, 1774, ibid, pp.474-475.
27. "Letters of John Andrews", pp.358-359. Commissioner Hallowell was pursued by a mob along the road to Boston and was fired at. In Benjamin Hallowell to Grey Cooper, Boston, September 5, 1774, (private), in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, VIII, pp.187-191.
28. Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, pp.346-347.
29. "Letters of John Andrews", pp.357-359; John and Jonathan Amory to Messrs. Harrison and Ansley, Boston, September 3, 1774, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, p.189; Thomas Oliver to the Earl of Dartmouth, Cambridge, September 3, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", pp.485-486.
30. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, September 2, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", p.474; Gage to Dartmouth, Boston, September 3, 1774, ibid., p.484;/

30. p.484; "Letters of John Andrews", pp.346, 349; Amos Adams to Mr. Fleet, Roxbury, September 3, 1774, American Revolutionary MSS.
31. EG, September 6-13, 1774, p.2/3.
32. Willard's recantation took place on August 25 and is in BEP, September 5, 1774, p.2/2.
33. Joseph Lee to General Gage, Cambridge, September 1, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", p.483.
34. The Earl of Dartmouth to General Gage, Whitehall, October 17, 1774, ibid., pp.490-491. Gage approached Eliakim Hutchinson with a view to recruiting him for the Council, but Hutchinson declined the offer. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, September 2, 1774, ibid., pp.483-484. The remaining councillors were ridiculed by the Whig playwright Mercy Warren in "The Group". For example, Timothy Ruggles was "Brigadier Hateall", Daniel Leonard was "Beau Trumps" and Nathaniel Ray Thomas was "Simple Sapling Esq.". In BGCJ, January 23, 1775, p.2.
35. Brown, Revolutionary Politics, pp.216-218; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XVII, pp.9-11 and XV, p.495.
36. BGCJ, September 12, 1774, pp.1,4 and September 19, 1774, p.2/3; EG, September 6-13, 1774, p.1/1. This policy was approved by conventions in other counties: Cumberland on September 22, in BGCJ, October 10, 1774, p.4; Bristol on October 2, in ibid., September 22, 1774, p.3, Dorr Collection IV, p.584; Plymouth on October 7, in ibid., October 10, 1774, p.2; Barnstable on November 16, ibid., November 28, 1774, p.1.
37. On Williams and Worthington see Nobles, Divisions Throughout the Whole, pp.166-167. A mob of three hundred made Elisha Jones "walk through their Ranks with his Hat off and express his Sorrow for past offences and promise not to be guilty of the like for the future". In BGCJ, September 12, 1774, p.2/2. Frye was obliged to resign his JP's commission out of "necessity", because his family was suffering from the decision of the people of Salem not to sell him any provisions. In "Letters of John Andrews", p.357.
38. BGCJ, Supplement, September 5, 1774, p.1.
39. The Easton recantations are in BGCJ, September 12, 1774, p.4/2. The six addressers were Eliphalet Pond, John Fowle, John White, David Gorham, Shearjashub Bourne and John Prentice. Their recantations are in BGCJ, ibid., p.4; BEP, September 5, 1774, p.2/3; MGBPA, November 17, 1774, p.4/1; Massachusetts Spy, October 24, 1774, p.2. See/

39. See Appendix A.
40. Resolutions of the Marblehead town meeting are in EG, January 31-February 7, 1775, pp.1-2. The recantations are in ibid., May 25-June 1, 1775, p.2/3.
41. Eliphalet Pond, a trader of Suffolk County who had signed an address to Hutchinson, was visited by a "considerable number" of his neighbours and apologised for his conduct being so "disagreeable and offensive". He was asked his opinion on the question of whether Parliament "had just right to impose what Taxes they pleased on the Colonies", to which he answered in the negative. Thus satisfied, the crowd withdrew. Eliphalet Pond to [T. and J. Fleet], n.p., September 9, 1774, T. Walcutt Papers.
42. Brown, Revolutionary Politics, pp.210-236.
43. James Murray to Charles Steuart, Brush Hill, September 18, 1774, Charles Steuart Papers, Ms.5028, pp.256-257.
44. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, September 27, 1774, ibid., pp.261-264.
45. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, December 10, 1774, ibid., pp.283-284.
46. James Murray to Charles Steuart, Brush Hill, September 18, 1774, ibid., pp.256-257.
47. John and Jonathan Amory to ?, Boston, September 17, 1774, in Meredith, Descendants of Hugh Amory, pp.192-193.
48. Harrison Gray to Thomas Hutchinson, n.p., October 27, 1774, Photostat, MHS.
49. By the end of August 1774, all the thirteen colonies, except Georgia, had voted to support the Congress and send delegates. Ammerman, In the Common Cause, pp.35-47.
50. For a discussion of the debates and resolutions of the Congress see ibid., pp.35-88. A copy of the Continental Association was published in BGCJ, November 7, 1774, p.1.
51. [Thomas Bradbury Chandler], The American Querist: Or, Some Questions Proposed Relative to The Present Disputes Between Great-Britain and Her American Colonies,... (New York, 1774). Approximately twenty major Loyalist pamphlets were published in the eighteen months following the meeting of the first Congress. A full list can be found in James E. Mooney, "Loyalist Imprints Printed in/

51. in America, 1774-1785", in A Bibliography of Loyalist Source Material in The United States, Canada, and Great Britain, ed. Gregory Palmer (London, 1982), pp.885-997.
52. [Daniel Leonard], Massachusettsis (Boston, 1775; 3rd ed. London, 1776); [John Adams], "Novanglus", in Works of John Adams, 10 vols., ed. Charles Francis Adams (Boston, 1850-1856), IV, pp.111-181.
53. [Harrison Gray], The Two Congresses Cut Up (Boston, 1774) and A Few Remarks Upon Some of the Votes and Resolutions Of the Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia in September, and the Provincial Congress held at Cambridge in November, 1774 ([Boston], 1775); Sir Roger De Coverly (Jonathan Sewall) A Cure For The Spleen, Or Amusement For A Winter's Evening... (America, 1775); [Jacob Bailey], The Association...of the Delegates of the Colonies ([Philadelphia], 1775), authorship attributed by Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIII, p.525.
54. [Thomas Bradbury Chandler], What Think Ye of The Congress Now? Or an Enquiry How Far the Americans Are Bound to Abide by and Execute the Decisions of the late Congress (New York, 1775), pp.14,40.
55. [Thomas Bradbury Chandler], A Friendly Address To All Reasonable Americans, On The Subject of Our Political Confusions... (New York and Boston, 1774), pp.29-30; [Samuel Seabury], The Congress Canvassed: Or An Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates, At Their Grand Convention, Held in Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1774, Addressed to the Merchants of New York (New York, 1774), pp.12-13.
56. The New York writers maintained that in some parts of their province no more than one person in a hundred actually voted for representatives to the convention which elected the delegates to Congress. Chandler, Friendly Address, p.13; Seabury, Congress Canvassed, p.9; [Samuel Seabury], A View of the Controversy Between Great-Britain and her Colonies...In a Letter to the Author of A Full Vindication (New York, 1774), p.7; [Isaac Wilkins], Short Advice to the Counties of New York (New York, 1774), pp.14-15.
57. Galloway's Plan of Union, which involved the setting up of an American Parliament subordinate to Britain, was published in his A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great-Britain and the Colonies: with a Plan of Accommodation on Constitutional Principles (New York, 1775). This and other schemes for the reform of the empire are discussed at length in Julian P. Boyd, Anglo-American Union: Joseph Galloway's Plans to Preserve the British Empire, 1774-1788 (Philadelphia, 1941). Galloway's proposals were not original/

57. original, but they and other schemes designed to resolve the dispute were supported and encouraged by the Loyalist pamphleteers. Potter, The Liberty We Seek, pp.103-150 and passim.
58. Adams, "Novanglus", in Works of John Adams, ed. Adams, IV, pp.105-108, 122-138, 169-170.
59. "If...we are a part of the British empire," wrote Daniel Leonard, "we must be subject to the supreme power of the state, which is vested in the estates of parliament, notwithstanding each of the colonies have legislative and executive powers of their own delegated or granted to them for the purpose of regulating their own internal police, which are subordinate, and must necessarily be subject to the checks, controul, and regulation of the supreme authority." Taxation, for example, ought to be "apportioned throughout the whole empire according the abilities of the several parts [to pay]; as the claim of each to protection is equal: a refusal to yield the former is as unjust as the with-holding the latter." In Massachusettsensis, pp.40-41. Similar views may be found in Chandler, American Querist, p.18 and Seabury, View of the Controversy, p.15.
60. Leonard, Massachusettsensis, p.83.
61. Quotation from Gray, A Few Remarks, pp.3-4. Defences of the Coercive Acts are in Chandler, What Think Ye, p.15; idem., Friendly Address, p.46; Seabury, Congress Canvassed, pp.13-14,22; [Samuel Seabury], Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia Sept. 5, 1774... ([New York], 1774), pp.10-12.
62. [Alexander Hamilton], A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress... in The Papers of Alexander Hamilton, ed. Syrett, I, pp.52-53, 57, 63-64,; idem., The Farmer Refuted: or, A more impartial and comprehensive View of the Dispute between Great-Britain and the Colonies..., in ibid., pp.134-141. Of course, the very act and language of supplication was subservient and unappealing (although Congress did petition the King), see Bushman, King and People, p.41. One Loyalist writer criticised Seabury for suggesting a scheme which "includes every idea of servility." [Richard Wells], The Middle Line... (Philadelphia, 1775), p.26.
63. Hamilton, Full Vindication, in Papers of Alexander Hamilton, ed. Syrett, I, pp.52-55; Hamilton, The Farmer Refuted, in ibid., pp.143-144.
64. Seabury. Free Thoughts, pp.5-6.

65. [Henry Barry], The Advantages Which America Derives From Her Commerce, Connexion and Dependence on Britain ([Boston], 1775), pp.6-8.
66. Leonard, Massachusettsis, p.64.
67. Robert Treat Paine, "Reply to Massachusettsis," n.p., n.d. [1774-1775], Robert Treat Paine Papers.
68. [James Christie], The Case of James Christie...([Annapolis], 1775), p.7.
69. Seabury, Congress Canvassed, p.14; idem., Free Thoughts, p.18; Chandler, American Querist, pp.3-4.
70. Quotation from Chandler, What Think Ye, p.1. For Leonard's views see Massachusettsis, p.1.
71. Chandler, Friendly Address, pp.35-36.
72. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, November 21, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.283-284, Charles Steuart Papers.
73. Thomas Paine, Common Sense (Philadelphia, 1776; ed., Harmondsworth, England, 1980), p.88.
74. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, December 10, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.293-296, Charles Steuart Papers.
75. Aldis's activities were reported in BGCJ, January 2, 1775, p.1/3. Cook eventually escaped to Boston, see Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.98-99.
76. Jones, ibid., p.26; Mabel Cook Coolidge, The History of Petersham, Massachusetts (Petersham, Mass., 1948), pp.86-87, 94-97; Proceedings of the Petersham town meeting of January 2, 1775, in BGCJ, January 16, 1775, p.2/2.
77. David Cobb to Robert Treat Paine, n.p., April 9, 1775, Robert Treat Paine Papers; Massachusetts Loyalist Claimants, XIII, pp.400-401; Hulton, Some Account of the Proceedings of the People of New England, p.335.
78. Petition of the Inhabitants of Marshfield and Scituate to Lieutenant-General Gage, Marshfield, January 20, 1775, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, IX, pp.41-42; Gage quoted in Cynthia Hagar Krusell, Of Tea and Tories: The Story of Revolutionary Marshfield (Marshfield, Mass., 1976), p.10.
79. Robert Robbins Jr. to ?, Boston, January 25, 1775, William Cushing Collection, MHS; Krusell, Of Tea and Tories, pp.14-16. On February 15, 1775, the Provincial Congress voted their approval of the "vigilance and Activity" of the Whigs of towns near Marshfield in keeping watch on the friends of government there. In BGCJ Supplement, February 27, 1775, p.1/1.

80. The articles of Association are in BGCJ, December 5, 1774, p.3/2.
81. The British cabinet approved the plan on January 1, 1775. Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, p.229.
82. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, January 18, 1775, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, IX, p.30; Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, December 10, 1774, Ms.5028, p.295, Charles Steuart Papers.
83. Whigs and townspeople boycotted the shops of merchants who were friends of government and, in accordance with a resolution of the Middlesex Convention of August, 1774, advised people to withhold the repayment of debts to Britain and those who continued to trade with Britain. Nathaniel Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, September 27, 1774, Ms.5028, pp.261-264, Charles Steuart Papers. The proceedings of the Middlesex Convention are in BGCJ Supplement, September 12, 1774, p.1.
84. Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.312-313.
85. He served as physician in the Continental Army. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XV, p.476.
86. Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.229-233; The Earl of Dartmouth to General Gage, Whitehall, October 17, 1774, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", pp.490-491. Gage had followed Dartmouth's instruction not to call the Council together after August 31, 1774, so as not to infuriate the Whigs further. But he continued to ask for more troops, partly to aid friends of government in places such as Marshfield. General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, January 18, 1775, in Documents of the American Revolution, ed. Davies, IX, p.30.
87. Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, pp.261-262.
88. Thomas Oliver to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, January 26, 1776, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", pp.501-502.
89. "Burgoyne's Account of Bunker's Hill", NEHGR, 11 (1857), p.125-126.
90. [Thomas Boylston] to ?, Boston, July 24, 1775, Boylston Papers. Boylston sent cargoes of whale oil to Britain in contravention of the non-exportation clauses in the Association which took effect in September 1775. Account of Thomas Boylston with Champion & Dickerson & Co., April 12, 1774-March 31, 1776, ibid.

91. William Goold, "The Burning of Falmouth, Maine, by a British Squadron in 1775", NEHGR, 27 (1873), pp.256-266.
92. Appendix A was cross-referenced with the list of evacuees in Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.133-136.
Gage had been informed before Howe that if evacuation was necessary then "care must be taken that the...Friends of Government be not left exposed to the rage and insults of the Rebels." The Earl of Dartmouth to General Gage, Whitehall, August 2, 1775, "Last Meetings of the Massachusetts Royal Council", p.497.
93. Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence, p.248.
94. Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, passim; Piers Mackesy, The War for America, 1775-1783 (London, 1964), pp.93, 134, and passim.; Norton, British-Americans, pp.38-39, 114-115. Approximately seventy Loyalists from Jericho (Hancock), Massachusetts, fought alongside the British at the Battle of Bennington. Maas, Biographical Directory, passim.
95. To Adams, the evacuation was "a greater disgrace to the British...than to be taken Prisoners in the town", for it demonstrated "such Impotence, or such Infidelity" on the part of Britain toward her colonial allies. Adams was of the opinion that "few Professors of Toryism would ever afterwards be found anywhere." John Adams to Horatio Gates, Philadelphia, March 23, 1776, in Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1783 10 vols., ed. Paul H. Smith (Washington, 1976-1983), III, p.421.
96. Jonathan Smith, "Toryism in Worcester County", Procs.MHS, 1st ser., 48 (1914-1915), pp.19-20.
97. Merritt, "Loyalism and Social Conflict in Revolutionary Deerfield", pp.277-281; Sheldon, History of Deerfield, II, pp.722-744; Francis T. Bowles, "The Loyalty of Barnstable in the Revolution", PCSM, 25 (1922-1925), pp.265-348. I have not classified the Quakers or the members of the Society of Friends of Nantucket as Loyalists. Their intention during the war was to remain neutral, not to support the British cause. See Edward Byers, The Nation of Nantucket: Society and Politics in an Early American Commercial Center, 1660-1820 (Boston, 1987), pp.202-228.
98. From September 1774, Whigs were compiling lists of those people likely to assist the British in the event of war. They vowed to persecute them "with unrelenting fury". [Joseph Palmer] to [Thomas Flucker], n.p., [September n.d., 1774], Pickman MSS, Essex Institute.

99. EG, May 18-25, 1775, p.2/2.
100. The Acts and Resolves Public and Private of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1692-1786, 21 vols. (Boston, 1896-1922) XIX, pp.30-31.
101. Worthington C. Ford et.al. eds., Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, 34 vols. (Washington, 1904-1937), III, p.279 and passim.
102. Lovell, Worcester in the War of the Revolution, pp.58-59.
103. Such as William Clarke of Dedham. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIV, pp.393-402.
104. Abraham Solomon, a yeoman of Suffolk County, was arrested and fined £10 for having "wish'd Damnation to General Washington". In Proceedings of the Court of Special Sessions of the Peace, Suffolk County, [Stoughton], April n.d., 1777, Ms.Adlow, BPL.
105. Israel Williams suffered all three penalties on the charge that he had written "treasonable" letters to Governor Hutchinson in 1770-1771. Nobles, Divisions Throughout the Whole, pp.176-178.
106. Nevertheless, the Patriots imposed their ideological orthodoxy on Loyalists they apprehended. When John Amory returned from England to Boston, via Rhode Island, in 1777, he was immediately arrested and eventually brought before a committee of the General Court. He was required to answer three questions: had he signed the addresses to Hutchinson or Gage?; had he received "any favour or support" from the British?; had he been supplying the British with provisions? Amory answered all three in the negative, but admitted that he had pledged his allegiance to the Crown and was not prepared to renounce the vow. Amory was expelled from the colony and sent under guard to the British at Rhode Island. He did not return to Boston until after the war. John Amory to James Lovell, Providence, February 12, 1778, Mss.Acc.730, BPL; Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay, 1777-1779, XX, pp.263-265.
107. Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts Bay, 1775-1777, XIX, pp.287, 315-316.
108. Petition of the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety of Boston to the General Court, Boston, February n.d., 1778, bms.Am.1250, Houghton Library.
109. Twenty-nine Loyalists were named, BTR, XVIII, pp.276-277.

110. BTR, XVIII, pp.278-279; Noble, "Some Massachusetts Tories", p.259.
111. "List of Inimical Persons Given to the Massachusetts General Court," Boston, March 4, 1778, Mss L, I, p.79, Boston Athenaeum. The names on this list were cross-referenced with the departure dates given in Maas, Biographical Directory.
112. A copy of the act is in Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.137-140. The names of the Loyalists referred to in the act were cross-referenced with the departure dates in Maas, ibid.
113. Copies of the acts are in Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.140-143.
114. Richard D. Brown, "The Confiscation and Disposition of Loyalists' Estates in Suffolk County, Massachusetts", WMQ, 21 (1964), pp.535-550. On New York see Staughton Lynd, "Who Should Rule at Home? Dutchess County, New York, in the American Revolution", WMQ, 8 (1961), pp.330-359; John Reilly, "The Confiscation and Sale of the Loyalist Estates and Its Effect Upon the Democratization of Landholding in New York State, 1779-1800", Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1974.
115. Over 500 Loyalist exiles returned to Massachusetts, Maas, Biographical Directory, passim. For a full study of this topic see idem., "The Return of the Massachusetts Loyalists" .
116. Harrison Gray to Catherine Byles, n.p., May 7, 1783, Letters of Harrison Gray to Catherine Byles, 1783-1788, MHS.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWELVE:

1. The parameters of this problem have been roughly sketched in Colin Nicolson, "American Loyalism and Research at the M.H.S.", Massachusetts Historical Society, Miscellany (Winter, 1986), pp.5-6.
2. William Bourne, Nicholas Boylston, Henry Hulton, Andrew Oliver, Nathaniel Rogers, Chambers Russell, Commissioner of Customs John Robinson, Nathaniel Ropes, William Sheaffe, Charles Steuart, Samuel Waldo, John Worthington, Timothy Woodbridge and Joshua Winslow.

3. Nelson, American Tory, pp.57-88; Brown, Good Americans, pp.226-229 and King's Friends, passim.; Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.213-232; Countryman, A People in Revolution, pp.103-130.
4. For a survey of works dealing with sub-groups of the Loyalist population see Robert S. Allen, comp., Loyalist Literature: An Annotated Guide to the Writings on the Loyalists of the American Revolution (Toronto and Charlottetown, 1982), pp.18-20.
5. Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.214-215.
6. Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind. From the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge, mass., 1966), passim; Henry F. May, The Enlightenment in America, (New York, 1976), pp.25-26; Potter, The Liberty We Seek, pp.76-77; Woolverton, Colonial Anglicanism, pp.182-184, 207-219.
7. Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, pp.144-156 and passim; Potter, The Liberty We Seek, pp.74-77; Woolverton, Colonial Anglicanism, passim.
8. Bruce E. Steiner, "New England Anglicanism: A Genteel Faith?", WMQ, 27 (1970), pp.122-135.
9. Georgetown, Falmouth, Newburyport, Marblehead, Salem, Braintree, Scituate, Cambridge and Marshfield. There were about twenty-five missions in New England. John Green, Bishop of Lincoln, A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts...February 19, 1768 (London, 1768), pp.35-42.
10. King's Chapel: Jolley Allen (£33), Thomas Brinley (46), Ami and Elizabeth Cuming (26), Gilbert Deblois (60), Lewis Deblois (40), Philip Dumaresque, George Erving, Samuel Fitch (66), Sylvester Gardiner, John Jeffries, Henry Ledell (26), Henry Lloyd (53), Archibal McNeill and John Powell II (46).
Trinity Church: George Bethune, James Boutineau, John Coffin (53), Nathaniel Coffin, William Coffin Jr. (40), John Erving Jr. (66), Richard Green, Benjamin Greene, Daniel Hubbard (40), James Perkins (40) and John Timmons (46).
Sources: King's Chapel Archives, Proprietors of Pews, Box 1, Folder 8, MHS; Andrew Oliver and James Peabody, "The Records of Trinity Church, Boston, 1728-1830," PCSM, 55 (1961-62).
The church membership of other Anglican friends of government who resided in Boston and Cambridge cannot be established, but since these were the only Anglican Chapels in Boston it/

10. it is more than likely that they were members, or belonged to Christ's Church, Cambridge.
11. The sect was founded by one John Glas in Britain during the early eighteenth-century. His son-in-law, Robert Sandeman, emigrated to New England from Glasgow in 1764 and soon established a number of churches throughout the region. His followers, on the whole, rejected Whig ideology which they saw as anti-authoritarian and revolutionary. J.P. Douglas ed., The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (Exeter, 1978), p.877; J.F. Hankins, "A Different Kind of Loyalist: The Sandemanians of New England During the Revolutionary War", NEQ, 60 (1987), pp.223-249.
12. For example, John Howe, a tinplate worker of Boston, declared "it was against his Conscience to take up Arms for any Government Whatever." In NEHGR, 34 (1886), p.16.
13. Quoted in Edward Winslow, "A Loyalist in the Siege of Boston", NEHGR, 55 (1901), p.50.
14. Hast, Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia, pp.9-10 and passim; Brown, King's Friends, pp.105-106, and for Massachusetts pp.21, 294; Andrew Hook, Scotland and America, 1750-1835, pp.48-66; Bernard Bailyn, Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution (New York, 1986), passim.
15. Nelson, American Tory, pp.85-115; Brown, King's Friends, pp.19-42, 294-298. For one historian "the coming of the American Revolution resulted from a structural crisis in power and political placement among leaders in the colonies making up the provincial political elite." James Kirby Martin, Men In Rebellion: Higher Governmental Leaders and the Coming of the American Revolution (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1973), p.xi. Of 193 Massachusetts Loyalists who held office, 41 per cent were plural officeholders. In Maas, "Return of the Massachusetts Loyalists", p.15. ^
16. The two exceptions were Worcester and Jericho (Hancock). The others were Boston, Cambridge, Marshfield, Plymouth, Salem, Sandwich and Falmouth.
17. Wallace Brown noted that 11 per cent of Massachusetts Loyalist claimants came from the rural west and that farmers made up the smallest of the occupational groups he examined. He concluded that these facts were an "indication of the weakness of Loyalism in the interior." In King's Friends, p.23.
18. The neutral friends of government represented 85.71 per cent of all friends of government in Barnstable County and/

18. and 83.33 per cent of those in Berkshire, see Table 9, pp. 335-336
19. Estimates for the occupational composition of the people of provincial Massachusetts were taken from Jackson Turner Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America (Princeton, New Jersey, 1965), pp.42-43 and passim.
20. The Massachusetts tax evaluation list of 1771 has been used by many historians to study the distribution of wealth in the province. It contains brief inventories of the real estate and some personal property owned by persons subject to taxation. Real estate was assessed at one-sixth its actual value and the figure entered in the list represents the annual rental value of the property. It was an inaccurate computation, however, for the assessors did not follow set criteria whereby they converted personal property into monetary values. It is impossible, therefore, without undertaking a comparative research of probate inventories, to establish the actual monetary values of real and personal estate given in the tax list. To increase our problems, the extant list of 1771 is incomplete. It contains data relating to around 38,000 people, approximately two-thirds of potential tax payers in the province at the time. Some of the records for Boston have been destroyed and damaged. In addition, the assessments recorded for the inhabitants of any one town did not include property which they owned outside the town. Persons who possessed real estate in various parts of the province could escape paying tax on property on which they did not reside. The tax list is a confusing source to use: persons too poor to pay taxes were omitted from the list, but others also without real estate who were not assessed were included as "polls rateable", which meant that they had to pay the province poll tax. On the many problems facing an historian in using the tax list see Bettye Hobbs Pruitt ed., The Massachusetts Tax Evaluation List of 1771 (Boston, 1978), preface, n.p.; Gary B. Nash, "Urban Wealth and Poverty in Pre-Revolutionary America", JIH, 6 (1976), pp.545-584. Given the incompleteness of the data and the problems involved in evaluating that data, it is not surprising that historians have advanced conflicting interpretations of the social organisation and developing structure of society in colonial Massachusetts on the eve of the Revolution. James Henretta, Gary Nash and Alan Kulikoff concluded that the tax list, among other sources, show that there was a "progressive rise in social inequality" during the eighteenth-century, particularly in Boston. In 1771, the wealthiest 25 per cent of Boston's taxable population possessed more than 78 per cent of taxable assets listed. Nearly a third of the town's inhabitants were not taxed, for they possessed no/

20. no real estate or taxable personal property. G.B. Warden, however, attacked the accuracy of the concept of change advanced by Henretta and the others. He maintained that the tax list of 1771 "artificially magnifies" the wealth of those at the top of society and underestimates the wealth of those at the bottom. James Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston", WMQ, 22 (1965), pp.75-92; Nash, "Urban Wealth and Poverty in Pre-Revolutionary America," pp.545-584 and "Social Change and the Growth of Pre-Revolutionary Urban Radicalism", pp.3-9; Alan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston", WMQ, 28 (1971), pp.375-412; G.B. Warden, "Inequality and Instability in Eighteenth-century Boston: A Reappraisal", in Interdisciplinary Studies of the American Revolution, eds. Jack P. Greene and Pauline Maier (London, 1976), pp.48-74.

We cannot conclude that the two-thirds of both the friends of government and the Loyalists who were not assessed in the tax list of 1771 did not possess property and were, therefore, of lower class status. As has been noted, the extant list is incomplete. Furthermore, Table 18, pp.381-382, indicates that the majority of persons in both groups did not hold occupations consistent with lower class status, with the notable exception of those who were labourers. In colonial Massachusetts, occupational classifications did not necessarily correspond with socio-economic categorisations, for the social structure remained "fluid" throughout the eighteenth-century as the colony underwent far-reaching social and economic changes. Even at the upper levels of society there was a proliferation of occupational groups: the elite included wealthy merchants, landowning gentry, yeoman farmers, professional men and a few artisans. Titles such as "gentleman" or "esquire" were not always marks of economic superiority. Below the gentry was what Robert E. Brown has called the "outstanding feature" of colonial society in the Northern colonies - a large middle class made up of yeomen and a few professional men, artisans and shopkeepers that formed approximately thirty to forty per cent of Massachusetts's population. At the bottom of society were the lower orders, and they formed around 40 per cent of the population in the colony. Labourers were the most numerous occupational group at this level, while in Boston, according to James Henretta, the lower orders "consisted of a congeries of social and occupational groups at one end of the spectrum and a more stable and respected artisan segment at the other." Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston", pp.75-92; Brown, Middle-Class Democracy, p.18; Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America, pp.7-43; Cook, The Fathers of the Towns, pp.172-184; Christine Leigh Heyrman, Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690-1750 (New York and London, 1984); Richard Holmes, Communities in Transition: Bedford and/

20. and Lincoln, Massachusetts, 1729-1850 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980); Robert A. Gross, The Minutemen and Their World (New York, 1976).
21. Of the thirty-six wealthiest Bostonians, twenty-three became Patriots and thirteen Loyalists. Maas, "Return of the Massachusetts Loyalists", p.159.
22. Hoerder, Crowd Action, pp.138-139; Alan Day and Katherine Day, "Another Look at the Boston 'Caucus'", pp.29-30; Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, pp.198-200; Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, pp.297-305.
23. The average assessed annual rental value of property for the Loyalist merchants of Boston was £36.70, while that for the Patriot merchants was £38.50. Tyler, Smugglers & Patriots, p.242.
24. John Erving was born in the Orkney Islands, Scotland, in 1693 and emigrated to Boston when still a youth. He made his fortune as a contractor to the British and provincial forces during the French Wars. When he died, he left real estate worth over £10,000 sterling. Nash, Urban Crucible, p.236; The Real Estate of the late Honourable John Erving, n.p., June 28, 1785, John Erving Papers, MHS. The three Amory brothers were the sons of Thomas Amory, a merchant who grew up in South Carolina and lived and traded in the Azores before coming to Boston in 1719. He died a few years later and left real estate worth £20,000 to his sons and daughters. "Memoir of the Family of Amory", NEHGR, X (1856), pp.59-65; Meredith, Descendants of High Amory, p.104.
25. Four generations of the Hutchinsons, including Thomas Hutchinson, were intermarried with the Sandford family. The Olivers, as well as marrying into the Hutchinsons, were also connected with the Belchers. Bailyn, Hutchinson, pp.31-32. The mother of William Browne of Salem was a Winthrop. Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp.58-59.
26. Pencak, War, Politics & Revolution, p.214.
27. At least seventeen Loyalist claimants came from split families. Brown, King's Friends, p.39. The brother and five nephews of Timothy Ruggles, for example, were Patriots. Ruggles, General Timothy Ruggles, p.14.
28. The Chandlers and Putnams were an especially close-knit clan. The second son of John Chandler married a daughter of James Putnam, while Putnam himself married a daughter of Chandler's. With a wry humour, perhaps, John Adams, who/

28. who was friendly with the Chandlers, described them as "well bred agreeable people". Quoted in Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, p.392. During the troubled times of the 1760s and 1770s, the family ties between the friends of government gave them an added sense of self-assurance; or, as one historian has said of the Williams clan of Hatfield, their "collective identity fostered a sense of collective stability." Nobles, Divisions Throughout the Whole, p.32.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTEEN:

1. Historians of British politics and the American Revolution have made no mention of this problem, except in so far as they have referred to the criticisms of British policies by senior colonial officials such as Thomas Hutchinson. Bullion, A Great and Necessary Measure; Charles R. Ritcheson, British Politics and the American Revolution (Norman, Okla., 1954); J. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III, 1760-1815 (Oxford, 1960); Bernard Donoghue, British Politics and the American Revolution: The Path to War, 1773-1775 (London, 1964); John Derry, English Politics and the American Revolution (London, 1976); Christie and Labaree, Empire or Independence; James E. Bradley, Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England: Petitions, the Crown and Public Opinion (Macon, Georgia, 1986).
2. In comparison, the conservatives and moderates of New York were much stronger politically before the war than those of Massachusetts. And in this colony too, the Loyalists were correspondingly more numerous. See Countryman, A People in Revolution; Lauwitz-Schürer, Loyal Whigs and Revolutionaries; Ranlet, The New York Loyalists.

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