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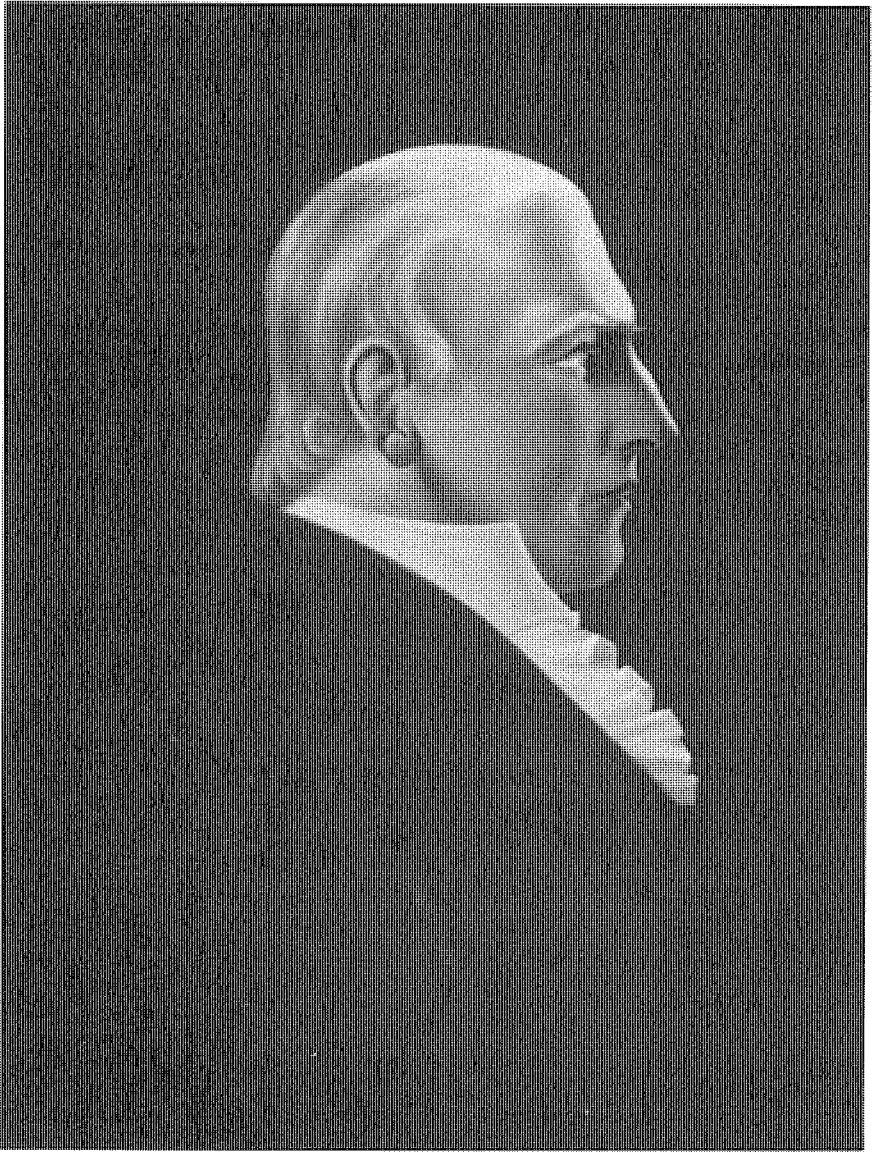
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Portrait of Jonathan Bliss, courtesy of the New Brunswick Museum.

Jonathan Bliss: Massachusetts Loyalist

William L. Welch

Among the Loyalists of the American Revolution, Jonathan Bliss of Massachusetts has been largely ignored. Yet Bliss' prominence in Massachusetts life before the war and his connections there afterward, as well as his importance in the early years of New Brunswick, make him a subject worthy of notice. Bliss was born at Springfield on October 1, 1742, the third son of Captain Luke and Mercy (Ely) Bliss. On both sides he was descended from the first settlers of the Connecticut River Valley, and historians describe the Bliss family as "well-to-do."¹ Little is known of his early years, but probably like other country boys of the period, young Jonathan hoed corn and raked hay, fished the river, and hunted deer and small game along its banks. In time he attended the grammar school at Springfield, and in 1758 he entered Harvard College. Considering his later conservative instincts, Bliss seems to have been a rebellious student at Harvard. College records tell us he was fined repeatedly, for going home without leave, for cursing and fighting, and for "misimproving his time by playing marbles." In his sophomore year he was reduced in class standing for "making tumultuous and indecent noises" and for insulting Tutor Thayer, and in 1761 school authorities had to "rusticate" him for his part in a student riot.² Yet Harvard was a positive experience for Bliss. A friendship begun there with classmate Sampson Salter Blowers of Boston, survived the trauma of the Revolution and exile in England to see the two confidants still in British North America after the war. Jonathan took his A.B. degree at Harvard in 1763, and later an M.A. when he argued successfully that "The Offspring of Slaves Were Not Born Slaves."³

After college Bliss read law with Edmund Trowbridge of Cambridge, who was called "the master of the Middlesex and Worcester bar," and then hung out his own shingle in Springfield.⁴ As trouble rose between Great Britain and her colonies in the 1760s, he entered provincial politics and attached himself to the powerful Williams "machine" of western Massachusetts.⁵ In 1768 he was elected to the legislature as an organization candidate, but he quickly won the enmity of Whigs when he voted to rescind their Circular Letter, the patriot party's attempt to unify colonial opposition to imperial taxation. His temerity thus cost him a career in elected politics in Massachusetts, but "machine" influence still landed him a judgeship in 1770.⁶ For a few years Bliss sat on the Sessions Court bench in Hampshire County, hearing criminal cases, but in 1774 he once again ran afoul of the Whigs. Popular discontent with the Coercive Acts, Parliament's response



to the Boston Tea Party, goaded patriots into purging themselves of all symbols of royal authority. On August 30 a crowd of some three thousand men mobbed the king's judges in Springfield and forced them to resign their commissions. This was as much of the Revolution as Bliss cared to see, and in November of 1774 with Blowers and his wife and other Loyalists he fled the Bay Colony and sailed for England.⁷

Having arrived in London, the emigrés were greeted by ex-Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, and introduced to Lord Dartmouth, the British secretary of state, who sought their advice on affairs in America. In a sanguine humor after his experiences in Springfield, Bliss urged his lordship to raise a force sufficient to suppress the rebellion.⁸ He was appointed solicitor to the customs board, to compensate him for the loss of his judgeship, and he readily adjusted to English life. As a founding member of the New England Club, a social organization of Loyalist exiles in London, he lashed his countrymen for their "Infatuation, Delusion and Cowardice." He predicted "no Resistance at all" to British regulars, or "an ineffectual one" at best that would be "crushed with the greatest Facility."⁹ In answer to his taunts the government at Boston proscribed him in 1778, effectually banishing him from Massachusetts, and in 1781 it further sealed his fate when it confiscated his town house in Springfield.¹⁰

When the Revolution ended, then, it seemed that Bliss would live out his days in England. But almost at once he found himself appointed attorney-general of the new province of New Brunswick. To create a homeland for the great body of Loyalists driven from America as a result of the war, the British government partitioned the ancient province of Nova Scotia, and by 1784 some fourteen thousand refugees mainly from New York and the middle states had arrived in the near-wilderness north of the Bay of Fundy. However, Massachusetts was heavily represented in the government of the new colony. In addition to Bliss in the attorney-generalship, Ward Chipman of Boston was solicitor-general and Edward Winslow of Plymouth sat on the governor's council, while James Putnam of Worcester and Joshua Upham of Brookfield were judges of the supreme court. That the vast bulk of settlers came from south of New England, however, promised some lively scenes in the political life of the new province.¹¹

Bliss was sworn into office at St. John in 1785, but his arrival in New Brunswick was not auspicious. He complained to Blowers, now attorney-general of Nova Scotia, of the lack of accommodations in the infant city ("I could not find Lodging for a Week"), and of his own anxiety in assuming new responsibilities. "I once thought I had attained to some Knowledge of the Rudiments and Principles of Law," he wrote, but "the Practice of all Courts is almost lost in me." Before long his grumbling had become indiscriminate. "I wish to God we could make an Exchange of Countries with the Convicts at Botany Bay," he groaned at one point. "We are in Prison in this City all the Year, and the whole Province is only a larger Prison in Winter. I was too long in England to relish a New Brunswick Life." Happily, as he grew more familiar with the colony his spirits lifted considerably. "I have just returned from the Kennebecasis," he wrote Blowers, after a boat trip into the interior of the province on the great St. John River. The banks of this stream are as delightful as any country so little cultivated can be,"

he wrote, and they appear "as fertile as the Banks of the Nile probably were 500,000,000,000 years ago. I like the Country well." Roused from his lethargy, Bliss joined with Chipman and other Massachusetts people in developing the new colony. Together they built a grist mill, and Bliss also served as a commissioner for the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in America in an effort to Christianize the Indians of New Brunswick. Soon he would write to Blowers, "We have our Pleasures [at St. John], we have good Society, a great Deal of good Eating & Drinking, and a full Share of good Humor."¹²

Yet Bliss' "good Society" was really a closed corporation of elitists determined to indefinitely control the political life of New Brunswick. Ever mindful of the Revolution and distrustful of popular participation in government, Governor Thomas Carleton and his New England friends ruled their province for a year unfettered by legislative interference. Courts were erected, lands granted, the colony divided into counties, and the number of representatives for an assembly allocated by executive directive without regard for the views of the ordinary inhabitants. Even when elections were finally called, government intent was to have a legislature of "worthy and respectable" members, "if we must have any [at all]," added Bliss. Topping an administration slate of candidates in St. John in 1785 were Attorney-General Bliss and Solicitor-General Chipman. Though cries of "No placemen" and a distinctly anti-New England bias permeated the canvass, no violence occurred until the sheriff moved the only polling place in town to government-party headquarters. When rioting followed, the governor called out troops and made arrests. Still the opposition managed a victory in St. John before Bliss and company resorted to trickery. Demanding a scrutiny of election returns, they convinced a compliant sheriff to strike off enough "doubtful votes" to guarantee government success. A flurry of protests from the opposition availed nothing. An act was passed by the new legislature against "tumults and disorders" that promised prosecution for sedition for anyone rash enough to challenge the establishment. When the attorney-general won several convictions under the law, political dissent in New Brunswick was crushed. Needless to say, the events of 1785-86 were a sorry chapter in the history of the new colony, but they show the determination of New England elitists to establish in British North America the most "Gentlemanlike" society on earth.¹³

In his letters to Blowers in 1786 as he prepared his sedition cases for court, Bliss spoke condescendingly of his opponents. He referred to them as a "cursed Faction . . . who think themselves intitled to be at the Head of this Government & to rule over Yankees as over Negroes." Their actions were "little short of High Treason." Though some of them had "discovered some symptoms of . . . Penitence & Reformation," he wrote, he was yet determined to prosecute them. "I shall go on steadily and hope to convince these Men they will not be able to subvert this Government."¹⁴

During the races for the assembly in 1785, General Benedict Arnold arrived in New Brunswick from England. For several years, until his death in 1801, Arnold's life and the life of Jonathan Bliss were to be intimately connected. Arnold came to St. John in 1785 to mend his broken fortunes after the Revolu-

tion. Before long he had become a prosperous merchant in the city, buying and selling real estate, exporting fish, furs, and lumber to the West Indies, and retailing general merchandise from his warehouse and store in St. John. His first contact with Bliss came in 1787 when the two men, along with a number of other gentlemen in town, signed an agreement to protect the city from conflagrations by importing fire engines and sinking public wells. Success notwithstanding, Arnold soon developed a taste for quarrelling and litigation, the most serious of which proved to be a lawsuit for slander heard in 1790.

Arnold's troubles began in 1789 when the firm of Arnold, Hayt, and Company dissolved, and his former partner, Munson Hayt, vowed to avenge himself on the general in a campaign of vilification. It seems that years earlier, while in London, Arnold had heavily insured his commercial properties in St. John, after which a fire had mysteriously gutted his warehouse. When opinion in some quarters hinted at arson, insurance underwriters sought to evade payment, though eventually Arnold did receive full compensation for his losses. To abuse him in 1789, Hayt revived the old rumors about arson, spreading it about St. John that the general had burned his own store. Understandably outraged, Arnold sued Hayt for defamation, and retained Bliss and Ward Chipman as counsel. If anything, when it came up in 1790, the trial turned out to be anticlimactic. Though he sued for £5,000 and won, the court awarded Arnold twenty shillings, a sum so trivial as to be insulting. Embittered at what he took to be the hostility of his neighbors, in 1791 Arnold decided to abandon New Brunswick altogether.¹⁵

Before he left the province, however, he put Bliss in charge of his affairs, and the size of their correspondence in the 1790s shows that the latter took his responsibilities seriously.¹⁶ The correspondence also shows the strong personal relationship that existed between the two men. When he arrived in London in 1792 Arnold wrote Bliss: "We had a very rough and disagreeable voyage home, but I cannot help viewing your great City as a ship wreck from which I have escaped." And he added sarcastically: "The little property that we have saved from the hands of *unprincipled judges* in New Brunswick is perfectly safe here as well as our *Persons from Insult*."¹⁷

Typical of their correspondence is another 1792 letter. "I have taken the liberty to send you a Fleecy Hosiery Cap and a pair of under Hose," Arnold wrote, "which I beg you to accept, the latter very proper to keep your feet warm at *Church*." Bliss also heard of the general's ventures into privateering, and his views on the war in Europe between England and France in the 1790s. Of his privateering Arnold wrote: "My affairs some times have prospered & sometimes not. I have made & lost a great deal of money." On the European conflict he had this to say in 1795: "You are free in New Brunswick from the dangers of a War which is carried on with a brutality unknown to former times, and very little to the honor of humanity or the cause of freedom." Again on the war Arnold wrote in 1798: "The French threaten to pay us a visit soon and we are preparing to receive them. It is thought they will make an attempt on Ireland. Peace seems as far off as ever."¹⁸

When he died in 1801 Arnold's wife Peggy, who had lived with him in New

Brunswick and knew Bliss well, wrote a touching letter to St. John describing the general's last days. Probably Bliss himself, however, best summed up his relationship with Arnold. Commenting on the general's retirement to England, Bliss referred to that nation as "the best of all possible Countries for the Residence of man, in the best of all possible conditions, that of a British Subject."¹⁹ Perhaps the two men, each an outcast from his own land, felt a common bonding in their adopted country.

By 1790, Revolutionary tensions eased in America, and in that year Bliss went home to Springfield to wed the daughter of an old comrade in the Williams organization. In so doing he made contact with the new social and political order in the commonwealth. When he married Mary Worthington in 1790, Bliss gained access to the highest echelons of Federalist politics in Massachusetts.²⁰ Both his father-in-law, John Worthington, and two brothers-in-law, Fisher Ames and Thomas Dwight, figured prominently in Federalist circles in the Bay State. Ames of Dedham, the burning orator of the Federalist party, sat in the first four congresses of the United States, while Dwight of Springfield, "a man of ample means and great polish," served in the state legislature almost continuously from the 1780s to 1813. Dwight was also a governor's councillor and a member of Congress during the period.²¹ Despite America's recent revolutionary past, as the cataclysm of the French Revolution threatened world peace and only Great Britain seemed to guarantee stability, Federalists and Loyalists discovered they shared a common political ideology. Their credo, stressed in private correspondence and newspapers alike during the 1790s, called for a deferential order in society to be led by the wise, the good, and the rich. Government functioned well only when it was firmly in the hands of those with superior skills—in education, finances, and natural ability. In its mad rush toward regicide and radical republicanism, the French Revolution endangered universal discipline by introducing the tyranny of mob rule. For both Federalists and Loyalists the French revolutionaries sought to replace an enlightened order with social and political chaos. Loyalists could only shout a fervent "amen," to the words of Fisher Ames, when he declared that man was "the most ferocious of animals when his passions were uncontrolled; and of all governments the worst was democracy." As Ames explained the spirit of 1776 to Bliss: "New England never took revolution for a diet but only for medicine."²²

With this common political understanding, Bliss and his Massachusetts relatives communicated frequently on world affairs during the 1790s. Typical of their correspondence is a 1793 letter to Bliss from his father-in-law John Worthington. After deprecating the "Publications of that vampire of all Mankind [Thomas] Paine [then living in Paris], & the Spread of the Spirit of Liberty, as it is called, thro Europe," Worthington said that he pitied France. "I wish them good Government, & true Liberty," he wrote, "but I think it will be a good while before they have them; & not till they have shed more of one another's blood." To which Bliss responded: "The horrid State of France can only be conceived by an Idea of an immense Bedlam. I tremble for you and for ourselves."²³

The tone of letters from Massachusetts grew desperate after 1800 when "Jacobins," as the Federalists called their pro-French, Jeffersonian opponents, gained control in America. "Would to Heaven the political state of our Country

were better.” Dwight wrote Bliss in 1802, “with a man at the head of our nation incurably infected with French philosophy and French revolutionary principles—meanly calling forth the vilest passions of the uninformed multitude by measures as vile and mean as his motives—surrounded by foreign toad eaters and under the immediate influence of men who have fled from their native countries for crimes which merited the halter.”²⁴

Bliss commiserated with his Massachusetts soul mates in denouncing the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, which lessened New England’s influence in the republic (“a monstrous addition,” wrote Dwight, that will “only serve to accelerate our downfall”), and he shared their grief in the death of Alexander Hamilton in 1804 (“No greater man has appeared on the stage of our public affairs since our Independence,” said Ames). In 1805 Springfield and St. John also congratulated one another on Nelson’s victory over the French fleet at Trafalgar. When Jeffersonians blundered into war with Great Britain in 1812, Federalists and Loyalists alike were appalled. “We Americans are the descendants of Englishmen & we speak the language of Englishmen,” wrote Dwight. “We have English habits, manners and fashions and I trust many of us English hospitality & benevolence. If there be any nation on earth with whom we should most scrupulously avoid being at war, it is *that same English nation*.” No doubt Bliss found such sentiments gratifying. But his knowledge that Federalism was a dying creed in America, and that Jeffersonians had gained permanent control in the republic by war’s end must have been sobering thoughts in the old Loyalist’s conservative mind.²⁵

Having served twenty-four years as attorney-general of New Brunswick, Bliss was appointed chief justice of the province in 1809. It was indeed a mark of the king’s royal favor. For the last dozen years of his life he presided over the high bench at Fredericton, the new capital of the colony, where “he enjoyed the unreserved confidence and respect of the people.” It was as chief justice of New Brunswick that he died on October 1, 1822.²⁶

The life of Loyalist Jonathan Bliss tells us several things about the Revolution in Massachusetts, and the society that evolved there afterward. First, it tells us that like other Tories, Bliss fled America for England when rebellion threatened the privileged order of which he was a member. Probably he would have been content to live out his days in Britain, but he was chosen with others to re-establish the old order in a new colony on the borders of New England. In New Brunswick, he and his Massachusetts colleagues succeeded admirably. But Bliss’ ability to relate to the “new order” in the Bay State after the war tells us something else about the American Revolution. The change from Loyalism to Federalism as a result of the rebellion was more a change in personnel than a shift in philosophy. A full generation after 1776, “government of the people” was still anathema to the political and social elite of the commonwealth.

NOTES

1. John H. Bliss, *Genealogy of the Bliss Family in America* (Boston, 1881), pp. 50-51; Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of those who attended Harvard College in the Classes 1761-1763* (Boston, 1970), XV: 355-56; "Jonathan Bliss," *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols., New York, 1928-1936), II: 374-75.
2. Shipton, *Harvard Classes, 1761-1763*, XV: 355.
3. *Ibid.*, XV: 355-56, 360, 365. Interestingly, by way of contrast, in 1800 in a test case on slavery before the Supreme Court of New Brunswick Bliss appeared as counsel for the master. Despite his lengthy speech on the subject, "divided into some thirty-two heads," the bench failed to reach a decision. However, since no judgment was entered, the master retained his slave. (See Joseph W. Lawrence, *1783-1883. Footprints; or, Incidents in the Early History of New Brunswick* (St. John, 1883), p. 57; and Ann G. Condon, *The Envy of the American States, The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1984), p. 192.
4. Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of those who attended Harvard College in the Classes 1726-1730* (Boston, 1951), VIII: 510; Mason A. Green, *Springfield 1636-1886* (Springfield, 1888), p. 265; "Address by Hon. George Bliss," *Papers and Proceedings of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society 1904-1907* (Springfield, 1912), IV: 17-18.
5. For a full discussion of the Williams "machine" in pre-Revolutionary Massachusetts see William L. Welch, Jr., "River God: The Public Life of Israel Williams, 1709-1788," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine, 1975.
6. His judicial commission as well as his appointment as a major in the Hampshire county militia are in the Bliss Family Papers, manuscript group 1, volume 1607, folder 16, 73, 81, in Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
7. *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1768-1769* (Boston, 1976), XLV: 4, 89, 116; Israel Williams to Thomas Hutchinson, January 23, 1770, Massachusetts Archives, XXV: 353; Robert J. Taylor, *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution* (Providence, 1954), pp. 25-26, 58, 65; Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace of Hampshire County, Hampshire County Courthouse, Northampton, volumes 10 and 13M, *passim*; James R. Trumbull, *History of Northampton, Massachusetts*, (Northampton, 1898), II: 347; Shipton, *Harvard Classes, 1761-1763*, XV: 356.
8. Thomas Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters* (Boston, 1884-86), I: 342.
9. L. H. Butterfield (ed.), *Adams Family Correspondence* (Cambridge, 1963), I: 234; "Extracts from the Diary of Edward Oxnard," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston, 1872), XXVI: 3-10, 115-21, 254-59, *passim*; Mary Beth Norton, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789* (Boston, 1972), chapter 3; Carol Berkin, *Jonathan Sewell, Odyssey of an American Loyalist* (New York, 1974), pp. 118, 121n.

10. A. B. Hart (ed.), *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (New York, 1927-1930), III: 266, 269; Shipton, *Harvard Classes, 1761-1763*, XV: 357.
11. W. S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick, A History: 1784-1867* (Toronto, 1963), pp. 16-59; James Hannay, *History of New Brunswick* (St. John, 1909), I: 129-152, 157-165; Esther C. Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Wolfville, N.S., 1955), pp. 141-42; North Callahan, *Flight from the Republic, The Tories of the American Revolution* (Indianapolis, 1967), p. 56; Condon, *Envy of the American States*, pp. 2, 85, 133, 218-19; Lawrence, *Footprints*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 6, 14, 17; Joseph W. Lawrence, *The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times* (St. John, 1907), pp. 155-56; Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of those who attended Harvard College in the Classes 1746-1750* (Boston, 1962), XII: 62, 63; also, *Biographical Sketches of those who attended Harvard College in the Classes 1764-1767* (Boston, 1972), XVI: 285; and, *Biographical Sketches of those who attended Harvard College in the Classes 1768-1771* (Boston, 1975), XVII: 373; Shipton, *Harvard Classes, 1761-1763*, XV: 357, 500; *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Third Series, Boston, 1922), LIV: 340-41; W. S. MacNutt, "New England's Tory Neighbors," *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Transactions 1956-1963* (Boston, 1966), XLIII: 346, 347-8, 351-53, 355-56.
12. Bliss to Blowers, May 24, 1785, March 17, August 24, and September 19, 1786, March 24 and May 20, 1787, and August 9, 1788, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1603, folder 5, 31, 34-36, 38-39, 44; Shipton, *Harvard Classes, 1761-1763*, XV: 357, 363; Shipton, *Harvard Classes, 1768-1771*, XVII: 373; Condon, *Envy of the American States*, p. 189; Hannay, *New Brunswick*, I: 206-09; W. O. Raymond (ed.), *Winslow Papers A.D. 1776-1826* (St. John, 1901), p. 345; Irene E. McAfee, "Jonathan Bliss: A Loyalist Success Story," M.A. dissertation, University of Maine, 1973, pp. 59-61, 63-64.
13. D. G. Bell, *Early Loyalist St. John, The Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1783-1786* (Fredericton, 1983), pp. 101-117, 121-22, 125, 142-154; Condon, *Envy of the American States*, pp. 137-38, 142, 143-49; MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, pp. 59-63; Hannay, *New Brunswick*, I: 152-56; Wright, *Loyalists*, pp. 143-44, 147-50; Lawrence, *Footprints*, pp. 64-68; MHS *Proceedings*, 3rd series, LIV: 342; Shipton, *Harvard Classes, 1768-1771*, XVII, 374.
14. Bliss to Blowers, March 17, 1786, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1603, folder 5, 34.
15. Jean E. Sereisky, "Benedict Arnold in New Brunswick," *The Atlantic Advocate* (March, 1963), pp. 33, 34, 36-38, 40; Callahan, *Flight from the Republic*, pp. 58-64; Lawrence, *Footprints*, pp. 70-73; Willard M. Wallace, *Traitorous Hero: The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold* (New York, 1954), pp. 290-94; Charles C. Sellers, *Benedict Arnold, The Proud Warrior* (New York, 1930), pp. 271-276; MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, pp. 65, 86-87.
16. See Benedict Arnold Papers (Odell Collection), New Brunswick Museum, shelf 87, box 1, packets 1-4.
17. Arnold to Bliss, February 26, 1792, Benedict Arnold Papers, packet 3, 4.
18. Arnold to Bliss, October 15, 1792, February 3, 1793, February 10 and

- March 19, 1794, January 3, May 4, August 15, and September 5, 1795, May 17, 1796, November 25, 1797, March 7, 1798, and May 17, 1799, Benedict Arnold Papers, packet 3, 6-8, 14-16, 18, 21-22, 32, 37-39.
19. Bliss to Arnold, January 22, 1796, Benedict Arnold Papers, packet 4; Mrs. Benedict Arnold to Bliss, December 25, 1801, and June 4 and December 5, 1795, Benedict Arnold Papers, packet 3, 19-20, 23-24, 44-45. See too Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1604, folder 6, 46, 52, 55; folder 8, 130; and vol. 1607, folder 1, 1 for correspondence between Mrs. Arnold and Mrs. Jonathan Bliss. Also see Sereisky, "Benedict Arnold," pp. 41-43; Callahan, *Flight*, pp. 65-6; and, Sellers, *Arnold*, pp. 281-290.
 20. The marriage produced four children—John, Lewis, William, and Henry, born in 1791, 1793, 1795, and 1797, respectively. (Bliss, *Bliss Family*, p. 75.) After Mary Bliss' death in 1799, her husband sent their children to Massachusetts for a while, and eventually the oldest boy, John, followed in his father's footsteps and attended Harvard. (For a correspondence between Springfield and St. John involving domestic concerns see Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1604, folders 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15; and vol. 1607, folders 2, 5, 6, 9, 10; also Fisher Ames Papers, Dedham Historical Society; and Dwight-Howard Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.)
 21. Winfred E. A. Bernhard, *Fisher Ames, Federalist and Statesman, 1758-1808*, (Chapel Hill, 1965), *passim*; Green, *Springfield*, pp. 309-12, 347, 363, 368, 369; David H. Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism* (New York, 1965), p. 248; Benjamin W. Dwight, *History of the Descendants of John Dwight of Dedham, Mass.* (New York, 1874), II: 829; Welch, "Israel Williams," pp. 34, 40, 190; Dwight to Bliss, September 22, 1803 and June 25, 1804, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 7, 42, 45.
 22. George Rawlyk, "The Federalist-Loyalist Alliance in New Brunswick, 1784-1815," *Humanities Association Review* 27 (2) (1976): 145-50; Seth Ames (ed.) *Works of Fisher Ames* (2 vols., Boston, 1854), II: 394; Ames to Bliss, August 16, 1802, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 11, 61.
 23. Worthington to Bliss, June 1, 1793, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 14, 69; Bliss to Worthington, February 17, 1794, Dwight-Howard Papers.
 24. Dwight to Bliss, August 15, 1802, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 7, 40.
 25. Dwight to Bliss, December 28, 1803, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 7, 41; Ames to Bliss, December 26, 1804 and January 18, 1806, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 11, 63-64; Dwight to Lewis Bliss, May 18, 1815, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 5, 11. See also Dwight to Bliss, February 13 and November 9, 1800, August 3, 1801, September 22, 1803, and June 25, 1804, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 7, 32, 35, 38, 42, 45; and, Ames to Bliss, February 20, and July 22, 1800, June 29, 1801, June 18, August 16, and October 12, 1802, Bliss Family Papers, vol. 1607, folder 11, 56, 58-62.
 26. Lawrence, *Judges of New Brunswick*, pp. 160-65; Lorenzo Sabine, *The American Loyalists* (Boston, 1847), pp. 163-164; G. A. Ward (ed.), *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen* (London, 1844), p. 508; Raymond (ed.), *Winslow Papers*, pp. 323n., 533, 628, 637, 639.