

***Johnny Tremain***  
**and the**  
**Members of**  
**the Long Room Club**

**A Collection of Lesson Plans,**  
**with Accompanying Primary Source Materials,**  
**Based on Esther Forbes' Novel, *Johnny Tremain***

**Designed for Use with Middle School Students**

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## Introduction

During the years I have been teaching *Johnny Tremain*, the final meeting of the “Boston Observers”—Esther Forbes’s name for the inner circle of the Sons of Liberty—has always intrigued me. While I had implemented a rather lengthy set of questions about the events of the book, put together a variety of essay questions and the usual culminating test, and even used the Walt Disney movie as a “reward,” I had never pursued a study of these Patriots. This series of lessons centers on primary sources about nine members of the Long Room Club, the actual group on which Forbes’ Boston Observers is based. Some of these men are famous and exceedingly well documented, such as John and Samuel Adams, Paul Revere, and John Hancock. Others are moderately well known, or at least have left enough writing and/or activity behind for us to learn quite a bit about them, such as Dr. Benjamin Church, Dr. Joseph Warren, Josiah Quincy, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper. Still others were too old and too private to be noted for more than their contribution during this time, such as William Cooper.

Classes will first read *Johnny Tremain* as usual. A map of Boston in the 1770s, labeled with streets and locations where the story actually takes place should be provided to students, so they can get a sense of where things are in relation to each other and other pertinent data.<sup>1</sup> Along with the map, a worksheet will be provided to help the students better visualize where things are. Following a particular template found below, we shall look at each of the main characters, as well as most of the minor ones, and see what they do, what motivates them, and how they change, or not, as the story unfolds. Fictional characters, such as the Laphams and the Lytes, are important, because they show us how actual people lived thought, acted, and reacted during that time. Johnny Tremain, who is not an actual person, but is nonetheless the main character of the story, represents the story of many Bostonians of his day. We’ll explore the ways in which Johnny does this.

Because the Boston Tea Party is such a large part of the events portrayed in *Johnny Tremain*, I have provided primary source material from various newspapers and other sources in late 1773. This is followed by a section containing information on nine members of the Long Room Club, including a few introductory paragraphs and excerpts from several primary sources. Students will combine into groups to explore the various members of the Long Room Club, and to compare these men as they understand them with Forbes’ depictions in *Johnny Tremain*. They will then prepare oral reports as well as a written consensus about the person(s) assigned. Some students may also prepare maps of Boston based on the material provided. More ambitious students may make a presentation on the Long Room Club’s members’ contributions to the Battles of Lexington and Concord, based on *Johnny Tremain* and other sources.

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<sup>1</sup> Appropriate maps may be found in: Emerson D. Fite and Archibald Freeman, eds., *A Book of Old Maps Delineating American History from the Earliest Days down to the Close of the Revolutionary War*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), and John Harris, *America Rebels*, (Boston: Globe Newspaper Company, 1976). See also the 1775 Boston maps from the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library, which may be downloaded from <http://www.leventhalmapcenter.org>.

Classes might also hold a mock meeting of the Long Room Club, with all members present, and every member making at least a small contribution that fits what each student has discovered about “her/his” character. There is assuredly room for lots of creative writing – letters, poems, and stories about these interesting, active people and the lives they led.

While there is certainly quite a bit of source material here, there is just as certainly room for more. The teacher who uses this material, of course, may well choose to use only some of the selections. The variables of class composition, size, interest, and ability (and time) will certainly affect the choices each teacher makes. I have not attempted to prepare precise, daily lesson plans simply because of the variables already mentioned. Much more important than all of these possibilities is the interest that could be stimulated in the minds of our students. Perhaps another Esther Forbes will come out of this, stimulated and intrigued by what she or he has discovered. All the work we do would be worthwhile if the coming generation would continue the search for what really happened in that room over Edes and Gill’s print shop so long ago.

### Finding Your Way Around Johnny Tremain's Boston

**Directions:** Use the maps of Boston you have been given, and trace a map of the city of Boston as it was in the 1770's. Be sure to include a scale of yards, including the length of half a mile, so you can see how close everything is.

Use a key to label the following places:

Boston Neck	Boston Common	Griffin's Wharf	Long Wharf
Orange Street	Liberty Tree	Gray's Ropewalk	Hancock Wharf
Newbury Street	Sam Adams's House	Milk Street	Clarke Warehouse
Faneuil Hall	Province House	Old State House	Old South Meeting House
King Street	Tremont Street	Hanover Street	Green Dragon Tavern
Middle Street	Mill Pond	Beacon Hill	Edes & Gill's Office

**More Directions:** Prepare answers for these questions. Use separate paper, and answer them in "final copy condition."

1. About how far is it from Faneuil Hall to Old South Meeting House?
2. How far is it from Edes & Gill's print shop to Griffin's Wharf?
3. Find out where Christ Church (Old North Church) is located. Then find out the location of Paul Revere's house. How close are they to each other?
4. Some British soldiers marched from Hanover Street to the Cambridge Ferry on April 18, 1775. About how far did they walk?
5. How far did John Hancock have to travel when he went from his house to his wharf?
6. Invent your own question about Boston, using your maps. Explain why you chose this question to answer. (Be sure to answer your question.)

### Methods of Characterization in *Johnny Tremain*

Writers use several different ways to develop characters, depending on what sort of work they are writing. As you know, every story has a **protagonist** - the main character of the story. Johnny Tremain is obviously the main character of the novel by that name. Every story has at least one **antagonist**, a character who draws out the protagonist by challenging him, yet not always in a bad way. Rab is in many ways the antagonist for Johnny Tremain, although others are much harsher to Johnny.

How do you come to understand a character in a story? Look for these things:

1. What the character says about himself.
2. What the character does.
3. What the character says about others.
4. What the character's motives appear to be.
5. What others say about the character.
6. What the character thinks about others.
7. What the character thinks about himself.
8. What others say about the character.
9. How the character changes when in the presence of others.
10. How others change in the presence of the character.

There is no "sacredness" to this order, nor do all of them always apply. If the story is told in first person (I, me, my), it may not be obvious what others think of the protagonist. If the narration is omniscient third person (he, she, they, and the narrator knows "everything"), then you can learn lots about a character.

*Johnny Tremain* has many characters. As you know, Johnny, the Laphams, the Lytes, and Rab and his family are fictional, although they could have existed, because there were people very much like them living in Boston in the 1770's.

#### **Assignments:**

Choose three fictional characters in *Johnny Tremain*.. Complete a Character Analysis Sheet for each.

Do the same for the Boston Observers as they appear in the novel. Josiah Quincy, Sam Adams, Paul Revere, and Dr. Warren are the easiest. If you are brave, try Dr. Church and Rev. Samuel Cooper. Complete a Character Analysis Sheet for at least three of these men.

When we finish the book and learn about the actual members of the Long Room Club, we'll compare our findings to see how closely Esther Forbes came to portraying the members as they "really" were.

**CHARACTER ANALYSIS SHEET**

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Character/ Person \_\_\_\_\_

**What does the character say about her/himself?**

**What does the character do?**

**What does the character say about others?**

**What are the character's motives?**

**What do others say about the character?**

**What does the character think about others?**

**What do others think about the character?**

**What does the character think about her/himself?**

**How does the character change in the presence of others?**

**How do others change in the character's presence?**

**Write a paragraph in which you assess this character. Is this a person you would be willing to trust? How much would you enjoy being with this person? What are the character's best qualities? What are this character's greatest weaknesses?**

### **The Long Room Club and the Boston Observers**

Esther Forbes, in her novel *Johnny Tremain*, places Samuel Adams in charge of the Boston Observers, who in turn plan and direct the operations of the Sons of Liberty. She based the Boston Observers on the Long Room Club, although this group of men was one of several who jointly directed the Sons of Liberty. Some men, such as Paul Revere, Dr. Joseph Warren, and Samuel Adams, were members of several groups. Because these groups did not keep records or provide membership lists, it is hard to know exactly what role each member played. These men were, after all, trying to overthrow the government, and if caught, could be executed under the laws of Britain as traitors.

The Boston Observers are found in two parts of *Johnny Tremain*. We are introduced to them in chapter 6, “Salt-Water Tea,” and they meet a second time in Chapter 8, “A World to Come.” Their meeting place is the upstairs room of the print shop for the *Boston Observer*, just as the Long Room Club met in the upstairs room of the print shop for the *Boston Gazette*. In both cases, the meetings were secret. Members were not expected to attend every meeting, due to health and travel concerns. Also in both groups, some of the members like each other, and some do not. Because they were secret organizations, both groups are afraid there might be a spy in the group – and both are correct.

Who were the members of members of the Boston Observers? Forbes tells us there were twenty-two members, but she does not name very many. They include Paul Revere, Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, Rev. Samuel Cooper, William Cooper, Josiah Quincy, John Hancock, Dr. Benjamin Church, John Adams, James Otis, and William Molineaux. Forbes does not include John Adams in her “scholarly” list, even though he probably attended from time to time, but the other “official” list by David Fischer does list John Adams.<sup>2</sup> Most of the other members were not well known in Boston at that time. Some were very young, but would rise to important positions later.

Below you will find information about nine of the members of the Long Room Club. A brief biographical review will be first, followed by at least three primary sources — something the person actually wrote himself or something someone else wrote about him, or a letter written to him. Ideally, the materials chosen will be about them during 1772-1775, the time described in *Johnny Tremain*.

### ***DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE BOSTON TEA PARTY***

<sup>2</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

*Part 1: NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS*

*From the Boston Post-Boy, November 16, 1767:*

Address to the Ladies

Young ladies in town, and those that live round,  
 Let a friend at this season advise you:  
 Since money's so scarce, and times growing worse,  
 Strange things may soon hap and surprise you:  
 First then, throw aside your high top knots of pride,  
 Wear none but your own country linnen;  
 Of oeconomy boast, let your pride be the most  
 To show cloaths of your own make and spinning.  
 What, if homespun they say is not quite so gay  
 As brocades, yet be not in a passion,  
 For when once it is known this is much wore in town,  
 One and all will cry out, 'tis the fashion!  
 And as one, all agree that you'll not married be  
 To such as will wear London Fact'ry,  
 But at first fight refuse, tell 'em such you so chuse  
 As encourage our own Manufact'ry.  
 No more ribbons wear, nor in rich dress appear,  
 Love your country much better than fine things,  
 Begin without passion, t'will soon be the fashion  
 To grace your smooth locks with a twine string.  
 Throw aside your Bohea, and your Green Hyson Tea,  
 And all things with a new fashion duty;  
 Procure a good store of the choice Labradore,  
 For there'll soon be enough here to suit ye;  
 These do without fear and to all you'll appear  
 Fair, charming, true, lovely and cleaver;  
 Tho' the times remain darkish, young men may be sparkish,  
 And love you much stronger than ever.       !O!

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*Also November 16, 1767, in the Boston Post-Boy:*

*My Dear Countrymen,*

You have been of late years insensibly drawn into too great a degree of *luxury & dissipation*, not only in the *West* and *East-India* productions; but likewise in the unnecessary superfluities of European, enumerated in a late Vote of the Town of Boston, with many others; that I cannot but think that the inhabitants of this and most of the other colonies have the highest reason to acknowledge their obligation to the Town of Boston, for setting so laudable an example, as by every prudent and legal measure, to encourage the produce and manufactures of this province, and to lessen every superfluous expence as much as may be; by these means, if possible, to prevent the threatened loss of the *whole medium* of the province, partly by the remittances to Great-Britain of the duties laid upon many of our imports, and partly by the much larger export, thro' the hands of our merchants, of our gold and silver, in return for British commodities, many of which are absolutely needless, and with great part of the remainder we are indisputably capable of supplying ourselves; [...] We would heartily, for this reason, recommend to every Farmer the growth of *Hemp* and *Flax*, that the linen manufactures may be especially promoted and encouraged by *all ranks* of people.----Further, if we may be *excused*, we think it our duty to add, the most sincere recommendation of the disuse of the most *luxurious* and *enervating article* of BOHEA TEA, in which so large a sum is annually expended by the American colonists altho' it may be well supplied by the Teas of our own country, especially by that called the *Labrador*, lately discovered to be a common growth of the more northern colonies, and esteemed very wholesome to the human species, as well as agreeable.-----

Thus my countrymen, by consuming *less* of what we are not really in want of, and by industriously cultivating and improving the natural advantages of our own country, we might save our *substance, even our lands*, from becoming the property of others, and we might effectually preserve our *virtue* and our *liberty* to the latest posterity. *Blessings*, surely, which no man, while in the exercise of his reason, will contentedly part with, for a *few foreign trifles*.

*Save your Money, and save your Country!*

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***From a letter to the Boston Gazette, August 15, 1768:***

[...] The duty that was before paid upon Tea, in Great-Britain, was one shilling a pound.----- This duty is now taken off by a drawback, and three pence sterling only a pound is imposed on the importation of it into the Colonies.---- In this manner nine pence a pound sterling is saved to the consumer, which, considering the quantity used upon the continent, is a great thing. This it was thought must be popular, like the device of James II to introduce Popery under the disguise of so popular a measure as an universal toleration. But such dissimulation, however specious, will never amuse wise men.---- The same power that imposed three pence, will, when once acknowledged and obeyed as

authority, and whenever the demands of their hosts of pensioners require it, impose three shillings or three pounds [...]

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***A news report from page 3 of the same paper:***

BOSTON, August 15

The Merchants and Traders in this Town have lately had several Meetings to consult Measures for the better Regulation of the Trade which at present labours under great Difficulties and Discouragements: And being convinc'd that a further Importation of unnecessary Goods from Great-Britain would involve the Importers in still greater Difficulties, and render them unable to pay the Debts due to the Merchants in Great-Britain, They unanimously VOTED not to send any further Orders for Goods to be shipp'd this Fall; and that from the first of January 1769 to the first of January 1770, they will not send for or import either on their own Accounts, or on Commissions, or purchase of any Factor or others, who may import any Kind of Goods or Merchizes from Great-Britain, except Coal, Salt, and some Articles necessary to carry on the Fishery. They likewise agreed not to import any Tea, Glass, Paper, or Painters Colours, untill the Acts imposing Duties on those Articles are repealed.

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***From the Boston Post Boy, October 11, 1773:***

PHILADELPHIA, September 29.

*Extract of a letter from London, August 4.*

“The East-India Company have come to a resolution, to send 600 chests of tea to Philadelphia, and the like quantity to New-York and Boston, and their intention I understand is to have ware-houses, and sell by public sale four times a year, as they do here. Capt. Cook was offered part of that for Philadelphia, but refused it.---- I suppose they will charter ships to take it in, as here is enough that would be glad of the freight.---- What will be the consequence when it arrives, on your side the water, I know not; but suppose it is landed, you will hardly let it be sold.---- John Inglis, Joseph Wharton, jun. and J. Brown, are the Commissioners with you.”

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***The same letter, along with several others with similar information, also appears in the Boston Gazette of October 11, 1773. An editorial reply from the paper ends with these words:***

It is much to be wished that the Americans will convince Lord North, that they are not yet ready to have the yoke of slavery rivetted about their necks, and send back the tea from whence it came.

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***Part of a letter from SCAEVOLA of Philadelphia, in the Boston Gazette of October 25, 1773:***

BY UNITING WE STAND---BY DIVIDING WE FALL  
To the Commissioners  
*Appointed by the EAST INDIA COMPANY*  
*For the SALE of TEA in AMERICA*

Gentlemen,

Your appointment, which is notoriously designed to enforce the act of 7<sup>th</sup> G. III, *for raising a revenue in America*, justly claims the attention of every man, who wishes well to this country: And you need not be surprised to find the eyes of ALL now fixed on you; as on men, who have it in their power, to ward off the most dangerous stroke, that has been ever meditated against the liberties of America.

You have before you the examples of many of your unhappy countrymen; I mean *some* of the STAMP MASTERS ; examples, which, if properly attended to, may convince you, how foolish, how *dangerous* it is, to undertake to force the loathsome pills of slavery, and oppression, down the throats of a free, independent, and *determined* people. Your *appointment* is exactly similar to that our late STAMP MASTERS: They were commissioned to enforce one revenue act; you, to execute another. The Stamp and Tea Laws were both designed to raise a revenue, and to establish *parliamentary despotism* in America.

There cannot therefore be any difference in your appointments, except in this; that their office as *Stamp Men*, favoured strongly of the nature of *excise officers*; whilst you in the execution of your duty, may retain some faint resemblance of the decent characters of *Factors*. But let not names deceive you: Your characters, as Stamp Masters, and Tea Commissioners, have a strong and near affinity. They, and you could boast that you were our brethren; they, and you owe at least SUPPORT, if not LIFE to America; and what characterizes the two employments in the strongest manner, they and you *were marked out by the conspirators against our rights*, to give the last, the finishing stroke to freedom in this country.---- Strange indeed! that Americans should be pitched on to violate the privileges of Americans! [...]

[. . .] The claim of Parliament to tax America, has been too well examined, *for you* to doubt, at this time, to which side right and justice have given the palm.---- Do not, therefore, hesitate at the course you ought to pursue.---- If you deliberate, you are lost,---- lost to virtue, lost to your country. It is in vain to expect that AMERICANS can give a sanction *to your office*.----FREEMEN,----AMERICAN FREEMEN can never approve it. You are abundantly capable to judge for yourselves: And I sincerely wish that your conduct, on the present alarming occasion, may be such as will promote your future peace and welfare. It is in your power *and you are now warn'd of it*, to save YOURSELVES much Trouble, and secure your native Country from the deadly Stroke now aimed in your persons against her.

SCAEVOLA

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*There are writers who defend the "tea arrangement," particularly A. Clarke, of Clarke's store and warehouse on Long Wharf. His letter of 28 October 1773, appears in the Boston Evening-Post, allegedly a neutral paper in spite of the fact that Thomas Fleet is a member of the Long Room Club. The letter is simultaneously printed in the Massachusetts Gazette, a Tory paper. Clarke's point is that, since Massachusetts is governed under its Charter as a colony of Great Britain, it should be willing to pay this very small tax, in order to help the East India Company and to save money on inexpensive tea of high quality.*

***The Boston Post-Boy of December 13, 1773 reprinted a letter from Rivington's New written by "The Mohawks."***

NEW-YORK, December 6, 1773.

WHEREAS our nation have lately been informed, that the fetters which have been forged for us (by the parliament of Great-Britain) are hourly expected to arrive, in a certain ship, belonging to, or chartered by, the East-India Company. We do therefore declare, that we are determined not to be enslaved, by any power on earth; and that whosoever shall aid, or abet, so infamous a design, or shall presume to let their store, or stores, for the reception of the infernal chains, may depend upon it, that we are prepared, and shall not fail to pay them an unwelcome visit, in which they shall be treated as they deserve; by

The MOHAWKS.

New-York, Nov. 27, 1773

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***The Boston Gazette of December 13, 1773 carried part of a letter from Philadelphia, dated December 4, 1773.***

“Our Tea Consignees have all resign’d, and you need not fear; the Tea will not be landed here or at New-York. All that we fear is, that you will shrink at Boston. You have fail’d us in the Importation of Tea from London since the Non-importation Agreement, and we fear you will suffer this to be landed----- If you suffer the Ships to haul in and land any Article of Goods whatever, you may depend it will be told in Philadelphia that you smuggled the Tea too. We remember heavily the Boxes fill’d with Brickbats, &c. which were said to be Goods returned to London. Such Tricks (which were never publickly resented in Boston and PUNISHED) make your Enemies rejoice, and weaken the Confidence of your Friends.---- May God give you Virtue enough to save the Liberties of your Country, and depend on it, it shall not betray them here.”

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***The account of the “dumping of the tea” was printed in the Boston Gazette of 20 December 1773.***

On Tuesday last the body of the people of this and all the adjacent towns, and others from the distance of twenty miles, assembled at the old south meeting-house, to inquire the reason of the delay in sending the ship Dartmouth, with the East-India Tea back to London; and having found that the owner had not taken the necessary steps for that purpose, they enjoyn’d him at his peril to demand of the collector of the customs a clearance for the ship, and appointed a committee of ten to see it perform’d; after which they adjourn’d to the Thursday following ten o’clock. They then met and being inform’d by Mr. Rotch, that a clearance was refus’d him, they enjoyn’d him immediately to enter a protest and apply to the governor for a pass port by the castle, and adjourn’d again till three o’clock for the same day. At which time they again met and after waiting till near sunset Mr. Rotch came in and inform’d them that he had accordingly enter’d his protest and waited on the governor for a pass, but his excellency told him he could not consistent with his duty grant it until his vessel was qualified. The people finding all their efforts to preserve the property of the East India company and return it safely to London, frustrated by the tea consignees, the collector of the customs and the governor of the province, DISSOLVED their meeting.--- But, BEHOLD what followed! A number of brave and resolute men, determined to do all in their power to save their country from the ruin which their enemies had plotted, in less than four hours, emptied every chest of tea on board the three ships commanded by captains Hall, Bruce, and Coffin, amounting to 342 chests, into the sea !! without the least damage done to the ships or any other property. The masters and owners are well pleas’d that their ships are thus clear’d; and the people are almost universally congratulating each other on this happy event.

*[The particular Account of the Proceedings of the People at their Meeting on Tuesday and Thursday last, are omitted this Week for want of Room.]*

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***More destruction of tea is noted by “Indians” in the Boston Gazette of March 14, 1774:***

His majesty OKNOOKORTUNKOGOG King of the Narraganset Tribe of Indians, on receiving Information of the arrival of another Cargo of that Cursed Weed TEA, immediately Summoned his Council at the Great Swamp by the River Jordan, who did Advise and Consent to the immediate Destruction thereof, after Resolving that the IMPORTATION of this Herb, by Any Persons whatever, was attended with pernicious Consequences to the Lives and Properties of all his Subjects throughout America. Orders were then issued to their Seizor & Destroyer General, and their Deputies to assemble the executive Body under their Command, to proceed directly to the Place where the noxious Herb was. They arrived last Monday evening in Town, and finding the Vessel, they emptied every Chest, into the Great Pacific Ocean, and effectually Destroyed the whole, (Twenty-eight Chests and an half.) They are now returned to Narragansett to make Report of their doings to his Majesty, who we hear is determined to honour them with Commissions for the Peace.

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***Part 2: ADDITIONAL TEA PARTY DOCUMENTS***

**Broadside Published for the Boston Selectmen, 28 October 1767**

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, legally assembled at Faneuil-Hall, on Wednesday the 28th of October, 1767.

The Town then took into Consideration the Petition of a Number of Inhabitants, "That some effectual Measures might be "agreed upon to promote Industry, Oeconomy, and Manufactures ; thereby to prevent the unnecessary Importation of European Commodities, which threaten the Country with Poverty and Ruin : " Whereupon in a very large and full Meeting, the following Votes and Resolutions were passed Unanimously.

*Whereas the excessive Use of foreign Superfluities in the chief Cause of the present distressed State of this Town, as it is thereby drained of its Money; which Misfortune is likely to be increased by Means of the late additional Burthens and Impositions on the Trade of the Province, which threaten the Country with Poverty and Ruin :*

Therefore, *VOTED*, That this Town will take all prudent and legal Measures to encourage the Produce and Manufactures of this Province, and to lessen the Use of Superfluities, &

particularly the following enumerated Articles imported from Abroad, viz. *Loaf Sugar, Cordage, Anchors, Coaches, Chaises and Carriages of all Sorts, Horse Furniture, Men and Womens hatts, Mens and Womens Apparel readymade, Houshold Furniture, Gloves, Mens and Womens Shoes, Sole-Leather, Sheathing and Deck Nails, Gold and Silver and Thread Lace of all Sorts, Gold and Silver Buttons, Wrought Plate of all Sorts, Diamond, Stone and Paste Ware, Snuff, Mustard, Clocks and Watches, Silversmiths and Jewellers Ware, Broad Cloths that cost above 10s. per Yard, Muffs Furrs and Tippetts, and all Sorts of Millenary Ware, Starch, Womens and Childrens Stays, Fire Engines, China Ware, Silk and Cotton Velvets, Gauze, Pewterers hollow Ware, Linseed Oyl, Glue, Lawns, Cambricks, Silks of all Kinds for Garments, Malt Liquors and Cheese.* -- And that a Subscription for this End be and hereby is recommended to the several Inhabitants and Housholders of the Town ; and that *John Rowe, Esq; Mr. William Greenleaf, Melatiah Bourne, Esq; Mr. Samuel Austin, Mr. Edward Payne, Mr. Edmund Quincy, Tertius, John Ruddock, Esq; Jonathan Williams, Esq; Joshua Henshaw, Esq; Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. Solomon Davis, Joshua Winslow, Esq; and Thomas Cushing, Esq;* be a Committee to prepare a Form for Subscription, to report the same as soon as possible ; and also to procure Subscriptions to the same.

*And whereas it is the Opinion of this Town, that divers new Manufactures may be set up in America, to its great Advantage, and some others carried to a greater Extent, particularly those of Glass & Paper*

Therefore, *Voted*, That this Town will by all prudent Ways and Means, encourage the Use and Consumption of Glass and Paper, made in any of the British American Colonies; and more especially in this Province.

[Then the Meeting adjourn'd till 3 o'Clock afternoon.]

III o'Clock, P. M.

The Committee appointed in the Forenoon, to prepare a Form for Subscription, reported as follows.

*WHEREAS this Province labours under a heavy Debt, incurred in the Course of the late War ; and the Inhabitants by this Means must be for some Time subject to very burthensome Taxes : -- And as our Trade has for some Years been on the decline, and is now particularly under great Embarrassments, and burthened with heavy Impositions, our Medium very scarce, and the Balance of Trade greatly against this Country :*

WE therefore the subscribers, being sensible that it is absolutely necessary, in Order to extricate us out of these embarrassed and distressed Circumstances, to promote Industry, Oeconomy and Manufactures among ourselves, and by this Means prevent the Unnecessary Importation of European Commodities, the excessive Use of which threatens the Country with Poverty and Ruin -- DO promise and engage, to and with each other, that we will encourage the Use and Consumption of all Articles manufactured in any of the British American Colonies, and more especially in this Province; and that we will not, from an after the 31st of *December* next ensuing, purchase any of the

following Articles, imported from Abroad, *viz. Loaf Sugar*, and all the other Articles enumerated above. --

*And we further agree strictly to adhere to the late Regulation respecting Funerals, and will not use any Gloves but what are Manufactured here, nor procure any new Garments upon such an Occasion, but what shall be absolutely necessary.*

The above Report having been considered, the Question was put, Whether the same shall be accepted? *Voted unanimously in the Affirmative.* -- And that said Committee be desired to use their best Endeavours to get the Subscription Papers filled up as soon as may be. Also, *Voted unanimously*, That the foregoing Vote and Form of a Subscription relative to the enumerated Articles, be immediately Published ; and that the Selectmen be directed to distribute a proper Number of them among the Freeholders of this Town ; and to forward a Copy of the same to the Select-Men of every Town in the Province ; as also to the principal City or Town Officers of the Chief Towns in the several Colonies on the Continent, as they may think proper.

Attest,

William Cooper, *Town-Clerk*

Then the Meeting was Adjourn'd to the 20th Day of November next.

Broadside published for the Boston Selectmen, (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1767). Mass. Historical Society  
View a digital image of this document at [http://www.masshist.org/database/onview\\_full.cfm?queryID=286](http://www.masshist.org/database/onview_full.cfm?queryID=286)

### **Broadside, 1768**

WILLIAM JACKSON,  
an IMPORTER; at the  
BRAZEN HEAD,  
North Side of the TOWN-HOUSE,  
and Opposite the Town-Pump, i [n]  
Corn-hill, BOSTON.

It is desired that the SONS and  
DAUGHTERS of *LIBERTY*,  
would not buy any one thing of  
him, for in so doing they will bring  
Disgrace upon *themselves*, and their  
*Posterity*, for *ever* and *ever*, AMEN.

Broadside, (Boston, 1768). Massachusetts Historical Society  
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*Letter from Thomas Robie to Richard Clarke & Sons, 13 January 1770*

Mhead Jan. 13. 1770

Gentn, --

Having waited some time for a Sale of those 2 bbs Tea & no opp. offering for it's disposal, I tho't best to acquaint you that it yet remains unsold -- This article is sold at Salem a 4 pts.[?] per doz &c, and here at 4 [pistaroons] per single [illegible]--

I fancy that some how or other supplies of this article have found a way into the Town, notwithstanding the Vigilance of our worthy Patriots, who are as assiduous in detecting & removing any trifling package, as if all the Evils of Pandora's Box were inclos'd, or the Fate of Empires depending -- The ungenerous Treatment I have met with from them will excuse me if I seem a little warm, or impertinent in troubling you with what is foreign to [the] design of my present writing -- I am with due Respect --

Gentn.

your most hble Servt

Thos. Robie

Thomas Robie to Richard Clarke, 13 January 1770, Miscellaneous Bound Collections, Massachusetts Historical Society.

View a digital image of this document at [http://www.masshist.org/database/onview\\_full.cfm?queryID=407](http://www.masshist.org/database/onview_full.cfm?queryID=407)

*Broadside, 2 December 1773*

BOSTON, December 2, 1773

WHEREAS it has been reported that a Permit will be given by the Custom-House for Landing the Tea now on Board a Vessel laying in this Harbour, commanded by Capt. HALL: THIS is to remind the Publick, That it was solemnly voted by the Body of the People of this and the neighbouring Towns assembled at the Old-South Meeting-House on Tuesday the 30th Day of November, that the said Tea never should be landed in this Province, or pay one Farthing of Duty: And as the aiding or assisting in procuring or granting any such Permit for landing the said Tea or any other Tea so circumstanced, or in offering any Permit when obtained to the Master or Commander of the said Ship, or any other Ship in the same Situation, must betray an inhuman Thirst for Blood, and will also in a great Measure accelerate Con-

fusion and Civil War: This is to assure such public Enemies of this Country, that they will be considered and treated as Wretches unworthy to live, and will be made the first Victims of our just Resentment.

THE PEOPLE.

N.B. Captain Bruce is arrived laden with the same detestable Commodity; and 'tis peremptorily demanded of him, and all concerned, that they comply with the same Requisitions.

Broadside, 2 December 1773, ( Boston, 1773). Massachusetts Historical Society.

View a digital image of this document at [http://www.masshist.org/database/onview\\_full.cfm?queryID=430](http://www.masshist.org/database/onview_full.cfm?queryID=430)

*John Adams, Diary, 17-18 December 1773*

**1773. DECR. 17TH.**

Last Night 3 Cargoes of Bohea Tea were emptied into the Sea. This Morning a Man of War sails.

This is the most magnificent Movement of all. There is a Dignity, a Majesty, a Sublimity, in this last Effort of the Patriots, that I greatly admire. The People should never rise, without doing something to be remembered -- something notable And striking. This Destruction of the Tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid and inflexible, and it must have so important Consequences, and so lasting, that I cant but consider it as an Epoque in History.

This however is but an Attack upon Property. Another similar Exertion of popular Power, may produce the destruction of Lives. Many Persons wish, that as many dead Carcasses were floating in the Harbour, as there are Chests of Tea: -- a much less Number of Lives however would remove the Causes of all our Calamities.

The malicious Pleasure with which Hutchinson the Governor, the Consignees of the Tea, and the officers of the Customs, have stood and looked upon the distresses of the People, and their Struggles to get the Tea back to London, and at last the destruction of it, is amazing. Tis hard to believe Persons so hardened and abandoned.

What Measures will the Ministry take, in Consequence of this? Will they resent it? will they dare to resent it? will they punish Us? How? By quartering Troops upon Us? -- by annulling our Charter? -- by laying on more duties? By restraining our Trade? By Sacrifice of Individuals, or how.

The Question is whether the Destruction of this Tea was necessary? I apprehend it was absolutely and indispensably so. -- They could not send it back, the Governor, Admiral and Collector and Comptroller would not suffer it. It was in their Power to have saved it- but in no other. It could not get by the Castle, the Men of War &c. Then there was no other Alternative but to destroy it or let it be landed. To let it be landed, would be giving up the Principle of Taxation by Parliamentary Authority, against which the Continent

have struggled for 10 years, it was loosing all our labour for 10 years and subjecting ourselves and our Posterity forever to Egyptian Taskmasters -- to Burthens, Indignities, to Ignominy, Reproach and Contempt, to Desolation and Oppression, to Poverty and Servitude.

But it will be said it might have been left in the Care of a Committee of the Town, or in Castle William. To this many Objections may be made.

Deacon Palmer and Mr. Is. Smith dined with me, and Mr. Trumble came in. They say, the Tories blame the Consignees, as much as the Whiggs do -- and say that the Governor will loose his Place, ~~by~~ for not taking the Tea into his Protection before, by Means of the Ships of War, I suppose, and the Troops at the Castle.

I saw him this Morning pass my Window in a Chariot with the Secretary. And by the Marching and Countermarching of Councillors, I suppose they have been framing a Proclamation, offering a Reward to discover the Persons, their Aiders, Abettors, Counsellors and Consorters, who were concerned in the Riot last Night.

Spent the Evening with Cushing, Pemberton and Swift at Wheelwrights. Cushing gave us an Account of **Bollans** Letters -- of the Quantity of Tea the East India Company had on Hand -- 40,00000 weight, that is Seven Years Consumption -- two Millions Weight in America.

**1773. DECR. 18. SATURDAY.**

J. Quincy met me this Morning and after him Kent, and told me that the Governor said Yesterday in Council, that the People had been guilty of High Treason, and that he would bring the Attorney General on Monday to convince them that it was so -- and that Hancock said, he was for having a Body Meeting to take off that Brother in Law of his.

John Adams diary 19, 16 December 1772 - 18 December 1773 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

## JOHN ADAMS

*John Adams is certainly one of the Founders of the United States. He was a member of the First Continental Congress, signed the Declaration of Independence, and proposed that George Washington serve as general of the Continental Army. Before he did all of these things, he was a respected lawyer in Boston. When the British soldiers went to court for their part in the Boston Massacre, Adams represented them, and won. He developed a reputation for being fair, no matter what was popular. Yet he was a member in good standing of the Sons of Liberty, and probably attended some meetings of the Long Room Club, where Esther Forbes places him in Johnny Tremain just before he goes to Philadelphia to take part in the First Continental Congress.*

*Besides being a successful lawyer and an outstanding patriot, Adams was an incurable writer. He always kept a diary, and he recorded many incidents in glowing detail there. He was often away from his beloved wife, Abigail, and they wrote to each other almost every day. We also have the many books, articles, and other documents he wrote for publication.*

### **John Adams, Diary, 27 October 1772 [excerpt]**

*You have already read part of John Adams's diary for December 17, 1773, describing the Boston Tea Party. In the following excerpt, while not recording his membership in a secret organization, Adams lets us know something of what went on among its members.*

At the Printing Office this Morning. Mr. Otis came in, with his eyes, fishy and fiery, looking and acting as wildly as ever he did.—“You Mr. Edes, You John Gill, and you Paul Revere, can you stand there Three Minutes.”--Yes.—“Well do. Brother Adams go along with me.”--Up Chamber we went. He locks the Door and takes out the Kee. Sit down Tete a Tete.—“You are going to Cambridge to day”--Yes.—“So am I, if I please. I want to know, if I was to come into Court, and ask the Court if they were at Leisure to hear a Motion”—and they should say Yes—And I should say “May it please your Honours.”

“I have heard a Report and read an Account that your Honours are to be paid your Salaries for the future by the Crown, out of Revenue raised from Us, without our Consent [...].”

In the Course of this curious Conversation it oozed out that Cushing, [Samuel] Adams, and He, had been in Consultation but Yesterday, in the same Chamber upon that Subject.

In this Chamber, Otis was very chatty [...]

After We came down Stairs, something was said about military Matters.—Says Otis to me, Youl never learn military Exercises.—Ay why not?—That You have an Head for it needs no Commentary, but not an Heart.—Ay how do you know—you never searched my Heart.—[...]

This is the Rant of Mr. Otis concerning me, and I suppose of a thirds of the Town.— But be it known to Mr. Otis, I have been in the public Cause as long as he, ‘tho I was never in the General Court but one Year. I have sacrificed as much to it as he. I have never got [my] Father chosen Speaker and Councillor by it, my Brother in Law chosen into the House and chosen Speaker by it, nor a Brother in Laws Brother in Law into the House and Council by it. Nor did I ever turn about in the House, betray my Friends and rant on the Side of Prerogative, for a whole Year, to get a father into a Probate Office, and a first justice of a Court of Common Pleas, and a Brother into a Clerks Office.

There is a complication of Malice, Envy and jealousy in this Man, in the present disordered State of his Mind that is quite shocking.

I thank God my mind is prepared, for whatever can be said of me. The Storm will blow over me in Silence [ . . . ]

John Adams diary 16, 10 January 1771 - 28 [i.e. 27] November 1772 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

### **John Adams, *Novanglus* article, January 1775**

*John Adams wrote articles in various newspapers using pen names, as was the style of the time. Below is an excerpt from one of his “Novanglus” articles, written in response to loyalist Judge Daniel Leonard, writing as “Massachusettensis.” This article appeared in January 1775.*

‘If, then, we are a part of the British Empire, we must be subject to the supreme power of the state, which is vested in the estates of Parliament.’ [Leonard]

Here, again, we are to be conjured out of our senses by the magic of the words ‘British Empire’, and ‘supreme power of the state’. But, however it may sound, I say we are not a part of the British Empire; because the British Government is not an empire. The governments of France, Spain, &c., are not empires, but monarchies, supposed to be governed by fixed fundamental laws, though not really. The British Government is still less entitled to the style of an ‘empire’. It is a limited monarchy. [ . . . ] [T]he British Constitution is much more like a republic than an empire. They define a republic to be a government of laws, and not of men. If this definition be just, the British Constitution is nothing more nor less than a republic, in which the King is first magistrate. This office being hereditary, and being possessed of such ample and splendid prerogatives, is no

objection to the government's being a republic, as long as it is bound by fixed laws which the people have a voice in making, and a right to defend. [. . .]

John Adams, "Novanglus", No. VII, January 1775, *Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution 1764-1788 and the formation of the Federal Constitution*, 2nd. edition, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 131.

### **Letter from John Adams to Joseph Warren, 22 April 1776 [excerpt]**

*Here is an excerpt from a letter written by John Adams, who is attending the First Continental Congress as a delegate from Massachusetts, to Dr. Joseph Warren, who is among the leaders in the provisional government in Massachusetts, dated April 22, 1776:*

After all, my friend, I do not at all wonder that so much reluctance has been shewn to the measure of independency. All great changes are irksome to the human mind, especially those which are attended with great dangers and uncertain effects. No man living can foresee the consequences of such a measure, and therefore I think it ought not to have been undertaken untill the design of Providence by a series of great events had so plainly marked out the necessity of it, that he who runs might read.

We may feel a sanguine confidence of our strength! Yet in a few years it may be put to the trial.

We may please ourselves with the prospect of free and popular governments, but there is great danger that these governments will not make us happy. God grant they may! But I fear that in every Assembly members will obtain an influence by noise, not sense; by meanness, not greatness; by ignorance, not learning; by contracted hearts, not large souls. I fear, too, that it will be impossible to convince and persuade people to establish wise regulations.

There is one thing, my dear sir, that must be attempted and sacredly observed, or we are all undone. There must be decency and respect and veneration introduced for persons in authority, of every rank, or we are undone. In a popular government this is the only way of supporting order, and in our circumstances, as our people have been so long without any government at all, it is more necessary than in any other. The United Provinces [of the Netherlands] were so sensible of this that they carried it to a burlesque extrem. [. . .]

John Adams to James Warren, 22 April 1776, *Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution 1764-1788 and the formation of the Federal Constitution*, 2nd edition, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 146.

## SAMUEL ADAMS

*To many people, Samuel Adams is known for leading the Sons of Liberty. (The beer that bears his name does remind us that Samuel's father was a successful brewer, although his son's sense of business was so poor that he went out of business.) A cousin of John Adams, Samuel Adams was the embodiment of opposition to "taxation without representation." Esther Forbes' depiction of him in Johnny Tremain is accurate indeed. He was the behind-the-scenes leader of much of the planning that went on to motivate the population of Boston to rise against the British during the 1760's and early 1770's. As our novel states, once the Boston Tea Party was actually under way, he was nowhere to be seen. As William Hallahan puts it, "To get the absolute power he wanted, Adams employed every terrorist tactic he could think of or copy from others – blackmail, intimidation, house burnings, barn burnings, beatings, tarring and feathering, premeditated riots, political stagecraft like the Boston Tea Party – combined with sophisticated political and legal stratagems."<sup>3</sup>*

*What else did Samuel Adams accomplish? He was a member of the Continental Congress, signer of the Declaration of Independence, opposed the adoption of the Constitution (because it did not protect individual rights), and served both as lieutenant governor and governor of Massachusetts.*

### **Samuel Adams, Article signed "Candidus," *Boston Gazette*, 12 April 1773**

*Messieurs Edes and Gill,*

Perhaps no measure that has been taken by the Town of Boston during our present Struggles for Liberty, has thwarted the designs of our enemies more than their Votes and Proceedings on the 20<sup>th</sup> of November last. If we take a Retrospect of two or three Years past, we shall find that what our "*pretended* patriots", as they were stiled in the Court Gazette, so zealously forewarn'd us of, has since turn'd out to be a Fact ; that every art would be made use of to lull the people of this Province and Continent into Security, in order that the Conspirators against our Rights and Liberties might carry on their Schemes and compleat their system of Tyranny without Opposition or Molestation. The first part of their plan, they imagin'd they had finish'd ; that is, the Establishment of a Revenue : And though this was far from being sufficient to answer their whole purpose, they thought that if they could put the people to sleep, they might the more easily add to this revenue, at some future time, and plead the present submission for a precedent. They therefore began upon the second and equally important part of their plan, which was to appropriate the revenue they had rais'd, to set up an Executive, absolutely independent of the legislative, which is to say the least, the nearest approach to absolute Tyranny.

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<sup>3</sup> William H. Hallahan, *The Day the American Revolution Began: 19 April 1775*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000), 242.

The Governor, who was the first American *Pensioner*, had now an exorbitant Salary allowed him out of the monies extorted from the people : And although this was directly repugnant to the obvious meaning, if not the very letter of the Charter, much was said by *Chronus* and the Tribe of ministerial Writers in Mr. *Draper's* paper, to reconcile it to the people. But the people, whom they generally in their incubations treated with an air of contempt, as an unthinking herd, had a better understanding of things than they imagined they had. They were almost universally disgusted with the Innovation, while the advocates for it were yet endeavoring to make the world believe, that the opposition to it arose from a few men only, of “no property” and “desperate fortunes,” who were “endeavoring to bring things into confusion, that they might have the advantage of bettering their fortunes by plunder.” Little did they think that it was then known, as it now appears in fact, that those who were assiduously watching for places, preferment and pensions, were in truth the very men of *no property*, and had no other way of mending their shattered fortunes, but by being the sharers in the spoils of their country.

Scarcely had the General Assembly the opportunity of expressing their full Sentiments of the mischievous tendency, of having a Governor absolutely dependent on the Crown for his being and support, before the alarming News arriv'd of the Judges of the Superior Court being placed in the same Situation. This Insolence of Administration was so quickly repeated, no doubt from a full perswasion of the truth of the accounts received from their infatuated tools on this side of the atlantick, that the temper of the people would now admit of the experiment. But the News was like Thunder in the ears of all but a detestable and detested few : Even those who had been inclin'd to think favorably of the Governor and the Judges were alarm'd at it. And indeed what honest and sensible man or woman could contemplate it without horror! We all began to shudder at the Prospect of the same tragical Scenes being acted in this Country, which are recorded in the English History as having been acted when their Judges were the meer Creatures, Dependents and tools of the Crown. Such an indignation was discover'd and express'd by almost every one, at so daring an Insult upon a free people, that it was difficult to keep our Resentment within its proper bounds. Many were ready to call for immediate Vengeance, perhaps with more zeal than discretion : How soon human Prudence and Fortitude, directed by the wise and righteous Governor of the world, may point out the time and the means of successfully revenging the wrongs of America, I leave to those who have been the Contrivers and Abbettors of these destructive Measures, seriously to consider. I hope and believe that I live in a Country, the People of which are too intelligent and too brave to submit to Tyrants : And let me remind the greatest of them all, “there is a degree of patience beyond which human Nature will not bear” !

Amidst the general Anxiety the memorable Meeting was called, with Design that the Inhabitants might have the Opportunity, of expressing their Sense calmly and dispassionately ; for it is from such a Temper of Mind, that we are to expect a rational, manly and successful Opposition to the ruinous Plans of an abandoned Administration : And it is for this Reason alone, that the petty Tyrants of this Country have always dreaded and continue still to dread, a regular Assembly of the People.

The desirable Effects of this Meeting, contemptible as it was at first represented to be, together with the Prospect of what may be further expected from it, may possibly be the subject of a future Paper.

*Your's,*

CANDIDUS

Samuel Adams, "Article Signed 'Candidus,'" *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, Vol. III, ed. Harry Alonzo Cushing (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), 28-31.

### **Samuel Adams, Resolutions of the Town of Boston, 5 November 1773**

Resolutions of the Town of Boston,  
November 5, 1773

Whereas it appears by an Act of the British Parliament passed in the last Sessions, that the East India Company are by the said Act allowed to export their Teas into America, in such Quantities as the Lord of the Treasury shall Judge proper : And some People with an evil intent to amuse the People, and others thro' inattention to the true design of the Act, have so construed the same, as that the Tribute of three Pence on every Pound of Tea is not to be enacted by the detestable Task Masters there – Upon the due consideration thereof, *Resolved*, That the Sense of the Town cannot be better expressed on this Occasion, than in the words of certain Judicious Resolves lately entered into by our worthy Brethren the Citizens of Philadelphia – wherefore

*Resolved*, that the disposal of their own property is the Inherent Right of Freemen ; that there can be no property in that which another can of right take from us without our consent ; that the Claim of Parliament to tax America, is in other words a claim of Right to buy Contributions on us at pleasure –

2<sup>nd</sup> That the Duty imposed by Parliament upon Tea landed in America, is a tax on the Americans, or levying Contributions on them without their consent --

3<sup>rd</sup> That the express purpose for which the Tax is levied on the Americans, namely for the support of Government, the Administration of Justice, and the defence of His Majestys Dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render Assemblies useless, and to introduce Arbitrary Government and Slavery --

4<sup>th</sup> That a virtuous and steady opposition to the Ministerial Plan of governing America, is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of Liberty, and is a duty which every Freeman in America owes to his Country to himself and to his Posterity –

5<sup>th</sup> That the Resolutions lately come by the East India Company, to send out their Teas to America Subject to the payment of Duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce the Ministerial Plan, and a violent attack upon the Liberties of America –

6<sup>th</sup> That it is the Duty of every American to oppose this attempt—

7<sup>th</sup> That whoever shall directly or indirectly countenance this attempt, or in any wise aid or abet in unloading receiving or vending the Tea sent or to be sent out by the East India Company while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here is an Enemy to America –

8<sup>th</sup> That a Committee be immediately chosen to wait on those Gentlemen, who it is reported are appointed by the East India Company to receive and sell said Tea, and to request them from a regard to their own characters and the peace and good order of this Town and Province immediately to resign their appointment.

Samuel Adams, "Resolutions of the Town of Boston," *The Writings of Samuel Adams*. Vol. III, ed. Harry Alonzo Cushing (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), 67-69.

### **Letter from Samuel Adams to Arthur Lee, 31 December 1773**

Boston, Dec. 31, 1773

My Dear Sir, — I am now to inform you of as remarkable an event as has yet happened since the commencement of our struggle for American liberty. The meeting of the town of Boston, an account of which I enclosed in my last, was succeeded by the arrival of the Falmouth, Captain Hall, with 114 chests of the East India Company's tea, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November last. The next day the people met in Faneuil hall, without observing the rules prescribed by law for calling them together ; and although that hall is capable of holding 1200 or 1300 men, they were soon obliged for the want of room to adjourn to the Old South meeting-house; where were assembled upon this important occasion 5000, some say 6000 men, consisting of the respectable inhabitants of this and the adjacent towns. The business of the meeting was conducted with decency, unanimity, and spirit. Their resolutions you will observe in an enclosed printed paper. It naturally fell upon the correspondence for the town of Boston to see that these resolutions were carried into effect. This committee, finding that the owner of the ship after she was unloaded of all her cargo except the tea, was by no means disposed to take the necessary steps for her sailing back to London, thought it best to call in the committees of Charlestown, Cambridge, Brookline, Roxbury, and Dorchester, all of which towns are in the neighbourhood of this, for their advice and assistance. After a free conference and due consideration, they dispersed. The next day, being the 14<sup>th</sup>, inst. the people met again at the Old South church, and having ascertained the owner, they *compelled* him to apply at the custom house for a clearance for his ship to London with the tea on board, and appointed ten gentlemen to see it performed ; after which they adjourned till Thursday the 16<sup>th</sup>. The people then met, and Mr. Rotch informed them that he had according to their injunction applied to the collector of the customs for a clearance, and received in answer from the collector that he could not consistently with his duty grant him a clearance, until the ship should be discharged of the dutiable article on board. It must be here observed that Mr. Rotch had before made a tender of the tea to the consignees, being told by them that it was not practicable for them at that time to receive the tea, by reason of a constant guard kept upon it by armed men ; but that when it might be practicable, they would receive it. He demanded the captain's bill of lading and the freight, both which they refused him, against which he entered a regular protest. The people then required Mr. Rotch to protest the refusal of the collector to grant him a clearance under these circumstances, and thereupon to wait upon the governor for a permit to pass the castle in her voyage to London, and then adjourned till the afternoon. They then met, and after

waiting till sun-setting, Mr. Rotch returned, and acquainted them that the governor had refused to grant him a passport, thinking it inconsistent with the laws and his duty to the king, to do it until the ship should be qualified, notwithstanding Mr. Rotch had acquainted him with the circumstances above mentioned. You will observe by the printed proceedings, that the people were resolved that the tea should not be landed, but sent back to London in the same bottom ; and the property should be safe guarded while in port, which they punctually performed. It cannot therefore be fairly said that the destruction of the property was in their contemplation. It is proved that the consignees, together with the collector of the customs, and the governor of the province, prevented the safe return of the East India Company's property (the danger of the sea only excepted) to London. The people finding all their endeavours for this purpose thus totally frustrated, dissolved the meeting, which had consisted by common estimation of at least seven thousand men, many of whom had come from towns at the distance of twenty miles. In less than four hours every chest of tea on board three ships which had by this time arrived, *three hundred and forty-two* chests, or rather the contents of them, was thrown into the sea, without the least injury to the vessels or any other property. The only remaining vessel which was expected with this detested article, is by the act of righteous heaven cast on shore on the back of Cape Cod, which has often been the sad fate of many a more valuable cargo. For a more particular detail of facts, I refer you to our worthy friend, Dr. Hugh Williamson, who kindly takes the charge of this letter. We have had great pleasure in his company for a few weeks past; and he favoured the meeting with his presence.

You cannot imagine the height of joy that sparkles in the eyes and animates the countenances as well as the hearts of all we meet on this occasion; excepting the disappointed, disconcerted Hutchinson and his tools. I repeat what I wrote you in my last; if lord Dartmouth has prepared his plan let him produce it speedily; but his lordship must know that it must be such a plan as will not barely amuse, much less farther irritate but conciliate the affection of the inhabitants.

I had forgot to tell you that before the arrival of either of these ships, the tea commissioners had preferred a petition to the governor and council, praying "to resign themselves and the property in their care, to his excellency and the board as guardians and protectors of the people, and that measures may be directed for the landing and securing the tea," &c. I have enclosed you the result of the council on that petition. He (the governor) is now, I am told, consulting *his* lawyers and books to make out that the resolves of the meeting are treasonable. I duly received your favours of the 23d June, of the 21<sup>st</sup> July and 13<sup>th</sup> October, and shall make the best use I can of the important contents.

Believe me to be affectionately your friend,

P.S. — Your letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> August is but this moment come to hand. I hope to have leisure to write you by the next vessel. Our friend Dr. Warren has written to you by this; you will find him an agreeable and useful correspondent.

## DR. BENJAMIN CHURCH

*Dr. Church is depicted in Johnny Tremain as a grouchy, free-thinking sort of man who is not quite trusted by the other members of the Boston Observers. The real Dr. Benjamin Church was one of the most skilled and highly-trained doctors in Boston. He loved politics, and early was involved in writing for the Whig press, although there is evidence that he wrote replies to his initial writings in the Tory newspapers! He was also recognized as a talented poet. The question was never about his skills and talent for leadership. One was never sure which side he was really on. His wife was English; his brother-in-law was a Tory printer, John Fleming.*

*As William Hallahan states: “Dr. Church’s devotion to the radical cause was unflagging. He served with Dr. Warren on every crucial committee, including the powerful Committee of Safety, and was a member of the Provincial Congress. Dr. Church was one of the highest-ranking, most admired, and respected patriots in Massachusetts. Following Lexington, he would be appointed surgeon general of Washington’s army. He was also one of Sam Adams’s favorite companions.”<sup>4</sup>*

*Jeffrey Walker thinks that Benjamin Church was quite strongly committed to the Sons of Liberty and what they stood for right up through the Boston Tea Party. When the Port Act was enforced, and the British soldiers took over the city and shut the port of Boston, Church began to wonder if he’d chosen the “winning” side. “The future looked bleak for Boston, and Benjamin Church was once again worried about the success of the rebellion....1774 would be an important year. It seems that he had finally chosen his side, for in that year the first traces of his defection would come to light and lead to the bizarre series of incidents culminating in his court-martial.”<sup>5</sup> What makes it hard to follow is that Church did not change his mind about independence. He wanted to be financially stable and safe, whether the Sons of Liberty won or lost their bid for independence. After John Hancock’s Massacre oration, which Church probably wrote, Gage had a private meeting with Church and offered him 30, 000 pounds, an immense sum of money. It is at this point that Church begins to work on behalf of the British. Apparently Benjamin Church was finally caught with a letter in code that connected him with a British officer. Since there was no law against what Church might be doing (the colonies were in an act of rebellion), a court martial was held under George Washington, and Church was found guilty of corresponding secretly with a British officer. All of this happened in 1775, just after Church had been made chief physician of the First Continental Army Hospital in Cambridge!*

*The story ends in a truly bizarre way. Benjamin Church was expelled from Congress and jailed, but later released, and he sailed for the West Indies in 1776. The ship was lost at sea. No one survived.*

<sup>4</sup> William H. Hallahan, *The Day the American Revolution Began: 19 April 1775* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000), 11.

<sup>5</sup> Jeffrey B. Walker, *The Devil Undone: The Life and Poetry of Benjamin Church, 1734-1778* (New York: Arno Press, 1982), 2-3, 88.

## A Selection of Poems Written by Benjamin Church

### *A few verses on the occasion, to the former Minister Pitt*

For Americans' relief, appear kind Master Pitt,  
 Who eat nought of your beef, though flogged with the spit;  
 Intercept that old t[ariff] the Sc[otchma]n's fav'rite toast,  
 That feasteth on the beef, and do not pay the roast:  
 Pray take wit in thy wrath, when met for our relief;  
 Sc[otchme]n, you know, love broth, pray let us taste the beef.

### *To the King*

Long live great George our King, in peace and harmony,  
 Of his fame we will sing, if we have liberty;  
 But if cut short of that, we cannot raise our voice,  
 For hearts full of regret sure never can rejoice.

### *[Canst thou, spectator, view this crimsoned scene]*

Canst thou, spectator, view this crimsoned scene,  
 And not reflect what these sad portraits mean?  
 Or can thy slaughtered brethren's guiltless gore  
 Revenge, in vain, from year to year implore?  
 Ask not where Preston or his butchers are!  
 But ask, who brought those bloody villains here?  
 Never for instruments forsake the cause,  
 Nor spare the wretch who would subvert the laws!  
 That ruthless fiend, who, for a trifling hire,  
 Would murder scores, or set a town on fire,  
 Compared with him who would a land enslave,  
 Appears an inconsiderable knave.  
 And shall the first adorn the fatal tree,  
 While, pampered and caressed, the last goes free?  
 Forbid it, thou whose eye no bribe can blind,  
 Nor fear can influence, nor favor bind!  
 Thy justice drove one murderer to despair;  
 And shall a number live in riot here?

Live and appear to glory in the crimes  
 Which hand destruction down to future times?  
 Yes, ye shall live! But live like branded Cain,  
 In daily dread of being nightly slain;  
 And when the anxious scene on earth is o'er,  
 Your names shall stink till time shall be no more!

*Liberty*

O Liberty! Thou Goddess heavenly bright,  
 Profuse of Bliss and pregnant with Delight.  
 Eternal Pleasures in thy Presence reign,  
 And smiling Plenty leads thy wanton Strain.  
 Eas'd of her Load, Subjection grows more light,  
 And poverty looks cheerful in thy Sight.  
 Thou mak'st ye gloomy Face of Nature gay:  
 Giv'st Beauty to ye Sun and Pleasure to ye Day.

*Fame*

Fame is at best but an inconstant Good:  
 Vain are ye boasted titles of our Blood.  
 We soonest lose, what we most highly prize  
 And with our youth our short-lived Beauty dies.  
 A generous Ardor boils within my Breast,  
 Eager of Action, Enemy to Rest.  
 This urges me to fight and fires my Mind,  
 To leave a memorable Name behind.

Jeffrey B. Walker. *The Devil Undone: The Life and Poetry of Benjamin Church, 1734-1778* (New York: Arno Press, 1982), 172-173, 221, 224-225.

**Benjamin Church, "A Discourse Occasionally Made On Burning the Effigy of the ST—PM—N in New London in the Colony of Connecticut," 1765. [excerpt]**

By comparing I find the times present to be in some measure parallel with the former; if there is any difference it is against us, we being more imposed upon than our fathers.

I must proceed to draw a few inferences from what has been said.

First. From what we have heard we may learn the human frailty of man, and when I am exclaiming against others I do not excuse myself, for I am subject to many; we not only learn the human frailty of man, but also the folly of laying too much stress or dependence on his conduct. Applied to this colony, hath it not been the case in regard to the st—pm—n? I hope not entirely so. If it hath been the case, I don't wonder that he proves a curse to us rather than a blessing. For it is written, "cursed is man that trusteth in man, and that maketh flesh his arm." But lest I should go beyond my sphere I must stick to morality. And,

Secondly. We may learn from the train of impositions received from the mother country the folly in glorying in the roast beef of Old England, since we are so notoriously flogged with the spit. A little soup-mauger with contentment is preferable to roast beef and plum pudding, since we are like to pay so dear for the roast.

For being called Englishmen without having the privileges of Englishmen is like unto a man in a gibbet with dainties set before him which would refresh him and satisfy his craving appetite if he could come at them, but being debarred of that privilege, they only serve for an aggravation to his hunger.

O my poor brethren in the gibbet of America that cannot come at the dainties of Europe, I pity you with all my heart and soul.

Thirdly. Have we learned that corruption is at the helm and that our country-ship is badly steered? This also teaches us that the watch must be called, and the helm relieved by a better man.

O PITT, is your watch upon deck? Turn out, take the helm from B—e, for he hath nigh overset us at times; he hath carried such taut sails in the squalls of impositions that our sails are wore threadbare. See the hurricane of stamp duties coming on, shorten sail timely, down with topgallant mast, yards, and sails of pride and vainglory, in with all small kites, and see everything snug to stand the storm like a bold seaman; bend new courses to the yards, and for God's sake don't lay [us] a-try, for we have been tried sufficiently. If the gale comes on very hard, put before the wind for the safety of the ship and our lives. Scud her manfully until the pernicious gale is over and the mountainous sea of corruption is ran down or is broken to pieces by a gentle breeze of liberty arising to refresh our wearied souls, which have been so long fatigued with the thoughts of approaching slavery.

Fourthly. Have we found a calf to be sacrificed to in this our day? Let us all, every living soul here present, or that lives within the precinct or of hearing the noise of the beast, take example by that worthy patriarch Moses of old and make a sacrifice of the calf, rather than to sacrifice thereunto. Burn it in the fire, grind it to powder, and strow it upon the ocean, that the filthy naughtiness of the beast may be cleansed from the earth, and that our plagues and impositions may not be made wonderful.

Time would fail me to tell you of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lion's den, and many other worthies who have been faithful in bearing testimony against unjust decrees, etc., and have been protected by heaven in it, their cause being just in the sight of God. For woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees. My brethren, fear not the face of man in regard to justice and equity; keep the truth of your side, let the world do what they will. I speak freely unto you all, for I am not afraid; if I lose my head, I cannot lose my gown or cassock.

A word or two of advice to all concerned in this affair of grand importance, and I have done.

First of all, my brethren, my advice to you is to fear God above all things, honor and love the King and his friends, detest and loathe his enemies, especially his private ones. If you see or hear of any corruption in his ministry, bear testimony against it; for it is treason in subjects for to keep silent when they see their prince dishonored; and if by wrong representations of any corrupt person or persons his subjects become grieved, impoverished, or cut short of their liberty or privileges, let such subjects make known their grievance that they may be relieved, for whatsoever tends to the poverty of the subjects by means of the enemies to freedom is a disgrace to a monarch. For poor subjects cannot make a rich King.

O freemen of the colony of Conneticut! stand fast in the liberties granted you by your royal charter. Plead the injustice of any that means to infringe upon you by curtailing the rights and privileges once given you freely without any design to take them from you again (without [them] your conduct could be deemed rebellious); and my opinion is that it cannot be counted rebelling for the freemen of this colony to stand for their absolute rights and defend them, as a man would his own house when insulted, for I see no difference in regard to the possession of either, whether it be by deed of gift or deed of sale.

Therefore, if any man in this colony hath for the sake of filthy lucre misrepresented matters so that ye are grieved or are like to be cut short of the privileges enjoyed for many years past, go, one and all, go to such a man and make him sensible of his error; if he will be convinced of his folly, forgive him, but if he willfully persists in his wickedness, use him in such a manner that he will be glad to conform to the truth; and if he is in any post that unjustly grinds the face of the poor or that contributes to your slavery, ask him peaceably to resign it, and if he refuses to, use him in such a manner that he will be glad to do anything for a quiet life. For Britons never must be slaves. And as we read, that "he which, being often reprov'd, hardeneth his neck shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy." Therefore, take care of Mr. St—pm—n, alias the molten calf. AMEN

Benjamin Church, "Liberty and Property vindicated, and the St—pm—n burnt: A Discourse Occasionally Made on burning the Effige of the ST—PM—N in New London in the Colony of Connecticut," *Pamphlets of the American Revolution 1750-1776*, ed. Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1965), 594-597.

**Letter from Benjamin Church to John Fleming, 1775 [excerpt]**

*This is part of a letter Church wrote in code knowing that it would be seen by the British. The letter exaggerating American forces, which, Church explained, he did to make the English think American forces were stronger than they actually were.*

I hope this will reach you. Three attempts have I made without success. In effecting the last, the man was discovered in attempting his escape; but fortunately my letter was sewed in the waistband of his breeches. He was confined a few days, during which time you may guess my feelings; but a little art and a little cash settled the matter. 'Tis a month since my return from Philadelphia; I went by the way of Providence, to visit mother. The Committee for warlike stores [i.e. at Providence] made me a formal tender of twelve pieces of cannon, eighteen and twenty-four pounders; they having taken a previous resolution to make the offer to Gen. Ward. To make a merit of my services, I sent them down [ . . . ] The people of Connecticut are raving in the cause of liberty. A number from [their] colony, from the town of Stamford, robbed the King's stores at New-York, with some small assistance the New-Yorkers lent them; these were growing turbulent. I counted two hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, from twenty-four to three-pounders, at Kingsbridge, which the Committee had secured for the use of the Colonies. The Jerseys are not a whit behind Connecticut in zeal. The Philadelphians exceed them both. I saw twenty-two hundred men in review there by General Lee, consisting of Quakers and other inhabitants, in uniform, with one thousand Riflemen and forty Horse, who, together, made a most warlike appearance. I mingled freely and frequently with the members of the Continental Congress; they were united, determined in opposition, and appeared assured of success[ . . . ]

Benjamin Church to John Fleming, [July?] 1775 *General Gage's Informers: New Material Upon Lexington and Concord*, ed. Allen French (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932), 184-187.

**REV. SAMUEL COOPER**

*Another complex member of the Long Room Club is the Reverend Dr. Samuel Cooper, pastor of the Brattle Street Church. Cooper did not use his pulpit as a political tool, but stayed with well-preached sermons based on the Bible. His church was an extremely popular one, for many of the wealthy merchants attended regularly. Among his parishioners were several members of the Long Room Club, including John Hancock, John Adams, Samuel Adams, among others. He appears briefly in Johnny Tremain when Johnny tells him how much he owes the Boston Observer, a code for the time of the next meeting of the Boston Observers. The problem is that Tremain tells him on the Sabbath, when Cooper is greeting his parishioners at the end of the morning service. A lady takes exception to Tremain carrying on business on the Sabbath, and Cooper has to cough repeatedly to cover his laughter. In the book, Cooper was never visible for any public gathering involving the Boston Tea Party, which fit his role as he walked that fine line between church and state.*

*Samuel Cooper did keep a diary, but it is the most mundane of documents. Nothing outside his comings and goings is mentioned. Before the Revolution, the only evidence that showed Samuel Cooper's strong convictions was his correspondence. He had a long and detailed correspondence with Benjamin Franklin, as well as Thomas Pownall, former governor of Massachusetts and Whig member of Parliament. George III even received copies of his letters to both Franklin and Pownall after the Revolution began!*

*Cooper was a close advisor and friend to John Hancock. He entertained and accepted dinner invitations from many members of the Long Room Club. Samuel's brother, William Cooper, who as town clerk knew a great deal about Boston's political affairs, was indeed very close to his brother. But most Bostonians, if asked their opinion of Rev. Samuel Cooper, would have told you what an outstanding minister he was, and how he was the best preacher in Boston. They would, however, note one thing that puzzled them. What was Rev. Cooper's political viewpoint? He didn't appear to have one!*

### **Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Samuel Cooper, 13 January 1772**

London, Jan. 13, 1772

Dear Sir,

I have now before me your several Favours of July 10, Aug. 23, and Nov. 5. A long Journey I took in the Summer and Autumn for the Establishment of my Health, prevented my answering sooner the two first. I hope the State of your Health also is mended by your Retirement into the Country, as mine has sensibly been by that Journey.

You have furnished me with a very good additional Argument against the Crown's paying its Governors, viz. that the propos'd Independence is impolitic on the part of the Crown, and tends to prejudice its Interest, even consider'd separate from that of the People, as it will prove a strong Temptation to Governors to hold a Conduct that will greatly lessen their Esteem and Influence in the Province, and consequently their

Power to promote the Service of the King. Indeed the making it a Rule among our selves that the Governor is to have his Salary from our Assemblies, tho' his publick Conduct should be willfully and maliciously prejudicial to the Province, has the *same Tendency*; of which the Conduct of Governor Bernard while he was constantly and regularly paid by us, is a considerable Proof. And therefore, in my Opinion, if we would have our Power of granting the Support operate with any Weight in maintaining an Influence with the Governor, it should have been withheld from him, and we should withhold it in part or in the whole, according to the Circumstances, as often as such a Conduct appears in any Governor. Otherwise the Power, if in such Cases it is not to be used, would seem of very little Importance. And since the Assembly have of late Years, and under such great Provocations, never attempted to abridge or withhold the Salary, no Reason appears why the American Minister should now think it necessary or adviseable for the Crown to take the payment of its Governor upon itself unless it be with an Intention to influence him by withholding it when he declines executing arbitrary Instructions; and then in such Cases the People should be sure to compensate him. As to procuring here any Change of this Measure, I frankly own to you that I despair of it, while the Administration of American Affairs continues in the Hands of Lord Hillsborough; and while, by our Paying the Duties there is a sufficient American Fund out of which such Salaries can be satisfied. The Failure of that Fund would be the most likely Means of demolishing the Project.

The Attempt to get the Commissioners exempted from the Payment of their Taxes, by an Instruction to the Governor, is the most indiscrete Thing, surely (to say nothing of its Injustice) that any prudent Government was every guilty of. I cannot think it will be persisted in. I hope it will never be comply'd with. If the Supply-Bill is duly offered without the Clause, I am persuaded it will not long be refused. The Publick must however suffer in the mean time by the Want of the Supply; but that will be a good Foundation for an Impeachment here. Your Reasonings against the Instruction are unanswerable, and will be of use in the Discussing that Business.

I am glad that Commodore Gambier behav'd in so satisfactory a manner. His Uncle, Mr. Mead, first Commissioner of the Customs, is a particular and intimate Friend of mine, a Man of great Moderation and Prudence; I knew that he gave his Nephew, before he went hence, a great deal of good Advice with regard to his Conduct among the People of Boston, for whom he has a great Esteem and Regard, having formerly commanded a Frigate stationed there; and he is happy to find by your Letter (which I communicated to him) that his Advice was so well followed. He gave also equally good Advice to your indiscrete Commissioners when they were sent out, but they had not Sense enough to follow it, and therefore have been the Authors of infinite Mischief. I wonder at the Invention of so improbable a Lye, as that I should desire a Place among them, who am daily urging the Expediency of their Dissolution. The other Calumny you mention, contain'd in an anonymous Letter to the Speaker, is so weak, that I believe you do not think I ought to take any Notice of it. As to the Agency, whether I am re-chosen or not, and whether the General Assembly is ever permitted to pay me or not, I shall nevertheless continue to exert myself in behalf of my country as long as I see a Probability of my being able to do it any Service. I have nothing to ask or expect of Ministers. I have, Thanks to God, a Competency for the little Time I may expect to live, and am grown too old for Ambition of any kind, but that of leaving a Good Name behind me.

Your Story of the Clergyman and Proclamation is a pleasant one. I can only match it with one I had from my Father, I know not if it was ever printed. Charles I ordered his Proclamation, authorizing Sports on a Sunday, to be read in all churches. Many Clergymen comply'd, some refus'd and other hurry'd it through as indistinctly as possible. But one, whose congregation expected no such thing from him, did nevertheless, to their great Surprize, read it distinctly. He follow'd it, however, with the Fourth Commandment, *Remember to keep holy the Sabbath Day*, and then said, Bretheren, I have laid before you the Command of your King and the Commandment of your God. I leave it to your selves to judge which of the two ought rather to be observed. With great and sincere Esteem, I remain, Dear Sir, Your most obedient and most humble Servant

B FRANKLIN

Benjamin Franklin to Samuel Cooper, 13 January 1772, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 19, ed. W. B. Willcox (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 13-16.

### **Letter from Samuel Cooper to Benjamin Franklin, 15 March 1773**

Boston, N.E. 15<sup>th</sup> March, 1773

Dear Sir,

I have been confin'd to my House great Part of this Winter by my valetudinary State, and been little able to see and converse with my Friends, and less to write to them. A Line from you would have greatly refresh'd me in this confinement, as your Letters have ever been one of the greatest Entertainments of my Life: but I do not mean to complain, having been so greatly indebted to you.

Till of late there has been little remarkable in our public Affairs for more than a Year. The Appointment of Ld. Dartmouth to the American Department was receiv'd here with a general Joy, which was soon check'd by his Official Letter to the Governor of Rhode-Island, respecting the Court of Inquiry into the Burning of the Gaspee and the Directions therein given to send the accused with the Witnesses to Great Britain for Trial; as also by the Account of the Provision made by the King for the Support of the Justices of our Superior Court. These Events made a deep Impression on the Mind of People thro the Province. The latter, it is known, took Place before Lord Hillsborough's Removal; but the former was more unexpected, as the Disposition of Ld. Dartmouth to serve the Colonies, and to promote mild Measures was not doubted.

Soon after the Appointment for the Superior Justices was known, the Town of Boston had a Meeting. Their Committee drew up a State of the public Grievances; which was accompanied with a Letter to evr'y Town in the Province, desiring their Brethren to express their own Sense of these important Matters. Tho this Measure was oppos'd by a Number of the most respectable Friends to Liberty in the Town, among which were three out of four of the Representatives of Boston, from an Apprehension that many Towns, for various Reasons might not chuse to adopt it, and in that Case, the Attempt might greatly prejudice the Interest it was design'd to promote, and tho the Governor and his Friends in

ev'ry Place did not fail to avail themselves of this and evr'y other Circumstance to frustrate it, yet it had an Effect thro the whole Province beyond the most sanguine Expectations of it's Friends: And the public Acts of a great Majority of the Towns, whatever may be thought of the Manner of Expression in some of them, clearly demonstrates that it is not a small Faction, but the Body of the People, who deem themselves in a State of Oppression, and that their most essential Rights are violated. The Pamphlet containing the Proceedings of Boston has already been sent you, and I should enclose those of some other Towns, had I a sure and easy Way of Conveying such large Papers, without Fear of Burdening when I meant to entertain you.

Upon the Convening the General Assembly, the Governor opened with a long Speech in Defence of the absolute Supremacy of Parliament over the Colonies, inviting both Houses to offer what they had to object against this Principle. His Prudence however, in this Step, and whether he will be thanked for it by Administration, is doubted. By the Replies of the two Houses, perfectly united in the main Principles, the Governor and his Friends received a Shock which they could not conceal; while the People are greatly confirm'd in their Sentiments, and encourag'd to support them. I will venture to mention in Confidence to you, that the Governor appearing uneasy after he had received the second Reply of the Council, employ'd his utmost Influence to have it reconsidered and altered. Having endeavor'd privately to prepare the Minds of some Influential Members for this, He enclos'd it in a Letter to one of the Board, requesting him to introduce the Reconsideration in Council: Presently He appears there himself, and argues strenuously in Favor of this. The Vote for the Reply, as it had been deliver'd, was however unanimous, except two, who desir'd to be excused from voting either Way. Oppos'd as he now stands to both Houses, and the Body of the People, an undisguis'd and zealous advocate for ev'ry Thing we account a Grievance, how far his Situation resembles that of his Predecessor, I leave you to judg.

The Opposition here to the hard and oppressive Measures of the British Administration, never appear'd to me founded so much in Knowledg and Principle, never so systematical, deliberate and firm as it is at present. I may be mistaken in this opinion, but it leads me most earnestly to wish, for the Sake of both Countries, for some Pacification — some Lines to be drawn — some Bill of Rights for America — some Security against the unlimited Supremacy, and unbounded Pow'r not only of our Sovereign, but also of our Fellow Subjects in Britain over us: and unless something of this [sort?] soon takes Place, there is Danger that Things will run into Confusion. Knowing your past Services to the Province, and being perswaded both of your ability and Inclination still to serve it in the best Manner that the State of Things will allow, I hope all Obstruction to your receiving the Grants made for you by the House will soon be removed.

Our congregation are now engag'd in building an House of Worship, that will cost £6000. Sterling and be finish'd by Mid-summer. The Dimensions within the Walls 80 by 65 Feet. The Building is of Brick. It is thought necessary to warm it in the Cold and damp Seasons of the Year, by some Machine, but what Kind, we are at a Loss. We have heard of Buzaglo's Inventions, but not been particularly inform'd. You will do us all a very great Favor if you would write me, what Machine you think most convenient and decent for this Purpose, the Prince, the Manner of putting up, the Place where, and how the Smoke in convey'd away. We should be extremely glad of your Information Time

etc. and[?] if it might ser[ve?] to send our Order for it, and have it put up early in the Fall. I have been told that you and some others have lately obtain'd thro much opposition a Grant of Land for a new Province. If this be true, and your Prospect agreeable, You have no Friend that takes a warmer Part in it thro your large Circle, than your obedient humble Servant

SAMUEL COOPER

Samuel Cooper to Benjamin Franklin, 13 March 1773, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 20, ed. W. B. Willcox (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 110-115.

### **Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Samuel Cooper, 25 February 1774**

London, Feb. 25, 1774

Dear Sir,

I thank you much for your respected Favours of Nov. 10. Dec. 17. and 20. and for the satisfactory Intelligence they contained.

I condole with you most sincerely on your great Loss.

I have written a pretty full Account to the Speaker of the Treatment their Petition and their Agent have received here. My Letter went in Symes, and probably you may have seen it before this can reach you, therefore, and because I have a little Disorder in my Eyes at present, I do not repeat any part of it to you, nor can I well send a Copy to him.

You can have no Conception of the Rage the ministerial People have been in with me, on Account of my Transmitting those Letters. It is quite incomprehensible! If they had been wise, they might have made a good Use of the Discovery, by agreeing to lay the Blame of our Differences on those from whom by those Letters it appear'd to have arisen; and by a Change of Measures, which would then have appear'd natural, restor'd the Harmony between the two Countries. But —

I send directed to you, a Set of the late French Edition of my Philosophical Papers. There are in it several Pieces not in the English. When you have look'd them over, please to give them to Mr. Winthrop for the College Library. I am ever, Dear Sir, Yours most affectionately

B FRANKLIN

Benjamin Franklin to Samuel Cooper, 25 February 1774, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 21, ed. W. B. Willcox (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 124.

### **Letter from Samuel Cooper to Benjamin Franklin, 15 August 1774**

Boston, N.E. Aug: 15. 1774

Dear Sir,

My Retirement into the Country a great part of the Spring and Summer must be my Apology for not transmitting sooner to you the inclosed Vote of Thanks for your valuable Present to the Library of H[arvard]: College. The great Age of the venerable Gentleman who transcrib'd and attests it, will excuse any Deficiency in point of Form. Your literary Works, and your public as well as private Character, must for ever be superior to the unprovok'd Malice of your Enemies; and endear your name not only to the present but future Generations.

The Act for blockading the Town has been executed with the utmost Rigor and even beyond the Rigor of this cruel Act. Our Coasters with Wood have been oblig'd to unload at Salem in their way hither; and 240 Quintals of Fish kindly sent our poor by our Brethren at Marblehead were not permitted to come to us by Water, but transported by Land Carriage round the Country thro Roxbury. The Fuel and Victuals are expressly excepted in the Act. We have now besides the Fleet in our Harbor, 4. Regiments encamp'd on the Common: one on Forthill; another at the Castle; that from N. Scotia is station'd at Salem. The People endure all with an astonishing Calmness and Resolution; supported and encourag'd with the Sympathy and good Wishes of our Brethren in the Country and thro out the Colonies. They have made our Cause a common one. They appear ardent in it. Large and generous Presents to the indigent and distress'd Inhabitants flow in from all Quarters. Our Delegates with those of N. Hampshire set out a few days ago for the congress which meets at Philadelphia 1. Sept. All Eyes are turn'd towards that important Assembly: It's Decisions will come with great Weight; and should it recommend either a Non Importation, or a Non consumption of British goods the Recommendation would be almost universally adopted. We have received the Act for vacating the Charter, and for encouraging the Soldiery to murder us. The Impression they make upon the other Colonies as well as this is deep. Genl. Gage has a difficult Task, He gives himself wholly up to the high Party among us, and acts in the Spirit of them that sent him. He finds the People less dismayed and submissive and the Colonies more united than he expected. Tho he has employ'd ev'ry argument to perswade those commission'd as Councillors to qualify, some have refus'd, and others desir'd Time to consider: Only eleven have as yet been sworn; but more it is expected will accept.

Col. Hancock is dismiss'd from his Command of the Company of Cadets, and they have resign'd their Colors to the Governor and dissolv'd. It is impossible to look into Futurity; and to write Conjectures may not at present be wise. Boston is not yet deserted, nor the American Cause desperate. We are indeed in a most critical Situation; and what the grand Event may be Heavn only knows. All Arts have been employ'd to terrify, cajol, divide, and mislead us; they have had some Effect, I wonder they have had no greater. Our Rights may perhaps yet be redeem'd, and prove a Means of saving the Liberties of Britain. I am, my dear Sir with increased Affection.

Samuel Cooper to Benjamin Franklin, 15 August 1774, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 21, ed. W. B. Willcox (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 274-276.

**Samuel Cooper, *A Sermon preached before His Excellency John Hancock, 25 October 1780* [excerpt]**

A SERMON  
 Preached before his Excellency  
 JOHN HANCOCK, Esq;  
 GOVERNOUR,  
 The Honourable the  
 SENATE,  
 And  
 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
 Of the  
 COMMONWEALTH  
 Of  
 MASSACHUSETTS  
 October 25, 1780.  
 Being the day of the  
 Commencement of the Constitution,  
 And  
 Inauguration of the new Government.

BY SAMUEL COOPER, D.D.

[ . . . ] Upon our present independence, sweet and valuable as the blessing is, we may read the inscription, *I am found of them that sought me not*. Be it to our praise or blame, we cannot deny, that when we were not searching for it, it happily found us. It certainly must have been not only innocent but laudable and manly, to have desired it even before we felt the absolute necessity of it. It was our birth right; we ought to have valued it highly, and never to have received *a mess of pottage*, a small temporary supply, as an equivalent for it. Going upon the trite metaphor of a mother country, which has so often been weakly urged against us, like a child grown to maturity, we had a right to a distinct settlement in the world; and to the fruits of our own industry; and it would have been but justice, and no great generosity, in her who so much boasted her maternal tenderness to us, had she not only readily acquiesced, but even aided us in this settlement. It is certain, however, that we did not seek an independence; and it is equally certain that Britain, though she meant to oppose it with all her power, has by a strange infatuation, taken the most direct, and perhaps the only methods that could have established it. Her oppressions, her unrelenting cruelty, have driven us out from the family of which we were once a part: This has opened our eyes to discern the inestimable blessing of a separation from her; while, like children that have been inhumanly treated and cast out by their parents, and at the same time are capable of taking care of themselves, we have found friendship and respect from the world, and have formed new, advantageous, and honorable connections.

Independence gives us a rank among the nations of the earth, which no precept of our religion forbids us to understand and feel, and which we should be ambitious to

support in the most reputable manner. It opens to us a free communication with all the world, not only for the improvement of commerce, and the acquisition of wealth, but also for the cultivation of the most useful knowledge. It naturally unfetters and expands the human mind; and prepares it for the impression of the most exalted virtues, as well as the reception of the most important science. If we look into the history and character of nations, we shall find those that have been for a long time, and to any considerable degree dependent upon others, limited and cramped in their improvements; corrupted by the court, and stained with the vices of the ruling state; and debased by an air of servility and depression marking their productions and manners. Servility is not only dishonorable to human nature, but commonly accompanied with the meanest vices, such as adulation, deceit, falshood, treachery, cruelty, and the basest methods of supporting and procuring the favour of the power upon which it depends.[. . .]

Samuel Cooper, *A Sermon Preached before his Excellency John Hancock, Esq.* (Boston: T. and J. Fleet, and J. Gill, 1780), Title page, 16-18.

**Phillis [Wheatley] Peters, *An Elegy Sacred to the Memory of that great divine: the Reverend and learned Dr .Samuel Cooper, 1784***

*Phillis Wheatley was a renowned poet of this time. A free African-American, Wheatley was baptized by Cooper, and was supported by him in controversies she endured because of her race and gender.*

An ELEGY  
Sacred to the  
MEMORY  
Of that Great Divine,  
The Reverend and Learned  
DR. SAMUEL COOPER  
Who departed this life December 29, 1783,  
Aetatis 59

By PHILLIS PETERS

BOSTON: Printed and Sold by E. RUSSELL,  
In Essex-Street, near Liberty-Pole.  
1784

[. . .]

O Thou whose exit wraps in boundless woe,

For Thee the tears of various Nations flow;  
 For Thee the floods of virtuous sorrows rise  
 From the full heart and burst from streaming eyes,  
 Far from our view to Heaven's eternal height,  
 The Seat of bliss divine, and glory bright;  
 Far from the restless turbulence of life,  
 The war of factions, and impassion'd strife  
 From every ill mortality endur'd  
 Safe in celestial *Salem's* walls secur'd.

E'er yet from this terrestrial state retir'd,  
 The Virtuous lov'd Thee, and the Wise admir'd  
 The gay approv'd Thee, and the grave rever'd;  
 And all thy words with rapt attention heard!  
 The Sons of Learning on thy lessons hung,  
 While soft persuasion mov'd th'illit'rate throng.  
 Who, drawn by rhetoric's commanding laws,  
 Comply'd obedient, nor conceiv'd the cause.  
 Thy every sentence was with grace inspir'd,  
 And every period with devotion fir'd;  
 Bright Truth thy guide without a dark disguise,  
 And penetration's all-discerning eyes.

Thy country mourns th'afflicting Hand divine  
 That now forbids thy radiant lamp to shine,  
 Which, like the sun, resplendent source of light  
 Diffus'd its beams, and chear'd our gloom of night.

What deep-felt sorrow in each *Kindred* breast  
 With keen sensation rends the heart distress'd!  
*Fraternal* love sustains a tenderer part,  
 And mourns a BROTHER with a BROTHER's heart.

Thy CHURCH laments her faithful PASTOR fled  
 To the cold mansions of the silent dead.  
 There hush'd forever, cease the heavenly strain,  
 That wak'd the soul, but here resounds in vain.  
 Still live thy merits, where thy name is known,  
 As the sweet Rose, its blooming beauty gone  
 Retains its fragrance with a long perfume:  
 Thus COOPER! thus thy death-less name shall bloom  
 Unfading, in thy *Church* and *Country's* love,  
 While Winter frowns, or spring renews the grove.  
 The hapless Muse, her loss in COOPER mourns,  
 And as she sits, she writes, and weeps, by turns;  
 A Friend sincere, whose mild indulgent grace

Encourag'd oft, and oft approv'd her  
lays. ....

With all their charms, terrestrial objects strove,  
But vain their pleasers to attract his love.  
Such COOPER was —at Heaven's high call he flies;  
His talk well finish'd, to his native skies.  
Yet to his fate reluctant we resign,  
Tho' our's to copy conduct such as thine:  
Such was thy wish, th'observant Muse sruvey'd  
Thy latest breath, and [thy] advice convey'd.

Phillis Peters, *An Elegy, Sacred to the Memory of that Great Divine, the Reverend and Learned Dr. Samuel Cooper* (Boston: E. Russle, 1784).

## WILLIAM COOPER

*William Cooper, Rev. Samuel Cooper's older brother, apparently was more a man of action than a man of education. He early chose to go into trade rather than continue at Boston Latin and prepare for Harvard. His main "claim to fame" was his service as Boston town clerk from 1761 until his death in 1809. William Cooper also served as editor and compiler of the Journal of the Times, based on material published in the New York Journal starting in the fall of 1768, but with a distinct Boston slant when it appeared in the Evening Post. William became a member of the House of Representatives in the Massachusetts provisional government in 1775, and even was chosen speaker pro tempore.*

*Cooper married Katherine Wendell, daughter of a prosperous, powerful Boston merchant, in 1745, and they had seventeen children. Although records are scarce, it appears that William was close to his more famous brother. His brother was his pastor; Samuel baptized all his children, including two Samuels. It is not surprising that Esther Forbes has Samuel Cooper deliver the message to his brother about the meeting of the Boston Observers in Johnny Tremain. Both brothers were close to John Hancock, who attended the same church and went to many of the same political meetings they did, as part of the town and provincial government, as well as the Committee of Correspondence, and, of course, the Long Room Club. William supported John Hancock when Hancock and Sam Adams had a "falling out" in 1781.*

*Sources that were actually written by William Cooper are rare indeed. His signature, however, always appears on documents for the Town of Boston, as well as the Committee of Correspondence.*

### **William Cooper, Diary, 1764-1765 [excerpts]**

*[The following are three selections from William Cooper's diary. The first selection, from September 8, 1765, addresses the fact that Cooper is too involved in public affairs, and needs to think more on heavenly things. The second is a reflection on his 43<sup>rd</sup> birthday.*

*The third selection is a New Year's reflection for 1765, which happens to also fall on a Sabbath.]*

October 12th. [1764] I am this Day 43 years of Age and would in sincerity of soul bless my good & gracious God for the Mercys of another year; at the same time lamenting the sins and follys I have been guilty of in the course of it — I fly to the rich atonement of my Saviors Blood, and would lay my guilty Soul at his Feet, adopting the prayer of the Publican, O that I could make it in his Spirit — God be merciful to me a Sinner.— I bless God for what I enjoy in Life, and would not overlook any of his kind dealings — from the comfortable Experience of his goodness the past and former years; not withstanding he has at times been chastening of me, & some difficulty of a temporal nature still

remain, I must say; It is good to pray to him; good to resign ourselves & all our affairs into his Hand, I desire still to in the way of duty, to hope in his Mercy [. . .]

1765

January 6<sup>th</sup>. Upon this first Sabbath of a new Year I have had health of Body to attend the publick Worship, and the privilege of setting down at the Table of the Lord — Numbers even at our Church have had their Days numbered & finished in the past year, and are now no more seen to come and go from the place of the holy here below; but are gone down to the silent Grave; their time of tryal is ended, ad they are now fixed in an Eternal State; O my Soul as it has happened to them so it might have happened or been ordered out to me, but the day of life is yet lengthed out may it also be a Day of Grace to me, that so I may know & experience on this my day the Signs of my peace, that they may not at last be hidden from my Eyes — I have again avouched the Lord to be my God, my God is covenant and sealed my engagements to be his at the holy Table. I would distrust my own strength to perform my part of the conditions of it, and earnestly look to the dear Jesus for strength to enable me to be faithful and sincere to my Engagements, as well as for such Righteousness to cover my defects and render me amicable in his sight [. . .]

September 8 [1765] The Face of publick affairs is such as occasions much axiety to the true Friend of Liberty [*illegible*] & Religious — the last Evening & this morning I have the right and talk too much upon this. O that I would raise my thoughts from Earth to Heaven and that my hopes & fears were exercised about spiritual & Eternal Things, rather then more of Time and Sense — It is a difficult thing to keep the Line of duty at such a seaon as the present, — to discus a good cause thus: fear & a love of ease softly betrays a meanness and leariness of mind, to support it in ways not Justifiable by reason and Religion, is wrong & productive of individuals & the publick — Lord send out thy Light & thy truth to lead & conduct thy Israel in the way wherein they ought at this Day to go, and to teach the what they ought to do. And as thou were the God of our Fathers, & often appeared for them; Be thus their Childrens God & grant deliverance to us in every Time of trouble & difficulty — Mr. Elliot Delivered a various good discourse in the Morning from those words “Be ye filled with the Spirit” — Brother preach’d a very good Sermon in the afternoon from those words, “For great is your reward in Heaven.” [. . .]

William Cooper, Diary, 12 October 1764, 6 January 1765, 8 September 1765, William Cooper diary, Massachusetts Historical Society.

**Broadside, *The Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Boston . . .*, 22 June 1773**

*As Town Clerk, William Cooper prepared many documents at the instruction of the Town of Boston. This selection is a letter written on behalf of the Boston Committee of Correspondence to be distributed to committees or selectmen in other towns throughout Massachusetts.*

Boston, June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1773

Sir,

The Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Boston, conformable to that Duty which they have hitherto endeavoured to discharge with Fidelity, again address you with a very fortunate Important Discovery; and cannot but express their grateful Sentiments in having obtained the Approbation of so large a Majority of the Towns in this Colony, for their past Attention to the general Interest.

A more extraordinary Occurrence possibly never yet took Place in America; the Providential Care of that gracious Being who conducted the early Settlers of this Country to establish a safe Retreat from Tyranny for themselves and their Posterity in America, has again wonderfully interposed to bring to Light the Plot that had been laid for us by our malicious and insidious Enemies.

Our present Governor has been exerting himself (as the honorable House of Assembly have expressed themselves in their late Resolves) “by his secret confidential Correspondence, to introduce Measures destructive of our constitutional Liberty, while he has practiced every method among the People of this Province, to fix in their Minds an exalted Opinion of his warmest Affection for them, and his unremitting Endeavours to promote their best Interest at the Court of Great Britain.” This will abundantly appear by the Letters and Resolves which we herewith transmit to you; the serious Perusal of which will shew you your present most dangerous Situation. This Period calls for the strictest Concurrence in Sentiment and Action of every individual of this Province, and we may add, of THIS CONTINENT; all private Views should be annihilated, and the Good of the Whole should be the single Object of our Pursuit— “By uniting we stand,” and shall be able to defeat the Invaders and Violaters of our Rights.

We are,  
Your Friends and Humble Servants,

Signed by Direction of the Committee for Correspondence in Boston,

[signed] William Cooper, Town-Clerk.

To the Town Clerk of \_\_\_\_\_, to be immediately  
Delivered to the Committee of Correspondence for your Town,  
if such a Committee is chosen, otherwise to the Gentlemen the  
Selectmen, to be communicated to the Town.

Boston Committee of Correspondence, “Sir, the Committee of correspondence of the town of Boston . . . .” (Boston, 1773).

**Letter from Thomas Cushing to William Cooper, 23 October 1775**

Philadelphia Oct. 23, 1775

Dear Sir

I received yours of the 24<sup>th</sup> September on the 21<sup>st</sup> Instant & not before, what has delayed its passage here I cannot say— I wrote you the beginning of this month but have not as yet been favoured with an answer— Wish our Freinds would write us more frequently— I am oblinded to you for the Enquiry you made at Dedham for a House for me, should be glad to govern my self by the opinion of the county as to the place of Holding the Probate, provided at this difficult time I can be accommodated with such a place as will be agreable to them— If I had been so happy as to have seen you before I left Watertown, I doubt whether it would have been proper for me to have signed any blank Letters of Administration or Letters of Guardianship Bonds, before I had my Commission and more than a month before by law I could have entered upon the discharge of the office I was appointed to, for, if you will recollect, you will find, that, by the law that was made by the General Court upon this occasion, none of the new appointments were to take place till after the 20 of September last, this matter I considered before I left Watertown or else should certainly have seen you previous to my departure and have signed the Papers you mention, which I am sensible, could it have been done with any Propriety, would have been for the ease of the County—

I am much surprised that any Persons amoung us should just now think of dividing the County, especially at this very critical time when we have so many other matters of the greatest magnitude to engage our attention; such a thing was never attempted in any other County without first notifying every Town in the County of such an Intention, can the Inhabitants of the Bostons (the Shire Town & whose Interest it so nearly affects) in their present distressed dispersed state attend to a Question of such Moment[?], certainly not, & will the Inhabitants of the other Towns in the County take the advantage of this their distress? & if they would, will the General Court attend to them at such a time? Certainly not.

Whenever a Bill for determining what offices are incompatable with each other shall be brought into the House, I hope it will be considered with great attention and due deliberation, There are many difficulties attending such a measure which at first Veiv may not be thought of— I hope we shall not run from one Extream to another— I sincerely wish the Court may be directed to such a Conduct as may tend Effectually to Strengthen our happy Constitution & be for the lasting benefit of the Government—

I am Glad to find General Washington is fitting out some Vessells of War, this is a necessary measure as our Enemies are dayly pirating our Vessells. I have frequently urged it here, as to the Establishment of Courts of Admiralty, that will come on of Course, but it will not do to urge it here at present.

I cannot as yet form any judgment when I shall be able to return, many Interesting and important matters demand my attention & presence here, as therefore I shall be necessarily detained here for some time, I have no objection that, during my absence, you should take Guardian and Administration Bonds, in particular cases where you may find it necessary, and I doubt not you will take special care & caution that in all such cases the Bondsmen are good & sufficient— Let me know whether it is necessary for me to return home immediately: Our Late President Mr. Randolph dyed yesterday of the Palsy, he is to be buried tomorrow, he was a worthy Character, he was sensible, a Gentleman of an

even Temper and of sound Judgement; he dyed engaged in a good Cause— My Friend, Let us follow his example, Let us persevere in ð supporting this good Cause, Let us act with Zeal not Rashness, let no attachment of Persons, Parties or of actions lead us from the Path of Duty. but let us be Calm, firm, steady & unwearied in our Endeavors to serve our Country, in this way Heaven will smile upon our exertions & I doubt not the Good Lord will Send us glorious Deliverance—

I congratulate you upon your late promotion as Speaker, [*torn*] my Friend is honoured & meets with the approbation of his Countrym[en] I partake of the pleasure & am always highly gratified

I conclude D[ea]r Sir with the greatest Esteem & [*torn*]

Y[ou]r Freind and serv[an]t,

Tho[mas] Cushing

Thomas Cushing to William Cooper, 23 October 1775, Miscellaneous Bound Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society.

## JOHN HANCOCK

*John Hancock is a significant character in Esther Forbes' novel, Johnny Tremain. He certainly was a significant member of the Sons of Liberty. Born on January 12, 1736 in Quincy to the Rev. John and Mary Hancock, he was soon orphaned, but was adopted by his childless uncle Thomas, who happened to be an extremely successful businessman. Hancock attended Harvard, as did many members of the Long Room Club, and soon became a partner in his uncle's business. Reputed to be the wealthiest man in New England, Hancock enjoyed power and reveled in being the center of attention. He was also generous with his money to causes he believed in, and never totally forgot that he came from a poor family. A member of the Brattle Street Church, which he generously supported, Hancock looked to Rev. Samuel Cooper for advice and friendship. He believed in the Whig cause whole-heartedly, and was especially close to Samuel Adams, who used Hancock's position and money to further the cause of the Sons of Liberty.*

*Hancock was pressured to join the Patriot cause when his ship, the Liberty, was seized by the British in 1768. He was trying to smuggle Madeira into New England without paying the tax. The fines would have bankrupted him. Soon he was a member of the General Court, head of the Town Committee in Boston, and in 1774-75, the President of the Provincial Congress. Hancock, however, hoped that he would be chosen as commander of the American army at the upcoming Second Continental Congress. When he arrived at Philadelphia, he must have been heartened when he was elected President of the Continental Congress, and was first to sign the Declaration of Independence. When John Adams nominated George Washington for the post Hancock wanted, and Sam Adams supported the choice, it must have been hard to bear.*

*Back in Massachusetts, Hancock became President of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1780, the Governor of Massachusetts from 1780 to 1785 and 1787 to 1793, and presided over the Massachusetts Convention to ratify the US Constitution. He died while still governor, and was replaced by his Lieutenant Governor – Samuel Adams!*

### **Broadside, *Glorious News, Just Received from Boston. . . .*, 16 May 1766**

*This broadside shows the importance of Hancock's ships both for trade and communication.*

View a digital image of this document at: [http://www.masshist.org/database/onview\\_full.cfm?queryID=257](http://www.masshist.org/database/onview_full.cfm?queryID=257)

GLORIOUS NEWS,

BOSTON, Friday 11 o'Clock, 16th May 1766.

THIS Instant arrived here the Brig Harrison, belonging to *John Hancock*, Esq; Captain *Shubael Coffin*, in 6 Weeks and 2 Days from LONDON, with important News, as follows.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.  
*Westminster, March 18th, 1766.*

THIS day his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and being in his royal robes seated on the throne with the usual solemnity, Sir Francis Molineux, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, was sent with a Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, commanding their attendance in the House of Peers. The Commons being come thither accordingly, his Majesty was pleased to give his royal assent to

An ACT to REPEAL an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, an Act for granting and applying certain Stamp-Duties and other Duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America, towards further defraying the expences of defending, protecting and securing the same, and for amending such parts of the several Acts of Parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the said Colonies and Plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned.

Also ten public bills, and seventeen private ones.

Yesterday there was a meeting of the principal Merchants concerned in the American trade, at the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill, to consider of an Address to his Majesty on the beneficial Repeal of the late Stamp-Act.

Yesterday morning about eleven o'clock a great number of North American Merchants went in their coaches from the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill to the House of Peers, to pay their duty to his Majesty, and to express their satisfaction at his signing the Bill for Repealing the American Stamp-Act, there was upwards of fifty coaches in the procession.

Last night the said gentlemen dispatched an express for Falmouth, with fifteen copies of the Act for repealing the Stamp-Act, to be forwarded immediately for New York.

Orders are given for several merchantmen in the river to proceed to sea immediately on their respective voyages to North America, some of whom have been cleared out since the first of November last.

Yesterday messengers were dispatched to Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, and all the great manufacturing towns in England, with an account of the final decision of an august assembly relating to the Stamp-Act.

When the KING went to the House of Peers to give the Royal Assent, there was such a vast Concourse of People, huzzaing, clapping Hands, &c. that it was several Hours before His Majesty reached the House.

Immediately on His Majesty's Signing the Royal Assent to the Repeal of the Stamp-Act the Merchants trading to America, dispatched a Vessel which had been in waiting, to put into the first Port on the Continent with the Account.

There were the greatest Rejoicings possible in the City of London, by all Ranks of People, on the TOTAL Repeal of the Stamp-Act, -- the Ships in the River displayed all their Colours, Illuminations and Bonfires in many Parts. -- In short, the Rejoicings were as great as was ever known on any Occasion.

It is said the Acts of Trade relating to America would be taken under Consideration, and all Grievances removed. The Friends to America are very powerful, and disposed to assist us to the utmost of their Ability.

Capt. Blake sailed the same Day with Capt. Coffin, and Capt. Shand a Fort-night before him, both bound to this Port.

*It is impossible to express the Joy the Town is now in, on receiving the above, great, glorious, and important NEWS -- The Bells in all the Churches were immediately set a Ringing, and we hear the Day for a general Rejoicing will be the beginning of the next Week.*

PRINTED for the Benefit of the PUBLIC, by  
*Drapers, Edes & Gill, Green & Russell, and Fleets.*

The Customers to the Boston Papers may have the above gratis at the respective Offices.

*Glorious News, Just received from Boston, brought by Messrs. Jonathon Lowder, and Thomas Brackett . . . (Newport: S. Hall, 1766.)*

### **John Hancock, *An Oration*, 5 March 1774**

*This speech was probably written with considerable assistance from Dr. Benjamin Church.*

#### AN ORATION

Men, Brethren, Fathers and Fellow Countrymen!

The attentive gravity, the venerable appearance of this crouded audience, the dignity which I behold in the countenances of so many in this great Assembly, the solemnity of the occasion upon which we have met together, join'd to a consideration of

the part I am to take in the important business of this day, fill me with an awe hitherto unknown; and heighten the sense which I have ever had, of my unworthiness to fill this sacred desk; but, allur'd by the call of some of my respected fellow-citizens, with whose request it is always my greatest pleasure to comply, I almost forget my want or ability to perform what they required. In this situation, I find my only support, in assuring myself that generous people will not severely censure what they know was well intended, though it's want of merit, should prevent their being able to applaud it. And I pray, that my sincere attachment to the interest of my country, and hearty detestation of every design formed against her liberties, may be admitted as some apology for my appearance in this place.

I have always from my earliest youth, rejoiced in the felicity of my Fellow-men, and have ever considered it as the indispensable duty of every member of society to promote, as far as in him lies, the prosperity of every individual, but more especially of the community to which he belongs; and also, as a faithful subject of the state, to use his utmost endeavours to detect, and having detected, strenuously to oppose every traitorous plot which its enemies may devise for its destruction. Security to the persons and properties of the governed, is so obviously the design and end of civil government, that to attempt a logical proof of it, would be like burning tapers at noon day, to assist the sun in enlightening the world; and it cannot be either virtuous or honorable, to attempt to support a government, of which this is not the great and principal basis; and it is to the last degree vicious and infamous to attempt to support a government which manifestly tends to render the persons and properties of the governed insecure. Some boast of being *friends to government*; I am a friend to *righteous* government, to a government founded upon the principles of reason and justice; but I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to tyranny. Is the present system which the British administration have adopted for the government of the colonies, a righteous government? Or is it tyranny? Here suffer me to ask (and would to Heaven there could be an answer) What tenderness? What regard, respect or consideration has *Great-Britain* shewn in their late transaction for the security of the persons or properties of the inhabitants of the colonies? or rather, What have they omitted doing to destroy that security? They have declared that they have, ever had, and of right ought ever to have, full power to make laws of sufficient validity to bind the colonies in all cases whatever: They have exercised this pretended right by imposing a tax upon us without our consent; and lest we should shew some reluctance at parting with our property, her fleets and armies are sent to inforce their mad pretensions. The town of Boston, ever faithful to the British Crown, has been invested by a British fleet: The troops of George the Third have cross'd the wide atlantick, not to engage an enemy, but to assist a band of TRAITORS in trampling on the rights and liberties of his most loyal subjects in America,—those rights and liberties which as a father he ought ever to regard, and as a King he is bound in honour to defend from violations, even at the risque of his own life [ . . . ]

Great expectations were also formed from the artful scheme of allowing the East India company to export Tea to America upon their own account. This certainly, had it succeeded, would have effected the purpose of the contrivers, and gratified the most sanguine wishes of our adversaries. We soon should have found our trade in the hands of

foreigners, and taxes imposed on every thing which we consumed; nor would it have been strange, if in a few years a company in London should have purchased an exclusive right of trading to America. — The people soon were aware of the poison which with so much craft and subtilty had been concealed: Loss and disgrace ensued: and perhaps this long-concerted, master-piece of policy, may issue in the total disuse of TEA in this country, which will eventually be the saving of the lives and the estates of thousands — Yet while we rejoice that the adversary has not hitherto prevailed against us, let us by no means put off the harness. Restless malice, and disappointed ambition will still suggest new measures to our inveterate *enemies* — Therefore let *Us* also be ready to take the field whenever danger calls, let us be united and strengthen the hands of each other, by promoting a general union among us. — Much has been done by the Committees of Correspondence for this and the other towns of this province toward uniting the inhabitants; let them still go on and prosper. Much has been done by the Committees of Correspondence for the Houses of Assembly in this and our Sister Colonies, for uniting the Inhabitants of the whole Continent for the security of their common interest. May success ever attend their generous endeavours. But permit me here to suggest a general Congress of Deputies from the several Houses of Assembly on the Continent, as the most effectual method of establishing such an Union as the present posture of our affairs requires. At such a Congress, a firm foundation may be laid for the security of our Rights and Liberties; a system may be formed for our common safety, by a strict adherence to which we shall be able to frustrate any attempts to over throw our constitution; restore peace and harmony to America, and secure honor and wealth to Great-Britain, even against the inclinations of her ministers, whose duty it is to study her welfare; and we shall also free ourselves from those unmannerly pillagers who impudently tell us, that they are licenced by an act of the British parliament to thrust their dirty hands into the pockets of every American. But I trust, the happy time will come, when with the besom of destruction, these noxious vermin will be swept for ever from the streets of Boston.

Surely you never will tamely suffer this country to be a den of thieves. Remember, my friends, from whom you sprang — Let not a meanness of spirit, unknown to those whom you boast of as your Fathers, excite a thought to the dishonour of your mothers. I conjure you, by all that is dear, by all that is honorable, by all that is sacred, not only that ye pray, but that you act; that, if necessary, ye fight, and even die for the prosperity of our Jerusalem. Break in sunder, with noble disdain, the bonds with which the Philistines have bound you. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed by the soft arts of luxury and effeminacy, into the Pit digged for your destruction. Despise the glare of wealth. That people who pay greater respect to a wealthy villain, than to an honest upright man in poverty, almost deserve to be enslaved; they plainly shew that wealth, however it may be acquired, is in their esteem, to be preferr'd to virtue.

But I thank God, that America abound in men who are superior to all temptation, whom nothing can divert from a steady pursuit of the interest of their country; who are at once it's ornament and safe-guard. And sure I am, I should not incur your displeasure, if I paid a respect so justly due to their much honoured characters in this public place; but when I name an ADAMS, such a numerous host of Fellow patriots rush upon my mind, that I fear it would take up too much of your time, should I attempt to call over the illustrious roll: But your grateful hearts will point you to the men; and their revered names, in all succeeding times, shall grace the annals of America. From them, let us, my

friends, take example; from them let us catch the divine enthusiasm; and feel, each for himself, the god-like pleasure of diffusing happiness on all around us; of delivering the oppressed from the iron grasp of tyranny; of changing the hoarse complaints and bitter moans of wretched slaves, into those cheerful songs, which freedom and contentment must inspire. There is a heart-felt satisfaction in reflecting on our exertions for the public weal, which all the sufferings an enraged tyrant can inflict, will never take away; which the ingratitude and reproaches of those whom we have sav'd from ruin cannot rob us of. The virtuous assertor of the Rights of mankind, merits a reward, which even a want of success in his endeavours to save his country, the heaviest misfortune which can befall a genuine Patriot, cannot entirely prevent him from receiving.

I have the most animating confidence that the present noble struggle for liberty, will terminate gloriously for America. And let us play the man for our God, and for the cities of our God; while we are using the means in our power, let us humbly commit our righteous cause to the great Lord of the universe, who loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity. — And having secured the approbation of our hearts, by a faithful and unwearied discharge of our duty to our country, let us joyfully leave her important concerns in the hands of Him who raiseth up and putteth down the empires and kingdoms of the world as He pleases; and with cheerful submission to His sovereign will, devoutly say,

*“Although the Fig-Tree shall not Blossom, neither shall Fruit be in the Vines; the Labour of the Olive shall fail, and the Fields shall yield no Meat; the Flock shall be cut off from the Fold, and there shall be no Herd in the Stalls: Yet we will rejoice in the LORD, we will joy in the GOD of our Salvation.”*

John Hancock, *Oration Delivered March 5, 1774 . . .to Commemorate the Bloody Tragedy.* (Boston: Edes & Gill, 1774).

**Philelutheros, *A Letter to John Hancock*, 4 April 1774.**

From the New-York Gazetteer, of April, 1774

A Letter to JOHN HANCOCK, Esquire.

When a gentleman addresses the public, he ought to be governed by the laws of truth and honor. Nor ought any man, openly professing himself a patriot, to aim, under that character, at deception, or advance any thing in diminution of the peace and good order of society. These truths are so well established by reason, that they cannot be denied by any one, without incurring pity or contempt. Therefore by these rules I shall now examine your late oration; by the publication of which you have acceded to this liberty, and therefore I need no apology.

But give me leave to premise, that it is in vain to assume the character of virtue, either public or private, relying on appearances only to support it. There must be the indelible marks of it fixed in the mind, before any one can truly enjoy or merit that honor.

And profession and practice must assume an indissoluble union, before the amiable part of mankind will decree the prize of virtue to any one.

The subject of your oration was the commemoration of the cruel and bloody massacre, as you stile it, committed on the 5th of March, 1770, by Captain Preston, and a party of soldiers under his command.

As the orator of the day, you exerted your utmost abilities in publishing to the world the enormous guilt of the transaction. You also, very profusely, loaded those persons with epithets, due only to the most abandoned and profligate of mankind. But permit me here to remind you, that the truth of a fact can never be established, b[y] supposing it proved.

If upon a strict and candid examination of the transaction and what followed, it should evidently appear, that there was not any murder or massacre committed either by Capt. Preston or any of the soldiers under his command, how will you escape censure? This enquiry naturally leads to the consideration of facts, and makes it necessary briefly to recapitulate some transactions of that night, and what in consequence thereof was done by a party at Boston, among which it is well known you was the most active, and of which you have ever since gloried.

On my part, it is freely confessed, that the party of soldiers headed by Capt. Preston, killed five men. On yours it must be acknowledged that the Captain and all the men accused, without hesitation or delay, were delivered up to the civil power, and committed to his Majesty's goal, in order to their being brought [to] a legal and regular trial. Here the matter by the rules of law, founded in humanity, ought to have [ ] until sitting of the court. But instead thereof, several Justices assembled, and in public began the examination of witnesses. Such were with unusual industry sought after, and some of which added no credit to the cause. Not contented with this unprecedented and dangerous maneuver, all the depositions so procured, were instantly ordered to be printed, together with the representation of the bloody tragedy, with most inflammatory notes under the same; and there were most industriously scattered, not only through this but the neighbouring colonies. This procedure certainly was very irregular and unfair. All industry was used, at repeated town-meetings, and in which you was present, in newspapers, nay, and in the public streets, to inflame the minds of all people, and to fill their breasts, with most invincible prejudices against the unfortunate prisoners, at that time destitute of all human help. All this, I think, might have satiated the keenest appetite for revenge. — But no, there was still one other powerful engine to be employed for the accomplishment of the *noble* end designed, the ignominious death of the innocent. Pulpit declamation was made subservient to the cause. For this reason too many of the Ministers, if they deserve that venerable name, instead of preaching the gospel of truth, love and charity, arraigned, tried, and condemned the unhappy prisoners, with a ferocity exactly fitted to the character of a gladiator. — This conduct is so entirely destitute of excuse, as to render it impertinent to remark upon it. — What could be the end proposed from these unusual methods? I fear it was as a certain Doctor of divinity, high up in the estimation of the party very emphatically expressed in the words following: “Had I been on the jury, I would have hanged them all, EVIDENCE OR NO EVIDENCE.” Surely no serious, no virtuous man can agree with the Doctor in this barbarous sentiment. And yet, I am sorry to declare it, this abandoned man was one of the

pulpit orators employed, was and still is caressed by you as a friend, an able politician, a learned and pious divine.

From this narration of facts no impartial person can be at a loss to conceive what deep rooted and almost irresistible prejudice influenced all ranks and degrees of persons in the province. Had the prisoners after such efforts, such effectual methods taken to poison the minds of those who were to be on their jury, any hope of deliverance remaining, unless their innocence appeared with strength and vigour sufficient to dissipate all doubt, and irradiate all the force of prejudice? Such were their uncommon, such their wretched situation when put upon trial.

Under these circumstances, I appeal to mankind in general, and to you, Sir, in particular, whether there is the smallest degree of probability, that the accused would have escaped punishment, if there had been any evidence, though but slight against them? I attended the trial, and though not a lawyer, humbly presume myself capable of judging of facts: And therefore undertake to affirm, that the evidence was so far from fixing the guilt of murder or any other crime on Capt. Preston, that it did not leave even the suspicion of any guilt whatsoever upon him. Nor was there any evidence to prove the soldiers, one excepted, guilty of any crime.

Now let us attend to the trial; for though there were two, I think it best for many obvious reasons to consider them only as one. It was had before a venerable, an honest, and a learned bench. The jury was composed of men of unblemished characters, chiefly from the neighbouring towns, the rest were inhabitants of Boston. Those also have ever borne the character of honest and sensible men. These were all duly returned and sworn. — The town engaged two counsel to prosecute, able and faithful. And they in strict conformity to their trust and duty, did themselves great honor. — Nothing was wanting on their parts. — The trial was very lengthy and extremely fair. — The whole evidence was most accurately taken in writing by the court, and the gentlemen of counsel on both sides, and indeed by several others. The same most deliberately and candidly examined, and applied by the judges and lawyers. — The law opened and explained. After which the court in a very solemn, but familiar stile, gave their several charges to the jury much in favour of the prisoners, more particularly of the Captain, unanimously agreeing that in their opinion, there was not any evidence to charge him with any crime. — The jury withdrew, and on their return, declared the prisoners not guilty, except one of the soldiers, whom they found guilty of manslaughter only; whereupon the rest were discharged. In fact, the whole process was attended with all the impartiality, caution, and judgment, necessary to constitute a fair and solemn trial in a British court of justice.

Now, Sir, let me ask you, are you ignorant of all these proceedings, or was you not, during all the scene, in or near the town; I dare say you will not answer in the negative. Indulge me a little farther. What kind of evidence is sufficient, in your mind, to exculpate from a charge of guilt? Is it the depositions of men of unspotted characters, and of sound sense? Is it the solemn judgment of grave and venerable judges upon the meaning and operation of such depositions? Or is it the unanimous suffrages of twelve good and lawful men, under oath, to determine according to evidence? Tell me, can a man produce stronger, more satisfactory, nay convincing proof of innocency, than an acquittal by an upright court and jury, upon the most mature consideration of law and evidence? And have you not all these irresistible proofs in the case before us? Yet, in opposition to them all, you publicly undertake to charge persons, thus proved innocent, as

guilty of the most horrid and matchless murder and massacre ever committed on the face of the earth, and to hand their names down to posterity, branded with the blackest infamy. Your passions, Sir, certainly represent objects to you in a very false light, or you would not have attempted thus to deceive the public, thus to declare war with common sense. Recollect yourself, and then you cannot be either so weak or vain as to imagine yourself capable first to deceive, and then mislead all others. Cannot time, added to the strongest evidence of innocence, mitigate your ill founded resentment, induce you to spare a good character [Captain Preston], once indeed in danger of being mangled to pieces by priests, justices, and —— witnesses.

Next, Sir, give me leave to shew wherein you have been faulty in point of real patriotism, in order that for the future you may adopt a conduct consistent with your professions. If in your oration there appears a manifest intention to lessen the consequence and authority of the Superior Court, before which the Captain and others were tried, and to bring into contempt, trials by juries; you cannot think you are thereby advancing the peace of society. Your doctrines in their consequences appear clearly to me in that light.

The necessity of courts for the due direction of public justice is self-evident; and it is equally obvious that the characters of both judges and jurors ought to be held in veneration, and never to be attacked or even discoloured, unless by reason and truth. Otherwise their solemn decisions, designed to quiet men in the enjoyment of their property, characters and lives, will not have those salutary effects. For when once the reverence justly due to courts and their judgments is obliterated, it necessarily follows, that individuals no longer will pay obedience to their authority; and so in a short time the strongest arm and longest sword will triumph over justice.

Supposing, Sir, the fact of murder to be as you have represented it, what a shocking idea must it raise of both court and jury? Could any man on such a supposition account why such manifest guilt escaped punishment? There are but two possible ways of satisfying the mind in this enquiry, viz. either that the court and jury were invincibly ignorant and stupid, or incorrigibly vicious and wicked. Both which directly tend to overthrow the dignity and weight of courts and juries, and consequently to destroy their utility. These are subjects of which you in particular under the character of a patriot ought to have been very attentive to, and tender of. Your over heated imagination hath plunged you deep in errors; perhaps the term may be thought to be some too mild. To such I declare I had rather be censured for lenity, than suspected of illiberality. To conclude, let me caution you to take great care, not to launch out into such extravagancies again, nor ever countenance others in such attempts, lest the dispassionate and thoughtful should be compelled by reason, not only to question, but deny your patriotism.

PHILELUTHEROS

Philelutheros [pseud], "A Letter to John Hancock, Esquire," *New York Gazetteer*, 4 April 1774.

**Peter Thacher, *Sermon on the Death of Governor Hancock, 20 October 1793*  
[excerpt]**

A  
SERMON  
Preached to the  
Society in Brattle Street, Boston,  
October 20, 1793,  
And Occasioned by the Death of  
His Excellency  
JOHN HANCOCK, Esq. L.L.D. and A.A.S.  
Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

By PETER THACHER, D. D.  
Pastor of the Church in Brattle Street.

Governor Hancock was formed by nature to act a brilliant part on the theatre of the world. His abilities were of that kind which strike, astonish and please. They were highly respectable; and were cultivated by a learned education in our university, by travelling abroad, and by the conversation of wise and good men which he enjoyed from his infancy. Adopted by an uncle<sup>6</sup> who possessed very great property, and who filled some of the most important stations in the province, he early became an object of public attention. Every seed of genius in him was cultivated, and his future eminence was fondly predicted. They were happy who could contribute to his advancement, and his parents by adoption were more pleased with tokens of respect shewn to him than with those which they received themselves.

In early life he came into possession of a fortune equal to his utmost wishes, and superior to any which our part of America had then known. It was with anxiety his friends viewed him in this situation; they feared that he would be drawn into the vortex of dissipation, and become a prey to those who “lie in wait to destroy.” They were pleased when they found him taking a different turn, wishing to acquire the esteem and confidence of men of worth and character, and appearing as the friend and asserter of the liberties of his country.

He began his public life in a period highly interesting to America, a period which called out every man’s exertions and abilities. It was at the commencement of our controversy with Great-Britain, and our resistance to her unconstitutional acts. Naturally warm and decisive, and incapable of serving his friends or his country by halves, he entered deeply into this resistance. His patriotism, and his amiable popular manners, rendered him the idol of his fellow citizens; they loved his very name, and early showered upon him their best honors. This town, of which he spake with affectionate regard to the day of his death, invested him with every distinction which it was in their power to give. They made him one of their magistrates; they called him into notice on every occasion, and were delighted when they could do any thing to honour him. Their

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<sup>6</sup> The Hon. Thomas Hancock, Esq. one of the council for the province of Massachusetts Bay, &c, died August 1st, 1761.

young men were happy to connect themselves with him, and place themselves under his command in a military core; young and old united in calling him to a seat in the general court of the province; and from early life their suffrages were never once withheld from him. He has always been dear to his fellow citizens. No man before him ever possessed such a command of their affections, and it has sometimes seemed as if they were “ready to pluck out their own eyes and give them unto him.”

When he became a statesman his sphere of action was enlarged, and his respectability and popularity increased with it. Mr. Hancock was a real patriot, and resisted strong and dazzling temptations to sacrifice the cause of his country, and withdraw his opposition to the measures of the British government. He was eloquent, and spoke with ease and propriety upon every subject; his manners were graceful, and his name and influence were of the highest importance to the common cause. These circumstances made him as dear to his fellow citizens at large as he was to those of his own town. They loved him because he espoused their cause and aimed at their interest.

Mr. Hancock had a peculiar talent of presiding with ease and dignity at the head of a deliberative body. His attentions were equally directed to all the members, yet every individual supposed himself to be particularly noticed and favoured. These talents he discovered when called to preside in the provincial congress of Massachusetts in the year 1774, and they afterwards improved and enlarged when, for several years at the commencement of the war, he presided in the congress of united America. His polite and easy manners, his elegant taste, his dignified appearance qualified him to appear with advantage at the head of the states. While he filled this station, some of the most interesting events took place which ever agitated any country. A war with Great-Britain commenced, and was carried on with various success. The first commission every held by the commander in chief of our armies, the great and good man who so happily led them during our whole war, was signed by Mr. Hancock. At the head of the band of heroes who declared their country free and independent, his name appears. He witnessed in this station the retreat through the Jerseys, and the capture of Burgoyne. The weight of business incumbent upon him at this time was exceedingly heavy, and he was indefatigable in his attention to it.

In proportion to his influence in America and his usefulness to its cause, he became an object of hatred and resentment to its enemies. They were not content with vilifying him as a man without principle and without fortune; they actually excepted him, with another distinguished patriot, our present commander in chief, from the pardon which they offered to all others. His zeal was not cooled, nor his courage abated by their threatenings. He was firm, inflexible and animated, and his ardor seemed to increase instead of diminishing with the difficulties of our situation. It was with great hazard he served his country, and in proportion to this hazard did his service appear valuable and important in their eyes.

When at his own request he was released from the fatigues of this station, and returned to this State, he was received with former affection, and experienced former confidence. But the people of Massachusetts manifested their esteem for him most decidedly, when they called him by their suffrages to be the first Governor under our present happy constitution. Such confidence and distinction are rarely placed long in the same man; the collisions of party, the envy and ambition of competitors, some of those unforeseen contingencies which like “time and chance happen to all men,” commonly

after a few years deprive a man of popular affection; but Mr. Hancock never lost it. Every year, excepting when at his own desire he was excused, brought him to the chair with a clear and decided majority, and sometimes with a consent nearly unanimous. On the last election, the numbers in his favour were as large as ever. To the day of his death he was “accepted of the multitude of his brethren,” and held a larger share in their affections than any man before him enjoyed.

His attachment to the interest, the freedom and sovereignty of the state was uniform and inflexible. He was not found wanting in demonstrating this attachment; and the approbation of his public conduct, the satisfaction which he gave in this office may be certainly argued from the constant and general suffrages of his constituents. They considered him as a genuine republican, as the friend of the people, the firm supporter of the cause of freedom; and they viewed him so with reason. His last affecting interview with the legislature, in which he declared, under circumstances peculiarly awful, his attachment to the people and his integrity in their service, furnish a strong trait in this part of his character.

It would be injustice to the memory of Governor Hancock not to say, that he was firm friend to the independence and happiness of united America. When the federal constitution, from which this country has received the most essential advantages, was before the people, he gave his decided influence in its favour, and did then perhaps as much service to his country as when he consented to its independence.

The same regard to the rights of man and the happiness of the world, which made him a patriot at home, induced him to wish well to all mankind abroad; and fixed him the warm uniform friend of the revolution in France. While he lamented the excesses and divisions of this gallant nation, he rejoiced in their success, and ardently desired that they might enjoy the blessings of a free government.

To the character of Governor Hancock as a public man, may very properly be added his munificence. Perhaps there is not a person in America who has done more generous and noble actions, and who upon all occasions contributed more liberally to public institutions. Besides the grand and hospitable manner in which he entertained foreigners and others in his house, he expended large sums for every patriotic purpose, and for the benefit of our university, and equalled the generosity of his worthy patron to it by his own donations.

His acts of charity and liberality of a more private nature were numerous and constant. All his friends, and often his enemies, partook of them; and he seemed to be more happy in contributing to the enjoyment of those whom he loved than in his own gratification.— I should be guilty of base ingratitude did I not thus publicly acknowledge numberless instances of kindness, attention and liberality which I have received at his hands. These now lie heavy at my heart, and increase my sorrow for his loss, though they have not bribed me to exceed the truth in delineated his character.— The poor, the widow, the fatherless, the unhappy debtor, the prisoner, the decayed gentleman, all experienced his bounty. The sums which he gave away in this manner were astonishing, and would scarcely be credited were they to be told. His generosity was proverbial, and was felt sometimes at a great distance from his home. He was a prince among men upon this account. “When the ear heard him then it blessed him, and when the eye saw him it gave witness to him, because he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him; the blessing of him that was ready

to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy; he was eyes to the blind, and feet was he to the lame; he was father to the poor, and the cause which he knew not he searched out." And he might have adopted the further language of Job, and have said, "My root was spread out by the waters, and the dew lay all night upon my branch; my glory was fresh in me, and my bow was renewed in my hand; unto me men gave ear, and waited and kept silence at my counsel; after my words they spake not again, and my speech dropped upon them, and they waited for me as for the rain, and they opened their mouth wide as for the latter rain. If I laughed on them they believed it not, and the light of my countenance they cast not down; I chose out their way, and sat chief, and dwelt as a king in the army, as one that comfortheth the mourners."

Educated by pious friends, a reverence for religion and its institutions was early inculcated upon him. This reverence he never lost. His house and his heart were always open to the ministers of religion, and he most publicly avowed his attachment to them. He felt himself interested in every thing that related to the house of God. He inherited from his worthy ancestors a great affection for this religious society, and he exceeded them in his acts of liberality to it. The sacred desk from which I now speak, yonder bell which calls us to the house of God, and announces our return to "the house appointed for all living," the volume from which the sacred scriptures are read, were exclusive donations from him; and we all know how largely he contributed, with other worthy and munificent men, in erecting this elegant place of worship, and procuring the expensive organ which assists us in our psalmody. It might have been said of him as of the centurion by the Jews, "he loved our nation, and hath built us a synagogue." He entered into all our interests with a warmth and sincerity which proved his real attachment to our peace and happiness.

So much have I said upon the public character of this great man, as that I have not left myself time to speak of him in a more private capacity. Indeed this is not the proper place for the performance of such a duty; but there is no impropriety in expressing our wishes and prayers that God would support and comfort the partner of his life, his aged and afflicted parent, his surviving brother, and his other relatives. May he "teach them to profit by the things which they suffer," and prepare them to follow him into the eternal world!

And thus, my brethren, have I attempted to do justice to the character of this great and amiable man; and my heart bleeds when I reflect that it is the last token of respect and kindness which I can ever shew him! There is something distressing in performing the last offices to our friends, in closing their eyes, and conveying them to the place whence they shall not return! The sensibility must be weak indeed which is not awakened upon such an occasion. I am sure I feel it at this moment, and while I thus take a final leave as to this world of my friend and benefactor, I experience sensations which it is not in my power to describe! [. . .]

Peter Thacher, *A Sermon Preached to the Society in Brattle Street, Boston, October 10, 1793, and Occasioned by the Death of His Excellency John Hancock . . .* (Boston: Alexander Young, 1793.)

## JOSIAH QUINCY

*Josiah Quincy is Johnny Tremain's lawyer in the criminal case brought by Merchant Lyte in Johnny Tremain. Esther Forbes describes Quincy as eloquent, brilliant, a true Patriot, and doomed to die soon. The real Josiah Quincy was born in Boston in 1744, graduating from Harvard with both an undergraduate and graduate degree. He married Abigail Phillips at age twenty-five, and they had two children. He wrote a number of essays that supported the Whig cause, and worked with John Adams to successfully defend the British soldiers accused of causing the Boston Massacre. He was most certainly a member of the Long Room Club, although his delicate health kept him out of much of the action. Quincy did make a speech as described in Johnny Tremain on the night of the Boston Tea Party.*

*In 1775, Quincy made a trip to England to represent the interests of Massachusetts, and all the colonies, to British leaders. He was hoping to persuade the British government to change its course and thus make it possible for some kind of an agreement that would end the struggle. Josiah Quincy died at sea just off the coast of Cape Ann. He almost made it home. He was thirty-one years old when he died.*

*As Esther Forbes wrote of him in Paul Revere and the World He Lived In, "Young Josiah Quincy was going up like a rocket for his brief spurt of fame. He was there – with his beautiful voice and wall eye, his feverish demands for liberty and justice and the prophetic, fatal cough."<sup>7</sup>*

### **John Quincy, *Essays*, 1767. [excerpt]**

*The following are extracts from two essays which Quincy signed "Hyperion," and published in the Boston Gazette in September and October 1767.*

When I reflect on the exalted character of the ancient Britons, on the fortitude of our illustrious predecessors, on the noble struggles of the late memorable period, and from these reflections, when, by a natural transition, I contemplate the gloomy aspect of the present day, my heart is alternately torn with doubt and hope, despondency and terror. Can the true, generous magnanimity of British heroes be entirely lost in their degenerate progeny? Is the genius of Liberty, which so late inflamed our bosoms, fled forever?

An attentive observer of the deportment of some particular persons in this metropolis, would be apt to imagine that the grand point was gained; that the spirit of the people was entirely broken to the yoke; that all America was subjugated to bondage. Already the minions of power, in fancy fatten, and grow wanton on the spoils of the land. They insolently toss the head, and put on the air of contemptuous disdain. In the imaginary possession of lordships and dominions, these potentates and powers dare tell us, that our only hope is to crouch, to cowl under, and to kiss the iron rod of oppression.

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<sup>7</sup> Esther Forbes, *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942), 118-119.

Precious sample of the meek and lowly temper of those, who are destined to be our lords and masters!

Be not deceived, my countrymen. Believe not those venal hirelings when they would cajole you by their subtleties into submission, or frighten you by their vapourings into compliance. When they strive to flatter you by the terms ‘moderation and prudence,’ tell them, that calmness and deliberation are to guide the judgment; courage and intrepidity command the action. When they endeavour to make us ‘perceive our inability to oppose our mother country,’ let us boldly answer: In defence of our civil and religious rights, we dare oppose the world; with the God of armies on our side, even the God who fought our fathers’ battles, we fear not the hour of trial, though the hosts of our enemies should cover the field like locusts. If this be enthusiasm, we will live and die enthusiasts.

Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a “halter” intimidate. For under God, we are determined, that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever, we shall be called to make our exit, we will die freemen. Well do we know that all the regalia of this world cannot dignify the death of a villain, nor diminish the ignominy, with which a slave shall quit his existence. Neither can it taint the unblemished honour of a son of freedom, though he should make his departure on the already prepared gibbet, or be dragged to the newly erected scaffold for execution. With the plaudits of his conscience he will go off the stage. A crown of joy and immortality shall be his reward. The history of his life his children shall venerate. The virtues of their sire shall excite their emulation.

Josiah Quincy, “Hyperion Essays [excerpt],” Sept.-Oct. 1767, *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971 c. 1825), 12-14.

### **Letter from Josiah Quincy to Rev. John Eagleson, 15 September 1768**

Boston, Sept. 15, 1768

Respected Sir,

Your friendly letter came to hand a few days since, and a leisure moment now presenting, I with pleasure seize the opportunity of writing to you. The rights and liberties of Americans become every day more and more the serious object of attention. As political disputation increases, a settlement of the point in question removes farther and farther from the design of both parties. Private pique, envy, and personal resentment soon preclude a fair and candid discussion, and intemperate passions will forever prevent any equitable decision.

The present aspect of the day is gloomy indeed, yet we are far from despair. Though the clouds, full charged, rise thick and fast, the thunders roll, and lightnings play, nay, it is said, are just within striking distance, there are not wanting those among us, who believe that proper conductors will safely carry off all the political fluid, the clouds disperse, and the sky soon become calm and serene. Visionaries, you know, are credulous, enthusiasts are bold and enterprising; many such, Mr. Eagleson is sensible, inhabit these northern regions.

We Americans have a righteous cause. We know it. The power of Great Britain may oppress, nay, for a time apparently subdue us. But, before all the freeborn sons of the north will yield a general and united submission, to any tyrannic power on earth, fire and sword, famine and slaughter, desolation and ruin, will ravage the land. When thus I venture, without any pretence to the spirit of prophecy, at a hasty prediction, you will probably smile at my reverie. But you know, political dreamers are the most obstinate, and incorrigible, of all sinners. You will see, by our public prints, the late transactions of this town, and the situation that we are in at present. Daily in the expectation of troops: some say three regiments, and three ships of the line. Opinions differ respecting what ought, and what will be, the deportment of this people. On the one hand, a swarm of court dependants, and a standing army in the bowels of a state, have been in all ages, and nations, thought, and found to be, the bane of civil freedom. On the other, an open rupture with Great Britain (I had like to have said *mother* state), is a dreadful alternative.

But our all is at stake! The pulse of the people beats high, and it may well be imagined, that in our present state, all ranks among us are much agitated. This therefore may apologize for my not being in a facetious, and proper frame of mind, to answer some parts of your entertaining letter. To see the daily blunders which are committed, and the deep tragedy which is now acting, on the political theatre, and not to be moved, is to be an unfeeling wretch indeed. If the contempt and indignation of every sensible and humane man in Christendom, were sufficient to explode a political system, there would be some hopes of seeing ‘Venice Preserved and the Plot Discovered.’

Josiah Quincy to Rev. John Eagleson, 15 September 1768 , *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971, c.1825), 15-17.

### **Josiah Quincy, *Essay*, 3 October 1768**

*This essay was published in the Boston Gazette under the name “Hyperion.”*

‘The aggregated judgment of the common people,’ says an eminent writer, ‘discerns most truly the errors of government, forasmuch as they are the first to be sure to smart under them. In this only they come to be shortsighted; that though they know the diseases, they understand not the remedies, and though good patients, they are ill physicians.’

What are the present sentiments of the inhabitants of North America? Discern they not most truly, and smart they not most severely under the errors of government? The disease is known and felt; but where is the remedy,— where is the physician? For the people to ask counsel is deemed treasonable; to assemble themselves to consult, is denominated rebellion. Thus would some potentates terrify mankind with a few sounding, technical expressions. It has been found in all ages difficult to persuade men, by the most refined court-chicane, out of their reason; and tyrants have ever found it impossible to argue, sooth, or frighten the common people out of their feelings. It is truly strange to hear the arguments, and see the parade of some at this day. One would from their conduct be induced to imagine, they thought it the most likely way of dispiriting the people, to render their case irremediable. Certainly such politicians have little studied the

volume of nature. A nation, not as yet entirely enervated by luxury, not wholly depressed by slavery, when reduced to despair, are invincible to a proverb.

After what has been said and wrote on both sides of the Atlantic, upon colony-affairs; after the most perspicuous demonstration of the illegality and ill-policy of the measures pursued against this continent; it would be an affront to the understanding to attempt setting the matter in a clearer point of view. The meanest capacity must perceive, the remotest peasant in the wilds of America must feel, the consequences.

British taxations, suspensions of legislatures, and standing armies, are but some of the clouds, which overshadow the northern world. Heaven grant that a grand constellation of virtues may shine forth with redoubled lustre, and enlighten this gloomy hemisphere!

If ever there was a time, this is the hour, for Americans to rouse themselves, and exert every ability. Their all is at a hazard, and the die of fate spins doubtful! In vain do we talk of magnanimity and heroism, in vain do we trace a descent from the worthies of the earth, if we inherit not the spirit of our ancestors. Who is he, who boasteth of his patriotism? Has he vanquished luxury, and subdued the worldly pride of his heart? Is he not yet drinking the poisonous draught, and rolling the sweet morsel under his tongue? He, who cannot conquer the little vanity of his heart, and deny the delicacy of a debauched palate, let him lay his hand upon his mouth, and his mouth in the dust.

Now is the time for this people to summon every aid, human and divine; to exhibit every moral virtue, and call forth every christian grace. The wisdom of the serpent, the innocence of the dove, and the intrepidity of the lion, with the blessing God, will yet save us from the jaws of destruction.

Where is the boasted liberty of Englishmen, if property may be disposed of, charters suspended, assemblies dissolved, and every valued right annihilated, at the uncontrollable will of an external power? Does not every man, who feels one ethereal spark yet glowing in his bosom, find his indignation kindle, at the bare imagination of such wrongs? What would be our sentiments, were this imagination realized?

Did the blood of the ancient Britons swell our veins, did the spirit of our forefathers inhabit our breasts, should we hesitate a moment in preferring death, to a miserable existence in bondage? Did we reflect on their toils, their dangers, their fiery trials, the thought would inspire unconquerable courage.

Who has the front to ask, Wherefore do you complain? Who dares assert, every thing worth living for is not lost, when a nation is enslaved? Are not pensioners, stipendiaries, and salary men, (unknown before,) hourly multiplying on us, to riot in the spoils of miserable America? Does not every eastern gale waft us some new insect, even of that devouring kind, which eat up every green thing. Is not the bread taken out of the children's mouths and given unto the dogs? Are not our estates given to corrupt sycophants, without a design, or even a pretence of soliciting our assent, and our lives put into the hands of those whose tender mercies are cruelties? Has not an authority in a distant land, in the most public manner, proclaimed a right of disposing of *the all* of Americans? In short, what have we to lose—what have we to fear? Are not our distresses more than we can bear; and to finish all, are not our cities, in a time of profound peace, filled with standing armies, to preclude us from that last solace of the wretched—to open their mouths in complaint, and send forth their cries in bitterness of heart?

But is there no ray of hope? Is not Great Britain inhabited by the children of those renowned barons, who waded through seas of crimson gore to establish their liberty; and will they not allow us, their fellow men, to enjoy that freedom, which we claim from nature, which is confirmed by our constitution, and which they pretend so highly to value? Were a tyrant to conquer us, the chains of slavery, when opposition should become useless, might be supportable; but to be shackled by Englishmen,—by our equals,—is not to be borne!

By the sweat of our brow, we earn the little we possess; from nature we derive the common rights of man;—and by charter we claim the liberties of Britons! Shall we,—dare we,—pusillanimously surrender our birthright? Is the obligation to our fathers discharged, is the debt we owe posterity paid? Answer me, thou coward! who hidest thyself in the hour of trial! If there is no reward in this life, no prize of glory in the next, capable of animating thy dastard soul; think and tremble, thou miscreant! at the whips and stripes thy master shall lash thee with on earth,—and the flames, and scorpions, thy second master shall torment thee with hereafter!

Oh, my countrymen! what will our children say, when they read the history of these times, should they find we tamely gave away, without one noble struggle, the most invaluable of earthly blessings? As they drag the galling chain, will they not execrate us? If we have any respect for things sacred; any regard to the dearest treasure on earth;—if we have one tender sentiment for posterity; if we would not be despised by the whole world;—let us, in the most open, solemn manner, and with determined fortitude, swear, —we will die,—if we cannot live freemen!

Be not lulled, my countrymen, with vain imaginations, or idle fancies. To hope for the protection of Heaven, without doing our duty, and exerting ourselves as becomes men, is to mock the Deity. Wherefore had man his reason, if it were not to direct him? Wherefore his strength, if it be not his protection? To banish folly and luxury, correct vice and immorality, and stand immoveable in the freedom, in which we are free indeed, is eminently the duty of each individual, at this day. When this is done, we may rationally hope for an answer to our prayers; for the whole counsel of God, and the invincible armour of the Almighty.

However righteous our cause, we cannot, in this period of the world, expect a miraculous salvation. Heaven will undoubtedly assist us, if we act like men; but to expect protection from above, while we are enervated by luxury, and slothful in the exertion of those abilities with which we are endued, is an expectation vain and foolish. With the smiles of Heaven, virtue, unanimity, and firmness will insure success. While we have equity, justice, and God, on our side, Tyranny, spiritual or temporal, shall never ride triumphant in a land inhabited by Englishmen.

**Letter from Josiah Quincy to his father (Josiah Quincy, Sr.), December 1768  
(excerpt)**

An independency, in the strict sense of the word, I know is not the lot of man; but to restrain, to a certain degree, the instability of fortune, is much in our power. So far then, an independence is attainable. Let those, who will, laugh at the paltry certainty which is to be gained. Surely, it would be some alleviation under the pressure of misfortune, to think, that our own folly and rashness contributed in no part to the heavy burden. Alas! how few of the sons of men have this happy consolation. Hence, most of those idle and vague declamations, which we so often hear, upon the fickleness and inconstancy of fortune. When thoroughly examined, the grand source is found in the hasty presumption of a foolish vanity, or the weak irresolution of a vicious heart. To apply for assistance, where my own foresight might have prevented the necessity, would be to me worse than death. Early in life, I was fixed; experience has confirmed me, to suffer every stroke of adversity, let it be as severe as even imagination can paint, ere I would implore any earthly relief from distress, against which my own prudence might have armed me. To ask assistance, where, if it were declined, your redoubled efforts would supply your exigence, is the daily course of human affairs; but to seek relief, where a denial reduces you to despair, would be torment beyond expression.

Through your watchful care of my education and your kind munificence, I am out of a temptation to the meaner vices, and in that state, which to one of my temper, is the happiest human nature can boast, an independency, save on God and myself, for a decent support through life, and the hope of quitting the stage with that best human standard of true worth, the general approbation of my countrymen. How deeply my heart is affected, by those invaluable favours, is not for profession to convince you, but will be, I trust, best manifested by the uniform tenor of my life.”

Josiah Quincy to Josiah Quincy, Sr., December 1768, *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971, c. 1825), 25-27.

**Anonymous Letter of Warning to Josiah Quincy, May 1774**

Sir,

I am compelled by the common principles of humanity to warn you of the imminent hazard which I consider you to be in, of the loss of life, and confiscation of your estate. It is now become very apparent that the supreme power of Great Britain, viz. King, Lords, and Commons, which you some time since, as I am informed, were pleased to term ‘*a transmarine power, to which we were not amenable,*’ hath taken a resolution to assert its sovereignty over this his Majesty’s colony of Massachusetts Bay, a sovereignty, which has never been disputed by any of the other colonies, except in the article of taxation, and not by this but a very short time since. Every measure necessary to carry this resolution into execution, hath been taken. A force is employed for this purpose, to oppose which in our weak, forlorn condition, it would be madness to attempt. This being the case, it cannot be supposed, that if there should be a continuance of these insults and

indignities, which for some years past have been put upon the government, and the servants of it, that the leading promoters of such insults and indignities will escape with impunity. Those actions and words, which by the laws of Great Britain are there determined to be treasonable and rebellious, will be considered as such here; and the authors of them suffer the pains and penalties, which are inflicted on traitors and rebels in Great Britain or any other part of the realm. Of all this you seem to me to be altogether insensible, at which I cannot but express the greatest surprise, as I consider you to be a person of quick discernment, to be well versed in the knowledge of government, law in general, and more particularly of the laws and constitution of the parent state. Your political enthusiasm and popular attachment must certainly have totally blinded the eyes of your understanding; otherwise, I cannot conceive it to be possible that a man of your good sense, instead of promoting such measures at our late town meeting, which in our most calamitous condition might have a tendency to soften the resentment of government, and to induce his Majesty and his privy council to remove those evils, which are justly brought upon us for our past crimes, should endeavour by inflammatory harangues to keep up the phrenzy of the poor, deluded people of this town; to persuade them, that they have resources sufficient within themselves, if they were united and firm, to extricate themselves out of these difficulties, and to obtain a complete conquest over Great Britain, even without the assistance of the neighbouring towns of this province, and of the sister colonies; but if they should join us, that our victory would be beyond a doubt; that some Cromwell would soon rise, and trample under his feet our enemies, viz. King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain, for you could mean no other, they being the only enemies you were speaking of. You did indeed, in express terms, charge them with ignorance and effrontery (in another word, with impudence), for passing the late act, which will shut up our port. Not content with these bold speeches, you were the principal mover of sundry votes, passed at this meeting, which can be considered in no other light by Great Britain, than as an hostile attack upon her; as by those votes, the neighbouring towns of this province, and all the colonies from the Floridas to Newfoundland, are to be stimulated by committees of correspondence to put a force upon her trade.

Reflect a moment upon this conduct; consider the present strength of administration, who have carried their measures against you without the least opposition; consider the power they have at present in their hands (however weak they may be, when your formidable Cromwell steps forth,) to bring to condign punishment all offenders against the state; and I am sure you will think with me, that your situation is truly alarming. You will very probably get into the hands of a power, from which no power you can look to will be able to deliver you. You have gone such lengths that I am fearful nothing can save you. I know but of one expedient left you, which is that of acknowledging on Wednesday next to this distressed people, that you have been in an error,—that you have deceived yourself,—that you have deceived them. Employ, for God's sake, those rare talents with which he has blessed you, in convincing them that they have nothing to do, but to submit, and make their peace with that government, which they have, under the influence of you and other factious demagogues, so long offended. You may by these means probably make your own peace, and ward off the punishment that hangs over your head.

It is barely possible that government may still continue its great lenity, and overlook your offences. If this should be the case, permit me to observe, there is another danger to which you are exposed.

The inhabitants of this wretched town would, if proper measures were taken, be saved from total destruction; but if, by the mad pursuits of you and others, their ruin should be completed, if thousands of the poor, who depend upon their daily labour for their daily bread, should be in a starving condition,—if those who can now calculate upon such incomes from their real estates, as to be able to live in affluence, should find their estates to yield them not sufficient to subsist them, they will begin to look round for the real authors of their ruin, and wreak their vengeance upon them. They will no longer consider Bernard, Hutchinson, Oliver, commissioners of the customs, &c. &c. as their enemies; they will put the saddle on the right horse. We shall see an Adams, a Young, a Cooper, a Warren, a Quincy, with certain learned doctors of divinity, either destroyed by, or fleeing in their turn from their rage, and applying to that power, which they have so long insulted, for protection.

I have conversed with many of the thinking part of this community, and find very few who do not condemn your proceedings. Nothing has prevented a public protest appearing against you, but the fear of that most formidable tyranny which the ruling part of this town have so long, by having the command of an heated populace, exercised over it. Upon the appearance of any power that will be sufficient to emancipate them from this terrible hydra, you will find that spirit which now vents itself in secret curses, break out into open violence. I can hear you in almost all company I go into, styled villains, scoundrels, rascals; and many wish that the vengeance of government had been pointed at the authors of all our misery,—meaning your particular junto, where, it is said, it ought to have fallen,—and not upon the whole community, a large portion of whom are innocent.

Let me conjure you to weigh well what I have offered to your consideration, and believe me to be

Your Wellwisher.

Anonymous "Wellwisher" to Josiah Quincy, May 1774, *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy* ( New York: Da Capo Press, 1971, c. 1825), 150-156.

### **Letter from Josiah Quincy in Response to Anonymous Letter, May 1774**

Boston, May, 1774.

Mr. Draper,

Having this day received from the British coffee-house an anonymous letter, in which the author "warns me of the imminent hazard which he considers me to be in, of the loss of life, and confiscation of my estate," I desire, through the medium of your paper, to acknowledge the receipt of it, and, in turn, communicate my own sentiments to the author.

The good or ill design of the writer being problematical, I suspend my censure, and he surely will not expect my thanks. Had he, instead of concealing himself beyond the power of discovery, desired a conversation with me in person, his frankness would

have been an evidence of his sincerity, and my cordiality on the occasion should have testified my gratitude.

The danger and the wrongs of my country are to me equally apparent. In all my public exertions, I feel a sense of right and duty, that not only satisfies my conscience, but inspires my zeal. While I have this sentiment, I shall persevere, till my understanding is convinced of its error; a conviction that will not be wrought by the arm of power, or the hand of an assassin.

Threats of impending danger, communicated by persons who conceal their name and character, ought never to deter from the path of duty; but exciting contempt rather than fear, they will determine a man of spirit to proceed with new vigour and energy, in his public conduct.

My place of abode is well known, and I am easily found. The author of the letter referred to, if he will favour me with a visit, shall receive the best civilities of my house; and if he will appoint a meeting, I will give him my presence, either alone, or in company; till which time he surely will not expect that I shall endeavor to point out his mistakes, or flatter himself that anonymous papers will answer the end he professes to have in view.

Josiah Quincy Jun.

Josiah Quincy to anonymous "Wellwisher," May 1774, *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy* ( New York: Da Capo Press, 1971, c. 1825), 156-159.

## PAUL REVERE

*Paul Revere is one of the main historical characters depicted by Esther Forbes in Johnny Tremain. He advises Johnny on his work as a silversmith. He lives near the Laphams, and knows who Johnny is, even though Johnny is a mere apprentice. Paul Revere is also a member of the Boston Observers, and is among the actual leaders in the Boston Tea Party. Later in the novel, it is Paul Revere, along with William Dawes, who makes the trip to Lexington on horseback to warn Sam Adams and John Hancock that “the British are coming.”*

*Born in 1735 of French Protestant ancestry, Revere married twice and had sixteen children, several of whom died young. Paul Revere was certainly one of the stalwart members of the Long Room Club, as well as the North Caucus. He was also a Mason, and a member of the St. Andrew’s Lodge, which met at the Green Dragon. Unlike most other members of the Club, he was not a Harvard graduate. Nor was his occupation either professional or mercantile. Revere was a skilled silversmith, who would have been considered a tradesman. In addition to working with silver, he also applied silverwork techniques to copper plate, manufactured and fitted false teeth, produced engravings, designed and printed the first Continental currency, produced the first official seal for the colonies, designed the Massachusetts State Seal, manufactured church bells, manufactured gunpowder, and discovered a way to roll sheet copper. Paul Revere was certainly a busy man.*

*In his “spare time,” Paul Revere was an extremely active member of the Sons of Liberty, and not merely as a planner. He was one of the few leaders who actually took part in the Boston Tea Party, even though he knew the danger if he were captured. His famous ride to Lexington (he was captured by the British before he could arrive at Concord) was only one of several. As Johnny Tremain tells us, Revere went to Portsmouth before the British troops could get there. He was the official courier for the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly to the Continental Congress in 1774 with the “Suffolk Resolves” in hand, and returned to Boston, with messages and promises from the Congress.*

*After the war, Revere continued to work, both in his many business enterprises as well as helping expand various charities and his beloved Masons. When he died in 1813, his contemporaries remembered him for his leadership, his business successes, his technological advances, and his service during the era of the Revolution. His “midnight ride” wasn’t considered to be very important, but Longfellow’s poem changed that.*

**Letter from Azor Orne to Paul Revere, 10 November 1775**

Watertown Nov.<sup>r</sup> 10.<sup>th</sup> 1775.

Mr. Paul Revere

Sir

As you are to [bund?] to Philadelphia, where powder mills are Erected, and the manufacturing powder, carried on with considerable dispatch, and advantage, you are desired to make the following Enquiries, and posses yourself as far as you can of the knowledge of making powder.

Vizt. Obtain an Exact plan of the best constructed powder mill  
 The Quantity of powder that may be made in One day in said mill  
 The Expencc of the powder mill, and  
 Wether a person can be obtained, who is well skilled in manufacturing powder, and the Expencc of said man per anno.

You are also desired to apply to the Hono. John Hancock, Esqr. and the other members, of the Continental Congress belonging to this colony who are desired to assist you in this Enquiry.

By Order of the Comm.  
 appointed to Enquire into  
 & report the best and most  
 Expeditious methods of Erecting  
 powder mills and manuft.  
 powder in this colony.

A. Orne per order

Azor Orne to Paul Revere, 10 November 1775, Miscellaneous Bound Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society.

**Paul Revere's Deposition, fair copy, c. 1775**

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Paul Revere of Boston, in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England; of Lawfull Age, doth testify an say; that I was sent for by Doctr. Joseph Warren, of said Boston, on the evening of the 18th of April, about 10 oClock; When he desired me, "to go to Lexington, and inform Mr Samuel Adams, and the Honl. John Hancock Esqr. that there was a number of Soldiers, composed of Light troops, & Grenadiers, marching to the bottom of the Common, where was a number of Boats

to receive them; it was supposed, that they were going to Lexington, by the way of Cambridge River, to take them, or go to Concord, to distroy the Colony Stores." I proceeded immeditly, and was put across Charles River and landed near Charlestown Battery, went in town, and there got a Horse, while in Charlestown, I was informed by Richd. Devens Esqr. that he mett that evening, after Sun sett, Nine Officers of the Ministeral Army, mounted on good Horses, & Armed, going towards Concord; I sett off, it was then about 11 oClock, the Moon shone bright, I had got almost over Charlestown Common, towards Cambridge, when I saw two Officers on Horse-back, standing under the shade of a Tree, in a narrow part of the roade. I was near enough to see their Holsters, & cockades; One of them Star-ted his horse towards me, the other up the road, as I supposed, to head me should I escape the first. I turned my horse short, about, and rid upon a full Gallop for Mistick Road, he followed me about 300 yardes, and finding He could not catch me, returned: I proceeded to Lexington, thro Mistick, and alarmed Mr. Adams and Col. Hancock. After I had been there about half an hour Mr. Daws arrived, who came from Boston, over the neck; We set off for Concord, & were overtaken by a young Gentlm. named Prescott, who belonged to Concord, & was going home; when we had got about half way from Lexington to Concord, the other two, stopped at a House to awake the man, I kept along, when, I had got about 200 yards a head of them, I saw two officers as before, I called to my company to come up, saying here was two of them, (for I had told them what Mr. Devens told me, and of my being stoped) in an instant I saw four of them, who rode up to me, with thier pistols in their hands, said G-d d-n you stop. if you go an Inch further, you are a dead Man, immeditly Mr. Prescott came up we attempted to git thro them, but they kept before us, and swore if we did not turn in to that pasture, they would blow our brains out, (they had placed themselves opposite to a pair of Barrs, and had taken the Barrs down they forced us in, when we had got in, Mr. Prescott said put on. He took to the left, I to the right towards a Wood, at the bottom of the Pasture, intending, when I gained that, to jump my Horse & run afoot; just as I reached it, out started six officers, siesed my bridle, put thier pistols to my Breast, ordered me to dismount, which I did: One of them, who appeard to have the command there, and much of a Gentleman, Asked me where I came from; I told him, he asked what time I left it; I told him, he seemed surprised, said Sr. may I crave your name, I answered my name is Revere, what said he Paul Revere; I answered yes; the others abused much; but he told me not to be afraid, no one should hurt me; I told him they would miss their Aim.

He said they should not, they were only awaiting for some Deserters they expected down the Road: I told him I knew better, I knew what they were after; that I had alarmed the country all the way up, that their Boats, were catch'd a ground, and I should have 500 men their soon; one of them said they had 1500 coming; he seemed surprised and rode off, into the road, and informed them who took me, they came down immeditly on a full gallop, one of them

(whom I since learned was Major Mitchel of the 5th Regt. Clap'd his Pistol to my head, and said he was going to ask me some questions, if I did not tell the truth, he would blow my brains out. I told him I esteemed my self a Man of truth, that he had stopped me on the high way, & made me a prisoner, I knew not by what right; I would tell him the truth; I was not afraid; He then asked me, the same questions that the other did, and many more, but was more particular; I gave him much the same Answers; he then Ordered me to mount my horse, they first searched me for pistols. When I was mounted, the Major took the reins out of my hand, and said by G-d Sr. you are not to ride with reins I assure you; and gave them to an officer on my right, to lead me, he then Ordered 4 men out of the Bushes, & to mount their horses; they were Country men which they had stopped who were going home; then ordered us to March. He said to me

"We are now going to wards your friends, and if you attempt to run, or we are insulted, we will blow your Brains out." When we had got into the road they formed a Circle, and ordered the prisoners in the centre, & to lead me in the front. We rid to wards Lexington, a quick pace; They very often insulted me calling me Rebel &c. &c. after we had got about a mile, I was given to the Serjant to lead, he was Ordered to take out his pistol, (he rode with a hanger,) and if I run, to execute the Majors Sentence; When we got within about half a Mile of the Meeting house, we heard a gun fired; the Major asked me what it was for, I told him to alarm the country; he ordered the four prisoners to dismount, they did, then one of the officers dismounted and cutt the Bridles, and Saddels, off the Horses, & drove them away, and told the men they might go about their business; I asked the Major to dismiss me, he said he would carry me, lett the consequence be what it will; He then Orderd us to march. When we got within sight of the Meeting-House, we heard a Volly of guns fired, as I supposed at the tavern, as an Alarm: the Major orderd us to halt, he asked me how far it was to Cambridge, and many more questiones, which I answered; he then asked the Serjant, if his horse was tired, he said yes; he Ordered him to take my horse; I dismounted, the Serjant mounted my horse; they cutt the Bridle & saddle of the Serjants horse, & rode off, down the road. I then went to the house were I left Messrs. Adams & Hancock, and told them what had happined; their friends advised them to go out of the way; I went with them, about two miles a cross road: after resting my self, I sett off with another man to go back to the Tavern, to enquire the News; when we got there, we were told the troops were, within two Miles. We went into the Tavern to git a Trunk of papers, belonging to Col. Hancock, before we left the House, I saw the Ministeral Troops from the Chamber window. We made haste, & had to pass thro' our Militia, who were on a green behind the Meetinghouse, to the number as I supposed, about 50 or 60, I went thro' them; as I passed I heard the commanding officer speake to his men to this purpose, "Lett the troops pass by, and don't molest them, with out

The [They] being first." I had to go a cross Road, but had not got half Gun shot off, When the Ministeral Troops appeared in sight,

behinde the Meeting House; they made a short halt. When one gun was fired, I heard the report, turned my head, and saw the smoake in front of the Troops, they imeaditly gave a great shout, ran a few paces, and then the whole fired. I could first distinguish Iregular firing, which I supposed was the advance Guard, and then platoons: at this time I could not see our Militia, for they were covered from me, by a house at the bottom of the Street, and further saith not.

Paul Revere

Paul Revere, Deposition [Fair copy], c. 1775, Special Collections Revere, Massachusetts Historical Society.

### Letter from Paul Revere to Jeremy Belknap, c. 1798

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Dear Sir,

Having a little leisure, I wish to fullfill my promise, of giving you some facts, & Anecdotes, prior to the Battle of Lexington, which I do not remember to have seen in any history of the American Revolution.

In the year 1773 I was imployed by the Select men of the Town of Boston to carry the Account of the Destruction of the Tea to New-York; & afterwards, 1774, to Carry their dispatches to New-York and Philadelphia for Calling a Congress; & afterwards to Congress, several times.\* [*This asterisk points to a note in the left margin written by Jeremy Belknap: "Let the narrative begin here."*] In the Fall of 1774 & Winter of 1775 I was one of upwards of thirty, cheifly mechanics, who formed our selves in to a Committee for the purpose of watching the Movements of the British Soldiers, and gaining every intelegence of the movements of the Tories. We held our meetings at the Green-Dragon Tavern. We were so carefull that our meetings should be kept Secret; that every time we met, every person swore upon the Bible, that they would not discover any of our transactions, But to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Doctors Warren, Church, & one or two more. About November, when things began to grow Serious, a Gentleman who had Conections with the Tory party, but was a Whig at heart, aquainted me, that our meetings were discovered, & mentioned the identical words that were spoken among us the Night before. We did not then distrust Dr. Church, but supposed it must be some one among us. We removed to another place, which we thought was more secure: but here we found that all our transactions

were communicated to Governor Gage. (This came to me through the then Secretary Flucker; He told it to the Gentleman mentioned above). It was then a common opinion, that there was a Traytor in the provincial Congress, & that Gage was possessed of all their Secrets. (Church was a member of that Congress for Boston.) In the Winter, towards the Spring, we frequently took Turns, two and two, to Watch the Soldiers, By patrolling the Streets all night. The Saturday Night preceding the 19th of April, about 12 o'Clock at Night, the Boats belonging to the Transports were all launched, & carried under the Sterns of the Men of War. (They had been previously hauld up & repaired). We likewise found that the Grenadiers & light Infantry were all taken off duty.

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From these movements, we expected something serious was [ . . . ] be transacted. On Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed, that a number of Soldiers were marching towards the bottom of the Common. About 10 o'Clock, Dr. Warren Sent in great haste for me, and beged that I would imediately Set off for Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock & Adams were, and acquaint them of the Movement, and that it was thought they were the objets. When I got to Dr. Warren's house, I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington - a Mr. Wm. Daws. The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Mess. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's. I returned at Night thro Charlestown; there I agreed with a Col. Conant, & some other Gentle men, ~~in Charleston~~, that if the British went out by Water, we would shew two Lanthorns in the North Church Steeple; & if by Land, one, as a Signal; for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to Cross the Charles River, or git over Boston neck. I left Dr. Warrens, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signals. I then went Home, took my Boots & Surtout, and went to the North part of the Town, where I had kept a Boat; two friends rowed me across Charles River, a little to the eastward where the Somerset Man of War lay. It was then young flood, the Ship was winding, & the moon was Rising. They landed me on Charlestown side. When I got into Town, I met Col. Conant, & several others; they said they had seen our signals. I told them what was Acting, & went to git me a Horse; I got a Horse of Deacon Larkin. While the Horse was preparing, Richard Devens, Esq. who was one of the Committee of Safty, came to me, & told me, that he came down the Road from Lexington, after Sundown, that evening; that He met ten British Officers, all well mounted, & armed, going up the Road. I set off upon a very good Horse; it was then about 11 o'Clock, & very pleasant. After I had passed Charlestown Neck, & got nearly opposite where Mark was hung in chains, I saw two men on Horse back, under a Tree. When I got near them, I discovered they were British officer. One tried to git a head of Me, & the other to take me. I turned

my Horse very quick, & Galloped towards Charlestown neck, and then pushed for the Medford Road. The one who chased me, endeavoring to Cut me off, got into a Clay pond, near where the new Tavern is now built. I got clear of him,

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and went thro Medford, over the Bridge, & up to Menotomy. In Medford, I awaked the Captain of the Minute men; & after that, I alarmed almost every House, till I got to Lexington. I found ~~Mrs.~~ Messrs. Hancock & Adams at the Rev. Mr. Clark's; I told them my errand, & inquired for Mr. Daws; they said he had not been there; I related the story of the two officers, & supposed that He must have been stopped, as he ought to have been there before me. After I had been there about half an Hour, Mr. Daws came; ~~after~~ we refreshid our selves, ~~we~~ and set off for Concord, to secure the Stores, &c. there. We were overtaken by a young Docter Prescott, whom we found to be a high Son of Liberty. I told them of the ten officers that Mr. Devens mett, & that it was probable we might be stoped before we got to Concord; for I supposed that after Night, they divided them selves, and that two of them had fixed themselves in such passages as were most likely to stop any intelegence going to Concord. I likewise mentioned, that we had better allarm all the Inhabitents till we got to Concord; the young Doctor much approved of it, & said, he would stop with either of us, for the people between that & Concord knew him, & would give the more credit to what we said. We had got nearly half way. Mr Daws & the Doctor stoped to allarm the people of a House: I was about one hundred Rod a head, when I saw two men, in nearly the same situation as those officers were, near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor & Daws to come up; - ~~were two & we would have them~~ in an Instant I was surrounded by four; - they had placed themselves in a Straight Road, that inclined each way; they had taken down a pair of Barrs on the North side of the Road, & two of them were under a tree in the pasture. The Docter being foremost, he came up; & we tryed to git past them; but they being armed with pistols & swords, they forced us in to the pasture; -the Docter jumped his Horse over a low Stone wall, and got to Concord.

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I observed a Wood at a Small distance, & made for that. When I got there, out Started Six officers, on Horse back, and orderd me to dismount;-one of them, who appeared to have the command, examined me, where I came from,

& what my Name Was? I told him. ~~it was Revere, he asked if it was Paul? I told him yes~~ He asked me if I was an express? I answered in the affirmative. He demanded what time I left Boston? I told him; and added, that their troops had caught aground in passing the River, and that There would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the Country all the way up. He immediately rode towards those who stoppd us, when all five of them came down upon a full gallop; one of them, whom I afterwards found to be Major Mitchel, of the 5th Regiment, Clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, & told me he was going to aske me some questions, & if I did not give him true answers, he would blow my brains out. He then asked me similar questions to those above. He then orderd me to mount my Horse, after searching me for arms. He then orderd them to advance, & to lead me in front. When we got to the Road, they turned down towards Lexington. When we had got about one Mile, the Major Rode up to the officer that was leading me, & told him to give me to the Sergeant. As soon as he took me, the Major orderd him, if I attempted to run, or any body insulted them, to blow my brains out. We rode till we got near Lexington Meeting-house, when the Militias fired a Voley of Guns, which appeared to alarm them very much. The Major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge, and if there were any other Road? After some consultation, the Major

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Major Rode up to the Sargent, & asked if his Horse was tired? He ~~told~~ answered him, he was - (He was a Sargent of Grenadiers, and had a small Horse) - then, said He, take that man's Horse. I dismounted, & the Sargent mounted my Horse, when they all rode towards Lexington Meeting-House. I went across the Burying-ground, & some pastures, & came to the Revd. Mr. Clark's House, where I found Messrs. Hancock & Adams. I told them of my treatment, & they concluded to go from that House towards Woburn. I went with them, & a Mr. Lowell, who was a Clerk to Mr. Hancock. When we got to the House where they intended to stop, Mr. Lowell & I my self returned to Mr. Clark's, to find what was going on. When we got there, an elderly man came in; he said he had just come from the Tavern, that a Man had come from Boston, who said there were no British troops coming. Mr. Lowell & my

self went towards the Tavern, when we met a Man on a full gallop, who told us the Troops were coming up the Rocks. We afterwards met another, who said they were close by. Mr. Lowell asked me to go to the Tavern with him, to a git a Trunk of papers belonging to Mr. Hancock. We went up Chamber; & while we were giting the Trunk, we saw the British very near, upon a full March. We hurried to wards Mr. Clark's House. In our way, we passed through the Militia. There were about 50. When we had got about 100 Yards from the meeting-House the British Troops appear on both Sides of the Meeting-House. In their

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~~In their~~ Front was an Officer on Horse back. They made a Short Halt; when I saw, & heard, a Gun fired, which appeared to be a Pistol. Then I could distinguish two Guns, & then a Continual roar of Musquetry; When we made off with the Trunk.

As I have mentioned ~~Dr.~~ Church, perhaps it might not be disagreeable to mention some Matters of my own knowledge, respecting Him. He appeared to be a high son of Liberty. He frequented all the places where they met, Was encouraged by all the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, & it appeared he was respected by them, though I knew that Dr. Warren had not the greatest affection for him. He was esteemed a very capable writer, especially in verese; and as the Whig party needed every Strengh, they feared, as well as courted Him. Though it was known, that some of the Liberty Songs, which We composed, were parodized by him, in favor of the British, yet none dare charge him with it. I was a constant & critical observer of him, and I must say, that I never thought Him a man of Principle; and I doubted much in my own mind, wether He was a real Whig. I knew that He kept company with a Capt. Price, a half-pay British officer, & that He frequently dined with him, & Robinson, one of the Commissi-oners. I know that one of his intimate acquaintance asked him why he was so often with Robinson and Price? His answer was, that He kept Company with them on purpose to find out their plans. The day after the Battle of Lexington, I ~~came aecross~~ met him in Cambridge, when He shew me some blood on his stocking, which he said spirted on him from a Man who was killed near him, as he was urging the Militia on. I well remember, that I argued with my self, if a Man will risque his life in a Cause, he must be a Friend to that cause; & I never suspected him after, till He was charged with being a Traytor.

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The same day I met Dr. Warren. He was President of the Committee of Safety. He engaged me as a Messenger, to do the out of doors business for that committee; which gave me an opportunity of being frequently with them.

The Friday evening after, about sun set, I was sitting with some, or near all that Committee, in their room, which was at Mr. Hastings's House at Cambridge. Dr. Church, all at once, started up - Dr. Warren, said He, I am determined to go into Boston tomorrow - (it set them all a staring) - Dr. Warren replied, Are you serious, Dr. Church? they will Hang you if they catch you in Boston. He replied, I am serious, and am determined to go at all adventures. After a considerable conversation, Dr. Warren said, If you are determined, let us make some business for you. They agreed that he should go to get medicine for their & our Wounded officers. He went the next morning; & I think he came back on Sunday evening. After He had told the Committee how things were, I took him a side, & inquired particularly how they treated him? he said, that as soon as he got to their lines on ~~the~~ Boston Neck, they made him a prisoner, & carried him to General Gage, where He was examined, & then He was sent to Gould's Barracks, & was not suffered to go home but once.

After He was taken up, for holding a Correspondence with the British, I came a Cross Deacon Caleb Davis;-we entred into Conversation about Him;-He told me, that the morning Church went into Boston, He (Davis) received a Bilet for General Gage-(he then did not know that Church was in Town)-When he got to the General's House, he was told, the General could not be spoke with, that He was in private with a Gentle man; that He waited near half an Hour,-When General Gage & Dr. Church came out of a Room, discoursing together, like

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like persons who had been long acquainted. He appeared to be quite surprized at seeing Deacon Davis there; that he (Church) went where he pleased, while in Boston, only a Major Caine, one of Gage's Aids, went with him. I was told by another person whom I could depend upon, that he saw Church go in to General Gage's House, at the above time; that He got out of the Chaise and went up the steps more like a Man that was acquainted, than a prisoner. Sometime after, perhaps a Year or two, I fell in company with a Gentleman who studied with Church -in discoursing about him, I related what I have mentioned above; He said, He did not doubt that He was in the

Interest of the Brittish; & that it was He who informed Gen. Gage  
 That he knew for Certain, that a Short time before the Battle of Lexing  
 ton, (for He then lived with Him, & took Care of his Business & Books)  
 He had no money by him, & was much drove for money; that  
 all at once, He had several Hundred New Brittish Guineas;  
 and that He thought at the time, where they came from.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to give you a  
 Short detail of some matters, of which perhaps no person but  
 my self have ~~have~~ documents, or knowledge. I have men  
 tioned some names which you are acquainted with: I wish  
 you would Ask them, if they can remember the Circumstances  
 I alude to.

I am, Sir, with every Sentment  
 of esteem,  
 Your Humble Servant,  
Paul Revere

Paul Revere to Jeremy Belknap, ca. 1798, Special Collections Revere, Massachusetts Historical Society.

### **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Paul Revere's Ride*, 1863**

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LISTEN, my children, and you shall hear  
 Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,  
 On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;  
 Hardly a man is now alive  
 Who remembers that famous day and year.

He said to his friend, "If the British march  
 By land or sea from the town to-night  
 Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch  
 Of the North Church tower as a signal light,--  
 One, if by land, and two, if by sea;  
 And I on the opposite shore will be  
 Ready to ride and spread the alarm  
 Through every Middlesex village and farm,  
 For the country-folk to be up and to arm."

Then he said, "Good night!" and with muffled oar  
Silently rowed to the Charlestown shore,  
Just as the moon rose over the bay,  
Where swinging wide at her murrings lay  
The Somerset, British man-of-war;  
A phantom ship, with each mast and spar  
Across the moon like a prison bar,  
And a huge black hulk, that was magnified  
By its own reflection in the tide.

Meanwhile, his friend, through alley and street,  
Wanders and watches with eager ears,  
Till in the silence around him he hears  
The muster of men at the barrack door,  
The sound of arms, and the tramp of feet,  
And the measured tread of the grenadiers,  
Marching down to their boats on the shore.

Then he climbed to the tower of the church,  
Up the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,  
To the belfry-chamber overhead,  
And startled the pigeons from their perch  
On the sombre rafters, that round him made  
Masses and moving shapes of shade,--  
Up the trembling ladder, steep and tall  
To the highest window in the wall,  
Where he paused to listen and look down  
A moment on the roofs of the town,  
And the moonlight flowing over all.

Beneath, in the churchyard, lay the dead,  
In their night-encampment on the hill,  
Wrapped in silence so deep and still  
That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,  
The watchful night-wind, as it went  
Creeping along from tent to tent,  
And seeming to whisper, "All is well!"  
A moment only he feels the spell  
Of the place and the hour, and the secret dread  
Of the lonely belfry and the dead;  
For suddenly all his thoughts are bent

On a shadowy something far away,  
 Where the river widens to meet the bay,--  
 A line of black that bends and floats  
 On the rising tide, like a bridge of boats.

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,  
 Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride  
 On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.  
 Now he patted his horse's side,  
 Now gazed at the landscape far and near,  
 Then, impetuous, stamped the earth,  
 And turned and tightened his saddle-girth;  
 But mostly he watched with eager search  
 The belfry-tower of the Old North Church,

As it rose above the graves on the hill,  
 Lonely and spectral and sombre and still.  
 And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's height  
 A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!  
 He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,  
 But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight  
 A second lamp in the belfry burns!

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,  
 A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,  
 And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark  
 Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet;  
 That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,  
 The fate of a nation was riding that night;  
 And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,  
 Kindled the land into flame with its heat.

He has left the village and mounted the steep,  
 And beneath him, tranquil and broad and deep,  
 Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;  
 And under the alders, that skirt its edge,  
 Now soft on the sand, now loud on the ledge,  
 Is heard the tramp of his steed as he rides.

It was twelve by the village clock,  
 When he crossed the bridge into Medford town.

He heard the crowing of the cock,  
 And the barking of the farmer's dog,  
 And felt the damp of the river fog,  
 That rises after the sun goes down.

It was one by the village clock,  
 When he galloped into Lexington.  
 He saw the gilded weathercock  
 Swim in the moonlight as he passed,  
 And the meeting-house windows, blank and bare,  
 Gaze at him with a spectral glare,  
 As if they already stood aghast  
 At the bloody work they would look upon.

It was two by the village clock,  
 When he came to the bridge in Concord town.  
 He heard the bleating of the flock,  
 And the twitter of birds among the trees,  
 And felt the breath of the morning breeze  
 Blowing over the meadows brown.  
 And one was safe and asleep in his bed  
 Who at the bridge would be first to fall,  
 Who that day would be lying dead,  
 Pierced by a British musket-ball.

You know the rest. In the books you have read,  
 How the British Regulars fired and fled, --  
 How the farmers gave them ball for ball,  
 From behind each fence and farm-yard wall,  
 Chasing the red-coats down the lane,  
 Then crossing the fields to emerge again  
 Under the trees at the turn of the road,  
 And only pausing to fire and load.  
 So through the night rode Paul Revere;  
 And so through the night went his cry of alarm  
 To every Middlesex village and farm, --  
 A cry of defiance and not of fear,  
 A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,  
 And a word that shall echo forevermore!  
 For, borne on the night-wind of the Past,  
 Through all our history, to the last,  
 In the hour of darkness and peril and need,  
 The people will waken and listen to hear

The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,  
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Paul Revere's Ride*, from *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863).

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*A View of the Year 1765:*

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## DR. JOSEPH WARREN

*Dr. Joseph Warren is a significant character in Johnny Tremain. In the story, Warren actually knows Johnny, both as a fledgling member of the Sons of Liberty and as a patient whose badly disfigured and useless hand he eventually repairs through surgery. Dr. Warren is directly involved in the planning for the Boston Tea Party at the meetings of the Boston Observers. Paul Revere consults with Warren and others about how to improve the “spy system” so the movements of British forces will be reported to the members of the Sons of Liberty, as well as to the Minutemen living both in and outside of Boston. Further, James Otis in his final speech to the Observers, notes that Dr. Warren may well forfeit his life, and leave his children destitute. This does indeed happen, for Warren was killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill not long after.*

*Born in Roxbury on June 11, 1741, Joseph Warren graduated from Harvard in 1759, at eighteen years of age. He studied medicine under his uncle, Dr. James Lloyd. He married Elizabeth Hooten in 1764, and they had four children. Warren joined the Masons in 1761, and was Grand Master in 1769. (Many Masons were active Whigs, including Paul Revere.) Besides working on his growing medical practice, Warren managed to find time to belong to the Long Room Club, the North Caucus, the Boston Committee of Correspondence, as well as St. Andrew’s Lodge of Masons.*

*Dr. Warren’s activities in politics were impressive. He was on the committee appointed by the Boston Town Meeting to request that the British troops be removed from Boston after the Boston Massacre in 1770. He was a member of the Committee of Safety, helped draw up a report called A State of the Rights of Colonists in 1772, and drafted the famous Suffolk Resolves, which Revere took to Philadelphia. Warren was also a well-regarded public speaker, especially for his 1775 speech on the fifth anniversary of the Boston Massacre. Warren also acted as a spy, for he was able to gather the information that told precisely when and how the British soldiers were going to move toward Lexington and Concord, and what their objectives were. He became a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, including president pro tempore, and was head of the committee to organize the army forming in Massachusetts. Although commissioned a major general in June of 1775, he was shot while fighting as a common soldier at the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775.*

**Letter from Joseph Warren to Arthur Lee, 21 December 1773**

Boston, Dec. 21st, 1773.

Sir,

My respected friend, Mr. Adams, informs me of the honor he has done me by mentioning my name to you in his letters. I can by no means lose so fair an opportunity of opening a correspondence with one to whom America is under such great obligations. Be assured, sir, we are not insensible to your merits. The clear manner in which you have treated the dispute between Great Britain and this country has, we doubt not, enlightened many in the parent State as well as in this country. But nothing seems able to penetrate the Egyptian darkness which is so palpable in the court atmosphere. We have long waited for something wise and good in the public counsels of the nation; at least we hoped that chance would lead to some measures, which, if not so designed, might eventually have produced some agreeable effects. But hitherto the unpropitious star which rules unhappy Britain has disappointed our wishes; every step taken by the Administration has increased the distance between her and the colonies; and I fear, that, unless a speedy alteration is made in the system of American policy, a few years will render us as indifferent to the interests of the mother-country as to that of any other State in Europe. However, as it is my firm opinion that a connection upon constitutional principles may be kept up between the two countries, at least for centuries to come, advantageous and honorable to both, I always respect the man who endeavors to heal the wound, by pointing out proper remedies, and to prevent the repetition of the stroke, by fixing a stigma on the instrument by which it was inflicted. This country is inhabited by a people loyal to their king, and faithful to themselves; none will more cheerfully venture their lives and fortunes for the honor and defence of the prince who reigns in their hearts, and none will with more resolution oppose the tyrant who dares to invade their rights. From this short but true character of this people, it is easy to see in what manner a wise king or a sagacious minister would treat them. But — !

Mr. Adams will give you a full account of the tea shipped by the East-India Company for this place. It now is in the power of that company to make the use of Dutch tea as unpopular in this country as they can desire. They may easily, by a proper application to an all-powerful ministry, lay the colonies under such obligations as would be greatly to the company's advantage. But it is certain the whole navy of Britain will not prevent the introduction of Dutch tea; nor will her armies prevail with us to use the English tea, while the act imposing a duty on that article remains unrepealed. I congratulate you on the honor conferred on your brother by the city of London: in distinguishing merit, they honor themselves.

This will be presented to you by Dr. Williamson, who has labored abundantly in the glorious cause in which we are engaged. I hope soon to be convinced, that the freedom I have taken in writing to you is not disagreeable.

I am, sir, with great esteem, your most obedient humble servant,

Joseph Warren

**Letter from Joseph Warren to Arthur Lee, 20 February 1775**

Boston, Feb. 20, 1775.

Dear Sir,

My friend, Mr. Adams, favored me with the sight of your last letter. I am sincerely glad of your return to England, as I think your assistance was never more wanted there than at present. It is truly astonishing that Administration should have a doubt of the resolution of Americans to make the last appeal rather than submit to wear the yoke prepared for their necks. We have waited with a degree of patience which is seldom to be met with: but I will venture to assert, that there has not been any great alloy of cowardice; though both friends and enemies seem to suspect us of want of courage. I trust the event, which I confess I think is near at hand, will confound our enemies, and rejoice those who wish well to us. It is time for Britain to take some serious steps towards a reconciliation with her colonies. The people here are weary of watching the measures of those who are endeavoring to enslave them: they say they have been spending their time for ten years in counteracting the plans of their adversaries. They, many of them, begin to think that the difference between [them] will never be amicably settled; but that they shall always be subject to new affronts from the caprice of every British minister. They even sometimes speak of an open rupture with Great Britain, as a state preferable to the present uncertain condition of affairs. And although it is true that the people have yet a very warm affection for the British nation, yet it sensibly decays. They are loyal subjects to the king; but they conceive that they do not swerve from their allegiance by opposing any measures taken by any man or set of men to deprive them of their liberties. They conceive that they are the king's enemies who would destroy the Constitution; for the king is annihilated when the Constitution is destroyed.

It is not yet too late to accommodate the dispute amicably. But I am of opinion, that, if once General Gage should lead his troops into the country, with design to enforce the late Acts of Parliament, Great Britain may take her leave, at least of the New-England colonies, and, if I mistake not, of all America. If there is any wisdom in the nation, God grant it may be speedily called forth! Every day, every hour, widens the breach. A Richmond, a Chatham, a Shelburne, a Camden, with their noble associates, may yet repair it: and it is a work which none but the greatest of men can conduct. May you be successful and happy in your labors for the public safety!

I am, sir, with great respect, your very humble servant,

Jos. Warren.

Joseph Warren to Arthur Lee. 20 February 1775, *The Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, ed. Richard Frothingham (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1865), 418-419.

**Joseph Warren, *Oration*, 6 March 1775 [excerpt]**

Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. Our enemies are numerous and powerful, but we have many friends, determined to be free, and heaven and earth will aid the resolution. On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the

important question on which rest the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves. The faltering tongue of hoary age calls on you to support your country. The lisping infant raises its suppliant hands, imploring defence against the monster, slavery. Your fathers look from their celestial seats with smiling approbation on their sons who boldly stand forth in the cause of virtue, but sternly frown upon the inhuman miscreant, who, to secure the loaves and fishes to himself, would breed a serpent to destroy his children.

But, pardon me, my fellow-citizens, I know you want not zeal or fortitude. You will maintain your rights, or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the combat, you will never decline it when freedom is the prize. An independence on Great Britain is not our aim. No: our wish is, that Britain and the colonies may, like the oak and ivy, grow and increase in strength together. But, whilst the infatuated plan of making one part of the empire slaves to the other is persisted in, the interest and safety of Britain as well as the colonies require that the wise measures recommended by the honorable, the Continental Congress be steadily pursued, whereby the unnatural contest between a parent honored and a child beloved may probably be brought to such an issue as that the peace and happiness of both may be established upon a lasting basis. But, if these pacific measures are ineffectual, and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from our foes, but will undauntedly press forward until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored goddess, Liberty, fast by a Brunswick's side, on the American throne.

You, then, who nobly have espoused your country's cause; who generously have sacrificed wealth and ease; who have despised the pomp and show of tinsel greatness; refused the summons to the festive board; been deaf to the alluring calls of luxury and mirth; who have forsaken the downy pillow to keep your vigils by the midnight lamp for the salvation of your invaded country, that you may break the fowler's snare and disappoint the vulture of his prey, you then will reach this harvest of renown which you so justly have deserved. Your country shall pay her grateful tribute of applause. Even the children of your most inveterate enemies, ashamed to tell from whom they sprang, while they in secret curse their stupid, cruel parents, shall join the general voice of gratitude to those who broke the fetters which their fathers forged.

Having redeemed your country, and secured the blessing to future generations, who, fired by your example, shall emulate your virtues, and learn from you the heavenly art of making millions happy, with heartfelt joy, with transports all your own, you cry, 'The glorious work is done!' Then drop the mantle to some young Elisha, and take your seats with kindred spirits in your native skies."

Joseph Warren, "An Oration delivered March sixth, 1775, at the request of the inhabitants of the town of Boston: to commemorate the bloody tragedy of the Fifth of March, 1770," *The Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, ed. Richard Frothingham (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1865), 435-436.