

# Atlas of Independence

## JOHN ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by Chris Mackowski



### ERRATA

On pg. 48, I listed January 9, 1776, as the publication date of *Common Sense*. Printer John Bell began advertising the pamphlet for sale that day, and he may have begun printing copies on that date; however, *Common Sense* wasn't actually available for sale until January 10, 1776, and that is the date most often cited for its publication. (For more on *Common Sense*, see my post at Emerging Revolutionary War to commemorate the 250th anniversary of its publication, "[In Praise of \*Common Sense\*.](#)")

<https://emerginglevolutionarywar.org/2026/01/10/in-praise-of-common-sense/>

On pg. 93, it seems we deleted a "1" somewhere along the line during production where I provided the date of the final surrender at Saratoga. That surrender took place on October 17, 1777, not on October 7. (The last of the fighting took place on October 7, though!)

### SOURCES

**NOTE:** Many of the primary documents listed on the National Archives' "Founders Online" site were first posted as "early access documents" slated for finalization. As texts are finalized as "authoritative" editions, "This link will eventually disappear!" the site warns. The materials will still be available from Founders Online and can easily be searched for there, even if the hypertext no longer exists.

## Prologue

... "foul, fetid, fuming, foggy, filthy Philadelphia!"<sup>1</sup>  
"the North and South poles of the American Revolution. . . ."<sup>2</sup>  
"Truth, Nature, Fact, should be your sole guide. . . ."<sup>3</sup>  
"making and sailing boats and Ships upon the Ponds and Brooks . . . ."<sup>4</sup>  
"the honestest Man I ever knew"<sup>5</sup>  
"an Admiration of Learning. . . ."<sup>6</sup>  
"a disgust to Schools, to books and to study. . . ."<sup>7</sup>  
"I do not love books. . . ."<sup>8</sup>  
"... my daily encreasing Attention to my Books."<sup>9</sup>  
"I soon perceived a growing Curiosity. . . ."<sup>10</sup>  
"Fame, Fortune, Power say some, are the Ends intended by a Library. . . ."<sup>11</sup>  
"Vanity I am sensible, is my cardinal Vice and cardinal Folly. . . ."<sup>12</sup>  
"Oh! that I could wear out of my mind every mean and base affectation. . . ."<sup>13</sup>  
"I have to smooth and harmonise my Mind. . . ."<sup>14</sup>  
"My temper in general has been tranquil except. . . ."<sup>15</sup>  
"How is it that I, poor ignorant I, must stand before Posterity. . . ."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All quotes from the musical that appear in this book come from Peter Stone and Sherman Edwards, *1776: A Musical Play* (New York: Penguin, 1969). This lyric comes from pg. 5.

<sup>2</sup> To John Adams from Benjamin Rush, 17 February 1812, "Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5758>.

<sup>3</sup> "From John Adams to John Trumbull, 18 March 1817," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6730>.

<sup>4</sup> John Adams autobiography, part 1, "John Adams," through 1776, sheet 2 of 53 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., sheet 3 of 53.

<sup>11</sup> John Adams diary, 30 January 1768. <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/DJA01d454>.

<sup>12</sup> "3 Monday," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0002-0005-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 24–25.]

<sup>13</sup> "16 Monday, [1756]" *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0002-0002-0016>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 7–8.]

<sup>14</sup> "[Spring 1759.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0004-0005-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 85–103.]

<sup>15</sup> "From John Adams to Skelton Jones, 11 March 1809," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5315>.

<sup>16</sup> "From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 17 August 1812," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5855>.

All the vanguard members of the revolutionary generation. . . .<sup>17</sup>  
. . . "congenitally incapable of holding the pose."<sup>18</sup>  
"for I really think that your Letters are much better. . . ."<sup>19</sup>  
"I write no biographies or biographical sketches. . . ."<sup>20</sup>

## **Chapter One: "The Most Bitter, Malicious, Determined and Implacable Enemy"**

### ***Adams v. Sewall***

The hilltop view from Falmouth's east-end. . . .<sup>1</sup>  
"The Charms of the Morning at this Hour, are irresistible. . . ."<sup>2</sup>  
. . . Sewall addressed Adams as "Brother."<sup>3</sup>  
"[I]t is my Destiny to dig Treasures with my own fingers. . . ."<sup>4</sup>  
"It will be said, I don't understand my Business. . . ."<sup>5</sup>  
" . . . a strong Desire of Distinction"<sup>6</sup>  
"Now to what higher object" . . .<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Joseph Ellis, *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 18.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Quotes from this and the next paragraph from "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 2 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0002>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 3–4.]

<sup>20</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 5 June 1813," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6054>.

<sup>1</sup> For more on the history of Munjoy Hill, see Sara Anne Donnelly, "The Cool on the Hill," *Downeast Magazine*, <https://downeast.com/travel-outdoors/munjoy-hill-portland/>

<sup>2</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 22 May 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0191>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 245–246.]

<sup>3</sup> "To John Adams from Jonathan Sewall, 15 February 1764," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-01-02-0049>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 1, *September 1755–October 1773*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. 97–98.]

<sup>4</sup> "Monday. December 18th. 1758," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0003-0003-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, *1755–1770*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 62–63.]

<sup>5</sup> "Monday. December 18th. 1758," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0003-0003-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, *1755–1770*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 62–63.]

<sup>6</sup> "[Spring 1759.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-0004-0005-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, *1755–1770*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 85–103.]

<sup>7</sup> "[October 1759]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0004-0008>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, *1755–1770*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 123–124.]

... as he once described his docket of clients.<sup>8</sup>  
"There is every Year, some new and astonishing scene of Vice. . . ."<sup>9</sup>  
"[B]end your whole soul to the Institutes of the Law. . . ."<sup>10</sup>  
"Let no trifling Diversion or amuzement. . . ."<sup>11</sup>  
"I cant command my attention. . . ."<sup>12</sup>  
Adams had been advised by Jeremiah Gridley. . . .<sup>13</sup>  
"I was of an amorous disposition. . . ."<sup>14</sup>  
"If I look upon a law book. . . ."<sup>15</sup>  
... "a Conversation that would have terminated in a Courtship. . . ."<sup>16</sup>  
"Otis was a flame of fire!"<sup>17</sup>  
"... a colony ruled by law, not mobs."<sup>18</sup>  
"[I]t's of more importance . . . that innocence should be protected. . . ."<sup>19</sup>  
... "one of the best Pieces of Service I ever rendered my Country."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "1760 Decr. 18th. Thursdays," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0005-0008-0007>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 181–184.]

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> "Tuesday [January 1759]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0004-0001-0002>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 72–75.]

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> "[Spring 1759.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0004-0005-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 85–103.]

<sup>13</sup> John Ferling, *John Adams: A Life* (New York: Owl Books, 1996), 23.

<sup>14</sup> John Adams autobiography, part 1, "John Adams," through 1776, sheet 3 of 53 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society, <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>15</sup> Adams, draft of letter to Richard Cranch, fall 1758, John Adams diary, June 1753 - April 1754, September 1758 - January 1759 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>. [pg. 16 of 28.]

<sup>16</sup> "[Spring 1759.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0004-0005-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 85–103.]

<sup>17</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 29 March 1817," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6735>.

<sup>18</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 15 April 1818," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6883>.

<sup>19</sup> "Adams' Argument for the Defense: 3–4 December 1770," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/05-03-02-0001-0004-0016>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Legal Papers of John Adams, vol. 3, *Cases 63 and 64: The Boston Massacre Trials*, ed. L. Kinvin Wroth and Hiller B. Zobel. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965, pp. 242–270.]

<sup>20</sup> "1773. March 5th. Fryday.," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0003-0002-0002>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, p. 79.]

"[A]lthough We were at Antipodes in Politicks. . . ."<sup>21</sup>  
"[M]y mind was clear and my determination decided and unalterable. . . ."<sup>22</sup>  
"boxes of politics, as opposite as East and West". . . ."<sup>23</sup>  
"Eleven Years ago I thought him the best Friend, I had in the World. . . ."<sup>24</sup>  
"Great Britain is determined on her system. . . ."<sup>25</sup>  
"Our Conversation was just such as might be expected. . . ."<sup>26</sup>

## Chapter Two: The Nursery of American Statesmen

### *John and Samuel*

... "he was an almost incessant writer."<sup>1</sup>  
"Much of his work depended on plausible deniability. . . ."<sup>2</sup>  
... a trail "so garbled that the truth could not be discovered."<sup>3</sup>  
"Mr. Adams was born and tempered a wedge of steel. . . ."<sup>4</sup>  
In his common appearance, John later said of his cousin. . . .<sup>5</sup>  
... "air of dignity and majesty". . . .<sup>6</sup>  
Sam had orchestrated it just so as a deliberate show. . . .<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> John Adams autobiography, part 1, "John Adams," through 1776, sheet 10 of 53 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>22</sup> The dialogue is italicized rather than presented in quotes because it comes from Adams's account of the conversation. Lines are quoted from John Adams autobiography, part 1, "John Adams," through 1776, sheet 11 of 53 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>23</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 9 July 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0089>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 134–137.]

<sup>24</sup> John Adams diary 4, October 1759 - 20 November 1761, 21 November 1772 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>25</sup> Dialogue in this section comes from the conversation Adams relays in "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 9 July 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0089>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 134–137.]

<sup>26</sup> David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 350.

<sup>1</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 5 June 1813," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6054>.

<sup>2</sup> Stacy Schiff, *The Revolutionary: Samuel Adams* (New York: Little, Brown Company, 2022), 4.

<sup>3</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 5 June 1813," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6054>.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 15 April 1818," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6883>.

<sup>6</sup> "From John Adams to Jedidiah Morse, 1 January 1816," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6563>.

<sup>7</sup> Ferling, 96.

One evening at their shared boarding house in Philadelphia. . . .<sup>8</sup>  
"For who is Sufficient for these Things?" he asked a friend.<sup>9</sup>  
"I wander alone, and ponder.—I muse, I mope, I ruminate. . . ."<sup>10</sup>  
"It would take a Volume to describe the whole [journey]. . . ."<sup>11</sup>  
But intrigue was afoot in the Pennsylvania capital. . . .<sup>12</sup>  
In the city, the delegation settled into boarding house rooms. . . .<sup>13</sup>  
"Our Expences, in this Journey, will be very great. . . ."<sup>14</sup>  
... "a School of Political Prophets I Suppose—a Nursery of American Statesmen."<sup>15</sup>  
"God Almighty grant us wisdom and virtue. . . ."<sup>16</sup>  
With a population of nearly 30,000 souls. . . .<sup>17</sup>  
"The Uniformity of this City is dissagreable to some. . . ."<sup>18</sup>  
"The Morals of our People are much better. . . ."<sup>19</sup>  
... "became pretty well acquainted with Men and things. . . ."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 5 June 1813," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6054>.

<sup>9</sup> "From John Adams to James Warren, 25 June 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-02-02-0017>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 2, *December 1773–April 1775*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. 99–100.]

<sup>10</sup> "1774. June 25th. Saturday.," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0004-0004-0002>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, *1771–1781*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, p. 97.]

<sup>11</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 August 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0095>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 144–146.]

<sup>12</sup> "From John Adams to Timothy Pickering, 6 August 1822," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7674>.

<sup>13</sup> McCullough, 83.

<sup>14</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 August 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0095>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 144–146.]

<sup>15</sup> "From John Adams to James Warren, 25 June 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-02-02-0017>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 2, *December 1773–April 1775*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. 99–100.]

<sup>16</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 August 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0095>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 144–146.]

<sup>17</sup> Ferling, 104.

<sup>18</sup> Adams Diary 23 September 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>19</sup> Adams Diary 9 October 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>20</sup> Adams Diary 31 August 1774, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0004-0005>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

As Adams described it, it was feast, feast, feast, feast. . . .<sup>21</sup>  
He was also fond of cider. . . .<sup>22</sup>  
"There is such a quick and constant Succession of new Scenes. . . ."<sup>23</sup>  
"Here are Fortunes, Abilities, Learning, Eloquence, Acuteness. . . ."<sup>24</sup>  
"May it thrive, and prosper and flourish. . . ."<sup>25</sup>  
Cousin Samuel, "cool, abstemious, polished, refined". . . .<sup>26</sup>  
"They Start at the Thought of taking up the old Charter. . . ."<sup>27</sup>  
"These discussions spun into great Length, and nothing was decided. . . ."<sup>28</sup>  
"This was one of the happiest Days of my Life. . . ."<sup>29</sup>  
. . . "nibbling and quibbling, as usual". . . .<sup>30</sup>  
The document "demanded as little as could be demanded". . . .<sup>31</sup>  
"There is so much Wit, Sense, Learning, Acuteness, Subtilty, Eloquence. . . ."<sup>32</sup>

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Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 97–118.]; 1774. October 28th Diary. Adams Papers Digital Edition, Massachusetts Historical Society. <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/ADMS-01-02-02-pb-0158>; "[In Congress, September–October 1774]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0022>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 307–313.]

<sup>21</sup> Adams Diary, 16 September 1774, 14 September 1774, 8 September 1774, 11 September 1774.

<sup>22</sup> Adams Diary, 22 September 1774. John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>23</sup> Adams Diary, 11 September 1774. John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>24</sup> John Adams to William Tudor, 29 September 1774, Adams Papers Digital Edition, Massachusetts Historical Society. <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/ADMS-06-02-02-0052>

<sup>25</sup> "From John Adams to James Warren, 25 June 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-02-02-0017>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 2, *December 1773–April 1775*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. 99–100.]

<sup>26</sup> Ferling, 106.

<sup>27</sup> John Adams to William Tudor, 29 September 1774, Adams Papers Digital Edition, Massachusetts Historical Society. <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/ADMS-06-02-02-0052>

<sup>28</sup> "[In Congress, September–October 1774]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0022>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 307–313.]

<sup>29</sup> Adams Diary, 17 September 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>.

<sup>30</sup> Adams Diary, 24 October 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>.

<sup>31</sup> "[In Congress, September–October 1774]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0022>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 307–313.]

<sup>32</sup> 10 October 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>.

... all so fond of "shewing their Parts and Powers"....<sup>33</sup>

"It is not very likely that I shall ever see this Part of the World again. ...."<sup>34</sup>

Little did he know just how much of Philadelphia he would soon get to see.

"Without the character of Samuel Adams. ...."<sup>35</sup>

Edward Rutledge of South Carolina....<sup>36</sup>

"Young Ned Rutledge is a perfect Bob o' Lincoln...."<sup>37</sup>

Robert Livingston of New York....<sup>38</sup>

Caesar Rodney of Delaware....<sup>39</sup>

Dr. Benjamin Rush....<sup>40</sup>

## **Chapter Three: Penn to Sword**

### ***Adams vs. Dickinson***

"[T]he Battle of Lexington on the 19th of April. ...."<sup>1</sup>

the Novanglus letters<sup>2,3</sup>

Details of the visit to Cambridge, Lexington, and Concord<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Adams Diary 24 October 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>.

<sup>34</sup> 1774. October 28th Diary. Adams Papers Digital Edition, Massachusetts Historical Society.

<https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/ADMS-01-02-02-pb-0158>

<sup>35</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 5 June 1813," *Founders Online*, National Archives,

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6054>.

<sup>36</sup> Adams Diary, 1 September 1774, John Adams diary 21, 15 August - 3 September 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>.

<sup>37</sup> 24 October 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>38</sup> Adams Diary, 1 September 1774, John Adams diary 21, 15 August - 3 September 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>.

<sup>39</sup> Adams Diary, 3 September 1774, John Adams diary 21, 15 August - 3 September 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>40</sup> "1775. Septr. 24. Sunday," *Founders Online*, National Archives,

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0005-0003-0013>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 181–183.]

<sup>1</sup> "[Novanglus Papers, 1774–1775]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0023>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 313–314.]

<sup>2</sup> For more on the exchange between Adams and Daniel "Massachusettensis" Leonard, see <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/view?&id=PJA02dg5>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> This and other Adams quotes in this section from "[Novanglus Papers, 1774–1775]."

"The martial Spirit throughout this Province is astonishing"<sup>5</sup>

"We know not what to do first. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

"I came from home Sick and have been so ever Since. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

"Uniforms, and Regimentals are as thick as Bees. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

"He is a Shadow. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

... "a very modest Man, and very ingenious, as well as agreeable. . . ."<sup>10</sup>

The Pennsylvania Farmer. . . .<sup>11</sup>

... "humble and dutiful petition to the King"?<sup>12</sup>

... a "Measure of Imbecility."<sup>13</sup>

"Powder and Artillery are the most efficacious. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

"Blood . . . on their own heads. . . ."<sup>15</sup>

On one occasion, Adams gave a particularly impassioned speech on the floor. . . .<sup>16</sup>

"[T]he Fleetest sailor must wait for the dullest and the slowest. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

"repulsively cold"<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> From John Adams to James Warren, 21 May 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-03-02-0007>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 3, *May 1775–January 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 11.]

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Adams Diary 31 August 1774, John Adams diary 21, 15 August - 3 September 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>10</sup> Adams Diary, 11 September 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>11</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 23 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0164>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 252–254.]

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Jefferson and John Dickinson, "The Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms," 6 July 1775. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/primary-sources/causes-and-necessity-taking-arms>.

<sup>13</sup> "[In Congress, June and July 1775]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0025>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 321–324.]

<sup>14</sup> "From John Adams to Moses Gill, 10 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-03-02-0014>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 3, *May 1775–January 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 20–22.]

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Ferling, 123.

<sup>16</sup> "[In Congress, May 1775]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0024>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 314–321.]

<sup>17</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0146>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 215–217.]

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Ferling, 127.

Adams referred to Washington. . . .<sup>19</sup>

"This Appointment will have a great Effect. . . ."<sup>20</sup>

"[Y]our Majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent. . . ."<sup>21</sup>

"[T]he Designs against Us, are hostile and sanguinary. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

"In some of my public Harrangues. . . ."<sup>23</sup>

In a letter Adams wrote in late July to his friend James Warren. . . .<sup>24</sup>

"I wrote something like what has been published. But not exactly. . . ."<sup>25</sup>

. . . Adams became "an object of nearly universal detestation". . . .<sup>26</sup>

"We continued to debate in Congress upon all questions. . . ."<sup>27</sup>

"The Day; perhaps the decisive Day. . . ."<sup>28</sup>

"I have found this Congress like the last. . . ."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> L. H. Butterfield et al., eds., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 4 vols. [Cambridge, Mass., 1961], 3:322–23.

<sup>20</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0146>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, December 1761–May 1776, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 215–217.]

<sup>21</sup> "Olive Branch Petition," <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/primary-sources/olive-branch-petition>.

<sup>22</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0146>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, December 1761–May 1776, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 215–217.]

<sup>23</sup> "[In Congress, May 1775]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0024>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 314–321.]

<sup>24</sup> "From John Adams to James Warren, 24 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-03-02-0052>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 3, *May 1775–January 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 89–93.]

<sup>25</sup> "1775 Sept. 16. Saturday.," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0005-0003-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, *1771–1781*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 173–175.]

<sup>26</sup> See n6 "From John Adams to James Warren, 24 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-03-02-0052>.

<sup>27</sup> "[In Congress, May 1775]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0024>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 314–321.]

<sup>28</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 18 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0150>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, December 1761–May 1776, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 222–224.]

<sup>29</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0146>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, December 1761–May 1776, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 215–217.]

“Mr. Hancock . . . never loved me so well after this Event as he had done before. . . .”<sup>30</sup>  
John Dickinson initially impressed Adams as “very modest, delicate, and timid.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> “[In Congress, June and July 1775],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0025>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 321–324.]

<sup>31</sup> 24 October 1774, John Adams diary 22, 4 September - 9 November 1774 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

## Chapter Four: "Every Line a Precious Relic"

### *John and Abigail*

"A few more such victories" . . .<sup>1</sup>

"We wait to hear more particulars. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

"The Day; perhaps the decisive Day is come. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

"Courage, my dear!"<sup>4</sup>

"Does every Member feel for us?"<sup>5</sup>

John Quincy, writing decades later. . . .<sup>6</sup>

"It gives me more Pleasure than I can express. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

Abigail was a wit, John admitted. . . .<sup>8</sup>

But when they met again two years later. . . .<sup>9</sup>

... "never abated during their long life together."<sup>10</sup>

"I wish I understood French as well as you. . . ."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion. Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of his Campaigns, 1775-1782*, William B. Willcox, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 19.

<sup>2</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 23 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0153>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 226–227.]

<sup>3</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 18 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0150>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 222–224.]

<sup>4</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 23 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0153>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 226–227.]

<sup>5</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 22 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0152>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 225–226.]

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in the n3 of Abigail's 18 June 1775 letter to John, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0150>.

<sup>7</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 7 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0160>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 241–243.]

<sup>8</sup> "[Summer 1759.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0004-0007-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, *1755–1770*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 103–123.]

<sup>9</sup> "Braintree Feby. 1st. 1763. Tuesday.," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0008-0001-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, *1755–1770*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 233–235.]

<sup>10</sup> Lynne Withey, *Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams* (New York: Touchstone, 1981), 16.

<sup>11</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 18 February 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0229>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 348–349.]

“... I would soon convince you that I am not above forty.”<sup>12</sup>  
“a Friendship and affection deep Rooted ... which defies the ravages of time. . . .”<sup>13</sup>  
... a blow that grieved the parents so deeply. . . .<sup>14</sup>  
“I must entreat you, my dear Partner. . . .”<sup>15</sup>  
“I long impatiently to have you upon the Stage of action” . . .<sup>16</sup>  
“We cannot but consider the great distance” . . .<sup>17</sup>  
“paradox of proximity.”<sup>18</sup>  
“The letters. . . .”<sup>19</sup>  
“Is there no Way for two friendly Souls. . . .”<sup>20</sup>  
“Would you advise me?”<sup>21</sup>  
“I think you shine as a Stateswoman” . . .<sup>22</sup>  
“I can do nothing without you.”<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 March 1796,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-11-02-0109>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 11, *July 1795–February 1797*, ed. Margaret A. Hogan, C. James Taylor, Sara Martin, Neal E. Millikan, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, and Gregg L. Lint. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 212–213.]

<sup>13</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 7 January 1793,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-09-02-0215>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 9, *January 1790–December 1793*, ed. C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Karen N. Barzilay, Gregg L. Lint, Hobson Woodward, Mary T. Claffey, Robert F. Karachuk, and Sara B. Sikes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 372–374.]

<sup>14</sup> McCullough, 65.

<sup>15</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 1 July 1774,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0082>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 118–120.]

<sup>16</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 19 August 1774,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0093>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 142–143.]

<sup>17</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 16 June 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 217–220.]

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Ellis, *First Family: Abigail and John Adams* (New York: Knopf, 2010), 16.

<sup>19</sup> *The Letters of John and Abigail Adams*, Frank Shuffelton, ed. (New York: Penguin, 2004), xvii.

<sup>20</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 April 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0258>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 398–401.]

<sup>21</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 12 May 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0262>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 406–407.]

<sup>22</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 27 May 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0270>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 419–421.]

<sup>23</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 April 1797,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-12-02-0042>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

"[E]very line is like a precious Relict of the Saints"....<sup>24</sup>

"I think you are more cautious than you need be"....<sup>25</sup>

"All the Letters I receive from you seem to be wrote in so much haste....<sup>26</sup>

She wrote to him as "Dearest Friend"....<sup>27</sup>

She closed her letters....<sup>28,29,30</sup>

"Be assured....<sup>31</sup>

"My pen is always freer than my tongue"....<sup>32</sup>

"You bid me burn your Letters....<sup>33</sup>

"I have really had a very disagreeable Time of it....<sup>34</sup>

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Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 12, *March 1797 – April 1798*, ed. Sara Martin, C. James Taylor, Neal E. Millikan, Amanda A. Mathews, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Gregg L. Lint, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015, pp. 72–73.]

<sup>24</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 16 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 217–220.]

<sup>25</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 27 November 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0218>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 328–331.]

<sup>26</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 16 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0162>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 245–251.]

<sup>27</sup> Portia was the female protagonist of *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596).

<sup>28</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0174>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 269–272.]; Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, 9 July 1777 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society.

<http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>29</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 21 February 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0230>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 350–352.]

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 17 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0266>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 410–412.]

<sup>32</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 22 October 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0204>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 309–311.]

<sup>33</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 April 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0258>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 398–401.]

<sup>34</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 7 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0160>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 241–243.]

... "in Case of real Danger ... fly to the Woods with our children."<sup>35</sup>  
"Poor, unhappy I!"<sup>36</sup>  
"His habitual absences from his wife were deplorable...."<sup>37</sup>  
"I hope the publick will reap what I sacrifice...."<sup>38</sup>  
"Here I serve my partner, my family and myself...."<sup>39</sup>  
"I do not feel easy more than two days together"....<sup>40</sup>  
"I have been distress'd, but not dismayed...."<sup>41</sup>  
... "absolutely necessary whilst every day is big with Events"....<sup>42</sup>  
"I begin to be jealous...."<sup>43</sup>  
"I know not what would become of me, and mine...."<sup>44</sup>  
"You can hardly immagine how much we want"....<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 2 May 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0128>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 192.]

<sup>36</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 26 July 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0231>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 289.]

<sup>37</sup> Ferling, 4.

<sup>38</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 27 November 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0218>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 328–331.]

<sup>39</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 3 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 4–5.]

<sup>40</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0174>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 269–272.]

<sup>41</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 5 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0159>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 239–241.]

<sup>42</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 25 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0155>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 230–233.]

<sup>43</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 27 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0270>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 419–421.]

<sup>44</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 16 June 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0209>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 267.]

<sup>45</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 16 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0162>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

"Not one pin is to be purchased for love nor money"....<sup>46</sup>  
"[T]he time will crawl till I see you...."<sup>47</sup>  
"Pray let me hear from you...."<sup>48</sup>  
"The Business I have had upon my Mind...."<sup>49</sup>  
... Congress granted itself a brief vacation.<sup>50</sup>  
"Tis a dreadful time with this whole province...."<sup>51</sup>  
"Journeys of such a Length are tedious"....<sup>52</sup>  
Although Abigail "long[ed] to hear that you have declared an independency"....<sup>53</sup>  
"[I]n the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary...."<sup>54</sup>  
"As to your extraordinary Code of Laws, I cannot but laugh...."<sup>55</sup>

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Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 245–251.]

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 5 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0159>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 239–241.]

<sup>48</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 25 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0155>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 230–233.]

<sup>49</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 24 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0167>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 255–258.]

<sup>50</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 30 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0173>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 268–269.]

<sup>51</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 1 October 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0189>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 288–289.]

<sup>52</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 April 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0258>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 398–401.]

<sup>53</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0241>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 369–371.]

<sup>54</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0241>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 369–371.]

<sup>55</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 14 April 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0248>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 381–383.]

"I can not say that I think you very generous to the Ladies. . . ."<sup>56</sup>

"Among all the Disappointments, and Perplexities. . . ."<sup>57</sup>

Dr. Joseph Warren "has distinguished himself in every engagement. . . ."<sup>58</sup>

## Chapter Five: Common Sense

### *Adams v. Paine*

It was "a cold Journey. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

"There is a deep Anxiety" . . .<sup>2</sup>

... "open and avowed Rebellion."<sup>3</sup>

"[T]here is something absurd, in supposing a continent" . . .<sup>4</sup>

"Phenomenon"<sup>5</sup>

"The Arguments in favour of Independence I liked very well" . . .<sup>6</sup>

... "reaching an audience roughly 100 times bigger" . . .<sup>7</sup>

"I am much obliged. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 7 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0259>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 401–403.]

<sup>57</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 22 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0267>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 412–413.]

<sup>58</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 18 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0150>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 222–224.]

<sup>1</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 February 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0227>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 345–346.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> King George III. "By the King, A Proclamation, For Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition" (1775) *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Virginia Humanities, (07 Dec. 2020). Web. 19 Jun. 2025

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Paine, *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 1., Edited by Moncure Daniel Conway (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894), 92.

<sup>5</sup> "[In Congress, Spring 1776, and Thomas Paine]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0028>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 330–335.]

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Ferling, 143.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, 21 February 1776 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

"I want to know how those Sentiments are received in Congress?"<sup>9</sup>

"I can form no judgment"....<sup>10</sup>

"I believe no person was ever more eagerly read, nor more generally approved...."<sup>11</sup>

"Reconciliation if practicable and Peace if attainable...."<sup>12</sup>

"The Events of War are uncertain...."<sup>13</sup>

"I am as innocent of it as a Babe...."<sup>14</sup>

"What set his writing apart...."<sup>15</sup>

"[A]ll agree there is a great deal of good sense"....<sup>16</sup>

But he had deep reservations about *Common Sense*, too....<sup>17</sup>

Adams, who called it "a foolish plan," would have none of it.<sup>18</sup>

"I dreaded the Effect so popular a pamphlet might have...."<sup>19</sup>

Historian Joseph Ellis described Adams....<sup>20</sup>

"The Happiness of the People is the sole End of Government"....<sup>21</sup>

"We ought to consider, what is the end of government...."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, 2 - 10 March 1776 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>10</sup> Letter from John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 February 1776 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>11</sup> "To John Adams from Joseph Palmer, 19 – 24 February 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0011>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 36–39.]

<sup>12</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 18 February 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0229>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 348–349.]

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, 12 April 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0041>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 118–119.]

<sup>15</sup> Scott Liell, *46 Pages: Thomas Paine, Common Sense, and the Turning Point to Independence* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2003), 20.

<sup>16</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 19 March 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0235>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 362–364.]

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "[In Congress, Spring 1776, and Thomas Paine]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0028>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 330–335.]

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph J. Ellis, *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 233.

<sup>21</sup> *By the Great and General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. A Proclamation. Broadside.* (Watertown, Mass.: printed by Benjamin Edes, 1776).

<sup>22</sup> "III. Thoughts on Government, April 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0026-0004>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 86–93.]

In a spring letter to Mercy Otis Warren. . . .<sup>23</sup>  
“[P]erplexed and plagued” . . .<sup>24</sup>  
“Of all the millions of words that Adams wrote and published. . . .”<sup>25</sup>  
Within days, Paine sought out Adams at the lodging house. . . .<sup>26</sup>  
. . . “a poor ignorant, malicious, short-sighted, Crapulous Mass. . . .”<sup>27</sup>  
“These are the times that try men's souls”<sup>28</sup>  
“I felt myself obliged to Paine for the Pains he had taken. . . .”<sup>29</sup>  
“I know not whether any man in the world has had more influence. . . .”<sup>30</sup>

Elbridge Gerry. . . .<sup>31</sup>

## **Chapter Six: Colossus on the Floor**

### ***Adams and Jefferson***

Dr. Benjamin Rush, the Philadelphia physician. . . .<sup>1</sup>  
Joseph Ellis<sup>2</sup>  
John Ferling<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> “John Adams to Mercy Otis Warren, 16 April 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0044>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 123–126.]

<sup>24</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 29 July 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0041>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 68–69.]

<sup>25</sup> Ferling, 155.

<sup>26</sup> Recollections of the Adams/Paine meeting come from “[In Congress, Spring 1776, and Thomas Paine],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0028>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 330–335.]

<sup>27</sup> “From John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 22 June 1819,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7158>.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis*, vol. 1, 19 December 1776.

<sup>29</sup> “[In Congress, Spring 1776, and Thomas Paine],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0028>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 330–335.]

<sup>30</sup> “From John Adams to Benjamin Waterhouse, 29 October 1805,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5107>.

<sup>31</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 February 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0227>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 345–346.]

<sup>1</sup> “To John Adams from Benjamin Rush, 17 February 1812,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5758>.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, *Founding Brothers*, 163.

<sup>3</sup> Ferling, 269.

David McCullough<sup>4</sup>

Page Smith<sup>5</sup>

Gordon S. Wood<sup>6</sup>

As Wood rightly concludes....<sup>7</sup>

"I cannot live without books"<sup>8</sup>

"You will never be alone with a poet in your pocket"<sup>9</sup>

... "the most sublime of all sciences."<sup>10</sup>

Historian Gordon Wood claimed Jefferson....<sup>11</sup>

Instead, he kept records with "scrupulous fidelity"....<sup>12</sup>

"... but as the means of stopping the progress of butchery."<sup>13</sup>

"Mr. Jefferson had the Reputation of a masterly Pen...."<sup>14</sup>

... "a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent at composition...."<sup>15</sup>

"Our union is perfect...."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> McCullough, 113.

<sup>5</sup> Page Smith, *John Adams* (New York: Doubleday, 1962), 672.

<sup>6</sup> Gordon Wood, *Friends Divided: John Adams and Thomas Jefferson* (New York, Penguin Press, 2017), 36–7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>8</sup> "Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 10 June 1815," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0425>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 8, *1 October 1814 to 31 August 1815*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 522–523.]

<sup>9</sup> "John Adams to John Quincy Adams, 18 May 1781," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-04-02-0082>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 4, *October 1780–September 1782*, ed. L.H Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 117–118.]

<sup>10</sup> "Thomas Jefferson to Nathaniel Bowditch, 2 May 1815," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0365>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 8, *1 October 1814 to 31 August 1815*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 455–456.]

<sup>11</sup> Wood, *Friends Divided*, 10.

<sup>12</sup> "Thomas Jefferson to Nicholas Lewis, 11 July 1788," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-13-02-0245>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 13, *March–7 October 1788*, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956, pp. 339–344.]

<sup>13</sup> "Draft of a Declaration on the British Treatment of Ethan Allen, [2 January 1776]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0146>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, *1760–1776*, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 276–277.] Congress authorized the drafting of this document on December 2, 1775, and tapped Jefferson to write it. Dated January 2, 1776 (after Jefferson had returned home), it was never issued, the matter having been referred to Gen. Washington instead.

<sup>14</sup> "[In Congress, May–July 1776]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0029>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 335–337.]

<sup>15</sup> "From John Adams to Timothy Pickering, 6 August 1822," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7674>.

<sup>16</sup> "IV. The Declaration as Adopted by Congress, [6 July 1775]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0113-0005>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, *1760–1776*, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 213–219.]

"[W]hen there," Adams later said, "[Jefferson] had never spoken in public...."<sup>17</sup>  
"One of the reasons he [Jefferson] was so notoriously ineffective in debate...."<sup>18</sup>  
... "my love of silence and quiet, and my abhorrence of dispute...."<sup>19</sup>  
"Though a silent member in Congress...."<sup>20</sup>  
"We are Waiting it is said for Commissioners...."<sup>21</sup>  
... "to institute such Forms of Government as to them Shall appear necessary...."<sup>22</sup>  
... "the most important Resolution that ever was taken in America"....<sup>23</sup>  
"A Confederation, must be now pursued...."<sup>24</sup>  
"When I consider the great Events which are passed...."<sup>25</sup>  
"I am here in the same uneasy, anxious state"....<sup>26</sup>  
According to Adams, Jefferson then proposed that Adams write the first draft.<sup>27</sup>  
... "I had a great Opinion of the Elegance of his [Jefferson's] pen...."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "[In Congress, May-July 1776]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0029>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782-1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 335-337.]

<sup>18</sup> Ellis, *Founding Brothers*, 68.

<sup>19</sup> II. Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, 8 May 1791," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-20-02-0076-0003>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 20, 1 April-4 August 1791, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 291-292.]

<sup>20</sup> "From John Adams to Timothy Pickering, 6 August 1822," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7674>.

<sup>21</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 15 April 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0249>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761-May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 383-385.]

<sup>22</sup> "From John Adams to James Warren, 15 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0079>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February-August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 186-187.]

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.; "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 17 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0266>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761-May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 410-412.]

<sup>24</sup> "John Adams to James Warren, 15 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0079>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February-August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 186-187.]

<sup>25</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 17 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0266>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761-May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 410-412.]

<sup>26</sup> "From Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Nelson, 16 May 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0153>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, 1760-1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 292-293.]

<sup>27</sup> "From John Adams to Timothy Pickering, 6 August 1822," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7674>.

<sup>28</sup> "[In Congress, May-July 1776]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0029>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

... Adams "was anything but inadequate as a writer."<sup>29</sup>  
"If he was thought 'obnoxious,' it would have been only by a few...."<sup>30</sup>  
"[T]hey unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draught...."<sup>31</sup>  
His claim was "supported by written notes"....<sup>32</sup>  
... for three weeks, he toiled.<sup>33</sup>  
"I turned to neither book or pamphlet while writing it"....<sup>34</sup>  
"[N]ot striving for originality of principal or sentiment...."<sup>35</sup>  
Once finished, Jefferson solicited feedback from Franklin and Adams....<sup>36</sup>  
"I was delighted with its high tone"....<sup>37</sup>  
"This Morning is assigned for the greatest Debate of all...."<sup>38</sup>  
"We are in daily Expectation of an Armament before New York...."<sup>39</sup>  
"The Subject had been in Contemplation for more than a Year...."<sup>40</sup>  
"There Seems to have been a great Change in the sentiments...."<sup>41</sup>  
"The only Question is, concerning the proper Time...."<sup>42</sup>

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Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 335–337.]

<sup>29</sup> McCullough, 119.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 119–20.

<sup>31</sup> "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 30 August 1823," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/04-03-02-0113>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, Retirement Series, vol. 3, 1 March 1823–24 February 1826, ed. David B. Mattern, J. C. A. Stagg, Mary Parke Johnson, and Katherine E. Harbury. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016, pp. 114–116.]

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Ellis, *Revolutionary Summer: The Birth of American Independence* (New York: Knopf, 2013), 57.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> "From Thomas Jefferson to Henry Lee, 8 May 1825," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5212>.

<sup>36</sup> "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 30 August 1823," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/04-03-02-0113>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, Retirement Series, vol. 3, 1 March 1823–24 February 1826, ed. David B. Mattern, J. C. A. Stagg, Mary Parke Johnson, and Katherine E. Harbury. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016, pp. 114–116.]

<sup>37</sup> "From John Adams to Timothy Pickering, 6 August 1822," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7674>.

<sup>38</sup> "John Adams to Archibald Bulloch, 1 July 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0141>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 352–353.]

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> "[Monday July 1. 1776.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0142>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 395–398.]

<sup>41</sup> "John Adams to Archibald Bulloch, 1 July 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0141>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 352–353.]

<sup>42</sup> "John Adams to Benjamin Kent, 22 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0130>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 326.]

"My conduct this day, I expect, will give the finishing blow"....<sup>43</sup>

"[T]hinking as I do on the subject of debate, silence would be guilt...."<sup>44</sup>

... "brave the Storm in a Skiff made of Paper."<sup>45</sup>

As Adams described it....<sup>46</sup>

"[E]very Argument is adorn'd with an Eloquence"....<sup>47</sup>

"[A]fter waiting some time ... I determined to speak," he decided.<sup>48</sup>

... "our Colossus on the floor."<sup>49</sup>

For more than two hours, he spoke contemporaneously....<sup>50</sup>

"He was not graceful or elegant, nor remarkably fluent...."<sup>51</sup>

Despite Jefferson's claim, though....<sup>52</sup>

Late in life, Jefferson recounted for Madison....<sup>53</sup>

Richard Stockton of New Jersey concurred.<sup>54</sup>

In true Jeffersonian fashion, though, he sat by as "a passive auditor"....<sup>55</sup>

"[H]e supported the declaration with zeal & ability"....<sup>56</sup>

"I am apt to believe that [Independence Day] will be celebrated...."<sup>57</sup>

"Some talked, some wrote—and some fought to promote & establish it...."<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> J. H. Powell, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October 1941, 468.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 469.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 470.

<sup>46</sup> "[Monday July 1. 1776.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0142>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 395–398.]

<sup>47</sup> Powell, 470.

<sup>48</sup> "[Monday July 1. 1776.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0142>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 395–398.]

<sup>49</sup> John H. Hazelton, *Declaration of Independence: Its History* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company), 162.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ferling, 149.

<sup>53</sup> "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 30 August 1823," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/04-03-02-0113>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, Retirement Series, vol. 3, *1 March 1823–24 February 1826*, ed. David B. Mattern, J. C. A. Stagg, Mary Parke Johnson, and Katherine E. Harbury. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016, pp. 114–116.] <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-3728>.

<sup>54</sup> Hazelton, 161–2.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 30 August 1823," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/04-03-02-0113>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, Retirement Series, vol. 3, *1 March 1823–24 February 1826*, ed. David B. Mattern, J. C. A. Stagg, Mary Parke Johnson, and Katherine E. Harbury. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016, pp. 114–116.]

<sup>57</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 3 July 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0016>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 29–33.]

<sup>58</sup> "To John Adams from Benjamin Rush, 17 February 1812," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5758>.

"The Examples of Washington, Franklin and Jefferson are enough to shew"....<sup>59</sup>

"I have just returned from Penns Hill. . . ."<sup>60</sup>

"[T]his is the most extraordinary collection of talent. . . ."<sup>61</sup>

## **Chapter Seven: The Fate of War is Uncertain**

### ***Adams and Washington***

"I thought all London was afloat."<sup>1</sup>

"Members of Congress . . . are still feeding themselves"....<sup>2</sup>

The cumulative business resulted in "Hundreds of communications"....<sup>3</sup>

"I am wearied to Death with the Wrangles between military officers. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

"But this is a Felicity too great for me"....<sup>5</sup>

"I fear I shall often have occasion to make Apologies"....<sup>6</sup>

"We ought therefore to Study. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> "[In Congress, May-July 1776]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0029>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782-1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 335-337.]

<sup>60</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 2 March 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0231>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761-May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 352-356.]

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-dinner-honoring-nobel-prize-winners-the-western-hemisphere>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Ellis, *Revolutionary Summer*, 66, from Bruce Bliven, Jr., *Under the Guns: New York: 1775-1776* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 318-19.

<sup>2</sup> "George Washington to John Augustine Washington, 31 May-4 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-04-02-0333>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 4, *1 April 1776-15 June 1776*, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991, pp. 411-414.]

<sup>3</sup> Note 1, "[September 1777]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0007-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, *1771-1781*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 262-267.]

<sup>4</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 22 May 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0191>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776-March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 245-246.]

<sup>5</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 17 May 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0187>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776-March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 239-240.]

<sup>6</sup> "John Adams to Nathanael Greene, 22 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0129>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February-August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 323-326.]

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

"We are all inexperienced in this Business. . . ."<sup>8</sup>  
"Oh that I was a Soldier!"<sup>9</sup>  
As he admitted to Abigail in February 1776. . . .<sup>10</sup>  
"I, poor Creature, worn out with scribbling" . . .<sup>11</sup>  
"I begin to suspect that I have not much of the Grand in my Composition. . . ."<sup>12</sup>  
He finished that paragraph with an interesting coda. . . .<sup>13</sup>  
"You think the present army assisted by the militia is sufficient. . . ."<sup>14</sup>  
. . . some had to be issued spears because of lack of armaments.<sup>15</sup> A  
"It gives me great Pain, to be obliged to sollicit. . . ."<sup>16</sup>  
"I have the Honour to be with all possible Respect Sir Your most Obedt Hble Servt."<sup>17</sup>  
"The reflection upon my Situation. . . ."<sup>18</sup>  
"The General introduced me to them as one of the Grand Council Fire. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 29 May 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0138>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, December 1761–May 1776, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 207–208.]

<sup>10</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 13 February 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0228>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, December 1761–May 1776, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 346–348.]

<sup>11</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 23 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0153>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, December 1761–May 1776, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 226–227.]

<sup>12</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 16 March 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0129>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, June 1776–March 1778, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 175–177.]

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "Nathanael Greene to John Adams, 2 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0100>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, February–August 1776, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 227–231.]

<sup>15</sup> "General Orders, 6 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-04-02-0356>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 4, 1 April 1776–15 June 1776, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991, pp. 445–446.]

<sup>16</sup> "George Washington to John Hancock, 21 September 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-02-02-0025>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 2, 16 September 1775–31 December 1775, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987, pp. 24–30.]

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "George Washington to Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Reed, 14 January 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-03-02-0062>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 3, 1 January 1776–31 March 1776, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988, pp. 87–92.]

<sup>19</sup> "[January 1776]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0006-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 226–228.]

"[I]f the Bostonians should be involved in Hostilities with the British Army"....<sup>20</sup>

"[T]reat the General with all that Confidence and Affection. ...."<sup>21</sup>

"I was struck with General Washington. ...."<sup>22</sup>

... "the dangerous, ruinous and fatal effects of standing armies in populous cities"....<sup>23</sup>

"Idolatry, and Adulation would have been unbounded. ...."<sup>24</sup>

... "very injudicious."<sup>25</sup>

"The Idea that any one Man alone can save Us, is too silly for any Body...."<sup>26</sup>

"Oh, Heaven! grant Us one great Soul! One leading Mind" ....<sup>27</sup>

The most dramatic example of Adams's loyalty. ....<sup>28</sup>

"The History of our Revolution will be one continued Lye. ...."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> "[In Congress, September–October 1774] , " *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0022>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 307–313.]

<sup>21</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0146>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 215–217.]

<sup>22</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 16 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0162>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 245–251.]

<sup>23</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 15 April 1818," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6883>.

<sup>24</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 26 October 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0289>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 360–361.]

<sup>25</sup> "[September 1777]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0007-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, *1771–1781*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 262–267.]

<sup>26</sup> "John Adams to Benjamin Rush, with Postscript by Abigail Adams, 8 February 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-05-02-0247>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 5, *August 1776–March 1778*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 402–404.]

<sup>27</sup> "[September 1777]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0007-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, *1771–1781*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 262–267.]

<sup>28</sup> "Address from the Senate to George Washington, 16 May 1789," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-19-02-0319>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 19, *February 1787–May 1789*, ed. Sara Georgini, Sara Martin, R. M. Barlow, Amanda M. Norton, Neal E. Millikan, and Hobson Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016, pp. 453–455.]

<sup>29</sup> "John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 4 April 1790," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-20-02-0181>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 20, *June 1789–February 1791*, ed. Sara Georgini, Sara Martin, R. M. Barlow, Gwen Fries, Amanda M. Norton, Neal E. Millikan, and Hobson Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020, pp. 304–308.]

"We expect a very bloody Summer of it at New York"....<sup>30</sup>  
"I shall feel like a savage to be here"....<sup>31</sup>  
"My Face is grown pale, my Eyes weak and inflamed...."<sup>32</sup>  
"We are in daily Expectation of some decisive Stroke at N. York"....<sup>33</sup>  
Adams, distrustful, "opposed our taking any notice of it"....<sup>34</sup>  
Howe knew Adams was "a Rebell expressly excepted from Pardon"....<sup>35</sup>  
"They met, they talked, they parted...."<sup>36</sup>  
"[T]his man soars too high to be allured by any offer...."<sup>37</sup>  
"[I]n general, our generals were out generalled."<sup>38</sup>  
"Wherever the [British] Men of War have approached...."<sup>39</sup>  
... "Floating Batteries and Wooden Walls"....<sup>40</sup>  
"I suppose your Ladyship has been in the Twitters...."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> "George Washington to John Augustine Washington, 31 May–4 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-04-02-0333>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 4, 1 April 1776–15 June 1776, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991, pp. 411–414.]

<sup>31</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 16 July 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0028-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, June 1776–March 1778, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 50–51.]

<sup>32</sup> "John Adams to James Warren, 27 July 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0183>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, February–August 1776, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 413–414.]

<sup>33</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 6 August 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0049>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, June 1776–March 1778, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 80–81.]

<sup>34</sup> Incidents and quotes from this section come from "[Tuesday. September 17th. 1776.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0189>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 420–431.]

<sup>35</sup> "[Tuesday. September 17th. 1776.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0189>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 420–431.]

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Ferling, 163.

<sup>37</sup> See n6, which quotes Edward Barrington DeFonblanque, *Life of Burgoyne* (MacMillan 1876), 194–95, "John Adams to James Warren, 24 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-03-02-0052>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 3, *May 1775–January 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 89–93.]

<sup>38</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 8 October 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0096>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, June 1776–March 1778, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 139–141.]

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> "From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 7 September 1798," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-2950>.

<sup>41</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 October 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0097>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

"New Jersey may yet be [Howe's] Tomb"....<sup>42</sup>

"This City is a dull Place, in Comparason of what it was...."<sup>43</sup>

The Board of War still met twice daily....<sup>44</sup>

"I am not yet entirely convinced, that We are playing a desperate Game...."<sup>45</sup>

"We must trifle no more...."<sup>46</sup>

On August 24 the army, formed in rows twelve deep, marched through the heart of the city....<sup>47</sup>

"I feel as secure here, as if I was at Braintree...."<sup>48</sup>

"The City seems to be asleep, or dead, and the whole State scarce alive...."<sup>49</sup>

"The Prospect is chilling, on every Side...."<sup>50</sup>

"The Fate of War is uncertain...."<sup>51</sup>

"The Spring advances, very rapidly...."<sup>52</sup>

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Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 141.]

<sup>42</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 7 March 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0125>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 169–170.]

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 26 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0013>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 23–24.]

<sup>45</sup> "John Adams to Nathanael Greene, 9 March 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-05-02-0058>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 5, *August 1776–March 1778*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 105–109.]

<sup>46</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 19 August 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0257>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 319–320.]

<sup>47</sup> Descriptions in this section come from "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 24 August 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0263>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 327–328.]

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> "[September 1777]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0007-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, *1771–1781*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 262–267.]

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> "John Adams to Nathanael Greene, 22 June 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0129>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 323–326.]

<sup>52</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 16 March 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0129>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 175–177.]

“I wish to hear often from you. . . .”<sup>53</sup>  
“A slavery it has been to me, whatever the World may think of it. . . .”<sup>54</sup>  
. . . Abigail was “taken with a shaking fit.”<sup>55</sup>  
“[I] am very apprehensive that a life was lost. . . .”<sup>56</sup>  
“I hope you will be happy in the Embraces of a little female Beauty. . . .”<sup>57</sup>  
“It appeard to be a very fine Babe. . . .”<sup>58</sup>  
“Is it not unaccountable, that one should feel so strong an Affection for an Infant, that one has never seen, nor shall see?”<sup>59</sup>  
. . . “recoverd Health and strength beyond expectation.”<sup>60</sup>  
“I cannot help feeling anxious when such a space elapses. . . .”<sup>61</sup>  
“Here I am.—I am bound home. . . .”<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 14 March 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0128>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 174–175.]

<sup>54</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 8 July 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0218>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 276–277.]

<sup>55</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 9 July 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0219>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 277–278.]

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 20 July 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0228>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 285–286.]

<sup>58</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 16 July 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0225>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 282–283.]

<sup>59</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 July 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0233>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 292.]

<sup>60</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 23 July 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0230>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 287–289.]

<sup>61</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 16 November 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0295>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 367–368.]

<sup>62</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 14 November 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0294-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 366.]

"Mr. Dickinsons Alacrity and Spirit upon this occasion...."<sup>63</sup>  
... "the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous and brave...."<sup>64</sup>  
"He is a queer Creature...."<sup>65</sup>  
"I would give Three Guineas for a Barrell of your Cyder...."<sup>66</sup>  
"He has been basely slandered and libeled"<sup>67</sup>  
Washington's Ten Talents<sup>68</sup>  
"[W]hen I resided in England as a public Minister...."<sup>69</sup>

## Chapter Eight: "A Very Dangerous Man"

### *Adams vs. Lovell*

... "in a very loose condition."<sup>1</sup>  
"His abilities are undoubtedly equal...."<sup>2</sup>  
"Doctor Franklin's Age allarms us...."<sup>3</sup>  
"How can you contrive to rob me of all my happiness?"<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 13 February 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0228>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 346–348.]

<sup>64</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 11 June 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0146>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 215–217.]

<sup>65</sup> "John Adams to James Warren, 24 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-03-02-0052>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 3, *May 1775–January 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 89–93.]

<sup>66</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 22 May 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0191>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 245–246.]

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> "From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 11 November 1807," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5216>.

<sup>69</sup> "[Tuesday. September 17th. 1776.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0189>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 420–431.]

<sup>1</sup> John Adams autobiography, part 2, "Travels, and Negotiations," 1777–1778, sheet 1 of 37 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>2</sup> McCullough, 348–50.

<sup>3</sup> "To John Adams from James Lovell, 28 November 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-05-02-0200>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 5, *August 1776–March 1778*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 337–339.]

<sup>4</sup> This and other quotes to Lovell in the next two paragraphs come from "Abigail Adams to James Lovell, 15 December 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04->

Resentful that she should "sacrifice my tranquility and happiness"....<sup>5</sup>  
... "too hazardous and imprudent"....<sup>6</sup>  
... "judge of the bravery of my venerable and patriotic Adams."<sup>7</sup>  
... "your 'Alarms and Distress' have afforded me *Delight*"<sup>8</sup>  
"[A] Husband who tenderly loves his wife"....<sup>9</sup>  
... "a very dangerous Man" and "a most ingenious and agreeable flatterer."<sup>10</sup>  
"[Y]our having given your heart to *such a man*"....<sup>11</sup>  
"I will give you whatever comes to my Knowledge...."<sup>12</sup>  
He fretted that he might have to correspond "with *secret Admiration*"....<sup>13</sup>  
"rigid patriotism"<sup>14</sup>

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02-02-0298. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 370–372.]

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> John Adams autobiography, part 2, "Travels, and Negotiations," 1777–1778, sheet 1 of 37 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>7</sup> All Adams quotes from the rest of this section come from "[March 1778]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0008-0002>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 280–293.]

<sup>8</sup> "James Lovell to Abigail Adams, 1 April 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 1–2.]

<sup>9</sup> "Abigail Adams to James Lovell, 17 March 1781," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-04-02-0064>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 4, *October 1780–September 1782*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 91–93.]

<sup>10</sup> "Abigail Adams to James Lovell, 24 June 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0043>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 48–50.]

<sup>11</sup> "James Lovell to Abigail Adams, 29 August 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0268>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 333.]

<sup>12</sup> "James Lovell to Abigail Adams, 13 June 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0039>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 43–44.]

<sup>13</sup> "James Lovell to Abigail Adams, 13 June 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0039>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 43–44.]; "Abigail Adams to James Lovell, 18–26 June 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0160>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 206–208.]

<sup>14</sup> "James Lovell to Abigail Adams, 19 January 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0123>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 150–152.]

"most lovely of the Loveliest Sex"<sup>15</sup>

"I love every one who Manifests a regard"....<sup>16</sup>

"How lonely are my days?"<sup>17</sup>

"[E]very Body complains of me for not writing enough, especially my Wife"....<sup>18</sup>

"I have wrote very often, to you and them...."<sup>19</sup>

"[I]mmense Numbers of our Dispatches are sunk in the Sea."<sup>20</sup>

Abigail poo-pooed this....<sup>21</sup>

"That I meet with so few returns is a circumstance that lies heavy at my Heart...."<sup>22</sup>

... "some infernal has whispered in your Ear Insinuations...."<sup>23</sup>

She addressed him as "a Massachusetts Member of the Continental Congress"....<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "James Lovell to Abigail Adams, 8 January 1781," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-04-02-0039>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 4, *October 1780–September 1782*, ed. L.H Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 61–63.]

<sup>16</sup> "Abigail Adams to James Lovell, February – March 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 184–186.]

<sup>17</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 27 December 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0113>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 139–141.]

<sup>18</sup> "John Adams to James Warren, 25 February 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0281>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 7, *September 1778–February 1779*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 427–429.]

<sup>19</sup> "John Adams to James Warren, 2 December 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0167>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 7, *September 1778–February 1779*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 244–246.]

<sup>20</sup> "James Lovell to Abigail Adams, 16 February 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0136>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 171–173.]

<sup>21</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 12 – 23 November 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0097>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 118–120.]

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, 27 December 1778 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>23</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 19 February 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0137>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, p. 173.]

<sup>24</sup> "Abigail Adams to James Lovell, February – March 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 184–186.]

“Very platonically to be sure but, very, very affectionately your humb. Servt.”<sup>25</sup>  
“[T]he Idea of suffering for those who are dear to us”....<sup>26</sup>  
He needed to “more circumspectly guard a pen”....<sup>27</sup>  
“Nothing ‘happened’ between Abigail and Lovell”....<sup>28</sup>  
“At no time was she indiscreet in what she wrote....”<sup>29</sup>  
...tones “that bordered on impropriety....”<sup>30</sup>  
“it was Lovell who seems to have acted with the greater discretion.”<sup>31</sup>  
“[D]espite their mutual attraction and affection....”<sup>32</sup>

## Chapter Nine: “The Old Conjuror”

*Adams vs. Franklin*

“[F]rom electric fire thus obtained, spirits may be kindled”....<sup>1</sup>  
En route from Philadelphia to Staten Island....<sup>2</sup>  
Adams wrote of Franklin’s “easy Air and collected Countenance” in the discussion....<sup>3</sup>  
“I never in my Life knew a Man displaced from a Trust”....<sup>4</sup>  
“Dr. Franklin, from my first Arrival had taken all opportunities to prejudice me”....<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> “James Lovell to Abigail Adams, 16 July 1779,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0164>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 211–4.]

<sup>26</sup> “Abigail Adams to James Lovell, February – March 1779,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 184–186.]

<sup>27</sup> “Abigail Adams to James Lovell, 17 March 1781,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-04-02-0064>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 4, *October 1780–September 1782*, ed. L.H Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 91–93.]

<sup>28</sup> Ellis, *First Family*, 73.

<sup>29</sup> McCullough, 218.

<sup>30</sup> Lynne Withey, *Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams* (New York: Touchstone, 1981), 105.

<sup>31</sup> Ferling, 233.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Peter Collinson, 19 October 1752, reprinted as “Electrical Kite” in *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/20203/20203-h/20203-h.htm>, accessed 3 August 2020.

<sup>2</sup> The account of the Staten Island Peace Conference comes from “[Monday September 9, 1776.],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0187>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 417–420.]

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> John Adams to James Lovell, 26 September 1778,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0055>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 7, *September 1778–February 1779*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 76–77.]

<sup>5</sup> “[May 2. Saturday. 1778.],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-04-02-0001-0065>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

There's some hint that Franklin may have even tried to win Adams's allegiance....<sup>6</sup>  
"Dr. Franklin was one of the most unprincipled Men upon Earth...."<sup>7</sup>  
"I came to France with the highest opinion of Dr. F"....<sup>8</sup>  
Although he had heard rumors back in America about "great disputes"....<sup>9</sup>  
"It was impossible for me to enter into any examination...."<sup>10</sup>  
"The public business has never been methodically conducted...."<sup>11</sup>  
"It is a rope of sand," he worried.<sup>12</sup>  
Adams first took up residence in a Paris apartment....<sup>13</sup>  
... courtesy of the nobleman who owned the estate....<sup>14</sup>  
Franklin impressed him with....<sup>15</sup>  
Franklin struck the pose of a wise, benevolent—and often silent—rustic....<sup>16</sup>  
"... he understood and spoke French with great difficulty...."<sup>17</sup>  
... added to Adams's annoyance.<sup>18</sup>  
"He has a Passion for Reputation and Fame, as strong as you can imagine...."<sup>19</sup>  
"[T]here was scarcely a peasant or a citizen...."<sup>20</sup>  
"He has the most affectionate and insinuating Way...."<sup>21</sup>  
... Franklin was "the most infuriatingly likeable figure of the age...."<sup>22</sup>  
Adams felt caught between "two bitter and inveterate Parties"....<sup>23</sup>  
... "censured and misrepresented" by both.<sup>24</sup>  
... "That Dr. Franklin possessed the Confidence of the French Court...."<sup>25</sup>

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Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 4, *Autobiography, Parts Two and Three, 1777–1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 85–88.]

<sup>6</sup> Ferling, 200.

<sup>7</sup> Diary of John Adams, vol. 4, 87, Adams Papers Digital Edition, Massachusetts Historical Society (<http://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/>) accessed 22 September 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Adams, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 367. <<http://nerfc.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/DJA02p366>> accessed 28 September 2020.

<sup>9</sup> Diary of John Adams, vol. 4, 87.

<sup>10</sup> Diary of John Adams, vol. 4, 87.

<sup>11</sup> Adams, "Diary and Autobiography," *The Portable John Adams*, 63.

<sup>12</sup> Adams, "Diary and Autobiography," *The Portable John Adams*, 62.

<sup>13</sup> Ferling, 199.

<sup>14</sup> McCullough, 199.

<sup>15</sup> Adams to James Warren, 18 February 1776, *Warren-Adams Letters*, Vol. 1 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1917), 206-7.

<sup>16</sup> McCullough, 199.

<sup>17</sup> Adams, "Autobiography and Diary," 59.

<sup>18</sup> McCullough, 199.

<sup>19</sup> Adams autobiography, vol II, 367.

<sup>20</sup> JA to Jenings, 20 July 1782, Adams Papers,

<sup>21</sup> Adams autobiography, vol II, 367.

<sup>22</sup> Ellis, PS, 66.

<sup>23</sup> John Adams autobiography, part 2, "Travels, and Negotiations," 1777-1778, sheet 23 of 37, 2 May 1778 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>. Accessed 1 October 2020.

<sup>24</sup> John Adams autobiography, part 2, "Travels, and Negotiations," 1777-1778, sheet 23 of 37, 21 May 1778 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>. Accessed 1 October 2020.

<sup>25</sup> "[May 2. Saturday. 1778.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives,

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-04-02-0001-0065>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

The alliance with France was of vital importance and Adams believed. . . .<sup>26</sup>  
. . . a "diplomacy of gratitude."<sup>27</sup>  
. . . "too much will be demanded of Us."<sup>28</sup>  
"[H]e loves his Ease, hates to offend, and seldom gives any Opinion. . . ."<sup>29</sup>  
In January, the three commissioners collaborated on a letter. . . .<sup>30</sup>  
"The longer I live and the more I see of public Men". . . .<sup>31</sup>  
"[R]est assured that the esteem and consideration you justly earned. . . ."<sup>32</sup>  
He later professed "vast satisfaction" with the document. . . .<sup>33</sup>  
"Franklin, though President of the Convention". . . .<sup>34</sup>  
Elbridge Gerry, the Massachusetts delegate who broke the news to Adams. . . .<sup>35</sup>

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Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 4, *Autobiography, Parts Two and Three, 1777–1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 85–88.]

<sup>26</sup> "From John Adams to Roger Sherman, 6 December 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0174>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 7, *September 1778–February 1779*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 254–255.]

<sup>27</sup> Quoted by Ferling, 479n38, from Gerald Stourzh, *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy* (Chicago, 1954).

<sup>28</sup> "From John Adams to Roger Sherman, 6 December 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0174>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 7, *September 1778–February 1779*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 254–255.]

<sup>29</sup> Adams to Sam Adams, 7 December 1778, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0175>, accessed 22 September 2020.

<sup>30</sup> The Commissioners to the Comte de Vergennes, 9 January 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0196-0003>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 7, *September 1778–February 1779*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 305–311.]

<sup>31</sup> "John Adams to James Warren, 2 December 1778," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0167>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 7, *September 1778–February 1779*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 244–246.]

<sup>32</sup> "The Comte de Vergennes to John Adams: A Translation, 21 February 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-07-02-0277-0002>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 7, *September 1778–February 1779*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 423–424.]

<sup>33</sup> Adams to Edmund Jenings, 23 September 1780 <http://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/PJA10d112>; For more info on Adams's work on the Commonwealth's constitution, see <https://www.mass.gov/guides/john-adams-the-massachusetts-constitution>.

<sup>34</sup> Adams to Rush, *Writings from the New Nation*, edited by Gordon S. Wood (Library of America), 427–8.

<sup>35</sup> To John Adams from Elbridge Gerry, 29 September 1779, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-08-02-0124>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 8, *March 1779–February 1780*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 179–184.]

"He means to keep us down if he can. . . ." <sup>36</sup>

"He seems to have endeavored to supply" . . . <sup>37</sup>

"Mr. Adams has given extreme offense to the court here. . . ." <sup>38</sup>

Franklin would "sweep Europe clear of every Minister but himself" . . . <sup>39</sup>

"His base jealousy of me, and his sordid envy of my commission" . . . <sup>40</sup>

"[Adams] has a rigidity, an arrogance, and an obstinacy" . . . <sup>41</sup>

"Thanks be to God, that he gave me Stubbornness, when I know I am right." <sup>42</sup>

... "a Grumbletonian Patriot, always whining and snarling" . . . <sup>43</sup>

... "was equal to that of Franklin in France." <sup>44</sup>

"I look upon my success in Holland as the happiest Event" . . . <sup>45</sup>

... urged Adams to return to France "soon—very soon." <sup>46</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> From John Adams to Jonathan Jackson, 8 November 1782, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-14-02-0024>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 14, *October 1782–May 1783*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, C. James Taylor, Hobson Woodward, Margaret A. Hogan, Mary T. Claffey, Sara B. Sikes, and Judith S. Graham. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 43–47.]

<sup>37</sup> "Benjamin Franklin to Samuel Huntington, 9 August 1780," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-33-02-0129>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 33, *July 1 through November 15, 1780*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 160–166.]

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> "From John Adams to Arthur Lee, 10 October 1782," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-13-02-0242>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 13, *May–October 1782*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Jessie May Rodrique, Mary T. Claffey, and Hobson Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 523–526.]

<sup>40</sup> "John Adams to Edmund Jenings, 20 July 1782," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-13-02-0117>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 13, *May–October 1782*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Jessie May Rodrique, Mary T. Claffey, and Hobson Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 188–190.]

<sup>41</sup> *The Emerging Nation: A Documentary History of the Foreign Relations of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, 1780–1789*, edited by Mary A. Giunta (National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 1996), 152.

<sup>42</sup> From John Adams to Edmund Jenings, 27 September 1782," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-13-02-0217>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 13, *May–October 1782*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Jessie May Rodrique, Mary T. Claffey, and Hobson Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 494–495.]; David McCullough offers an interesting juxtaposition of these ideas on pg. 228, where the quotes serve as epigraphs to a chapter titled "Unalterably Determined."

<sup>43</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 1 July 1782," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-04-02-0224>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 4, *October 1780–September 1782*, ed. L.H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 337–339.]

<sup>44</sup> Ferling, 241.

<sup>45</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 15 August 1782," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-04-02-0236>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 4, *October 1780–September 1782*, ed. L.H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 360–362.]

<sup>46</sup> *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Boston, 1850–1856), Vol. 7, 641–642.

A British envoy had arrived....<sup>47</sup>  
"Subjecting [ministers] to the French Ministry...."<sup>48</sup>  
His "cunning," Adams believed, "will be to divide Us...."<sup>49</sup>  
"That I have no Friendship for Franklin I avow...."<sup>50</sup>  
"He thinks the [F]rench Minister one of the greatest Enemies of our Country"....<sup>51</sup>  
"No one can replace him," Jefferson would reply. "I am only his successor."<sup>52</sup>  
Succeeding Franklin proved "an excellent school of humility"....<sup>53</sup>  
"I have ... often and often ... looked at that behind the President...."<sup>54</sup>  
"He means well for his country, is always an honest man...."<sup>55</sup>  
Adams, recalling the night he and Franklin had spent the night in the inn....<sup>56</sup>  
"That he was a great Genius, a great Wit, a great Humourist...."<sup>57</sup>  
On the whole, Adams assessed Franklin as a man of "very moderate Abilities...."<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> "From John Adams to Arthur Lee, 10 October 1782," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-13-02-0242>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 13, *May–October 1782*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Jessie May Rodrique, Mary T. Claffey, and Hobson Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 523–526.]

<sup>49</sup> 1782 Oct. 27. Sunday," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0001-0003-0025>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 37–39.]

<sup>50</sup> "John Adams to Edmund Jenings, 20 July 1782," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-13-02-0117>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 13, *May–October 1782*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Jessie May Rodrique, Mary T. Claffey, and Hobson Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 188–190.]

<sup>51</sup> "Enclosure: Extract of a Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Robert R. Livingston, 22 July 1783," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-05-02-0139-0002>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 5, *October 1782–November 1784*, ed. Richard Alan Ryerson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 251–252.]

<sup>52</sup> Jefferson to Rev. William Smith, 19 February 1791, <http://tjrs.monticello.org/letter/133> [original source: Historical Society of Pennsylvania].

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Benjamin Franklin, debates in the Constitutional Convention, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 17, 1787.—James Madison, *Journal of the Federal Convention*, ed. E. H. Scott, p. 763 (1893).

<sup>55</sup> Franklin to Robert Livingston, 22 July 1783, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-05-02-0139-0002>, accessed 23 September 2020.

<sup>56</sup> "[Monday September 9, 1776.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0187>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 417–420.]

<sup>57</sup> "[April 21. Tuesday. 1778.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-04-02-0001-0054>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 4, *Autobiography, Parts Two and Three, 1777–1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 67–77.]

<sup>58</sup> "[May 1779]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-0009-0004>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, *1771–1781*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 364–379.]; John Adams to William Tudor, 5 June 1817, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6768>.

"My own appears, upon retrospection, a dull dreary unfruitful Waste"....<sup>59</sup>

"I rejoice that the Public are to have a compleat Edition of his Works...."<sup>60</sup>

"The Body of B. Franklin Printer...."<sup>61</sup>

"I agree with my old friend, Dr. Franklin, who used to say on this subject...."<sup>62</sup>

## Chapter Ten: After the Revolution

"The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary...."<sup>1</sup>

"We were indeed a very very happy family once more met together...."<sup>2</sup>

As historian John Ferling has noted....<sup>3</sup>

"[H]uman Reason and human Conscience"....<sup>4</sup>

"[O]ur Countrymen have never merited the Character of very exalted Virtue," he wrote.<sup>5</sup>

"The people, when they have been unchecked...."<sup>6</sup>

So, as historian Gordon Wood has argued....<sup>7</sup>

...“the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived...."<sup>8</sup>

...“opinions and sentiments are more exactly like mine than I ever knew before.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> "From John Adams to John T. Watson, 23 July 1818," *Founders Online*, National Archives.

<sup>60</sup> John Adams to William Temple Franklin, 5 May 1817," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6751>. Accessed 30 September 2020.

<sup>61</sup> Benjamin Franklin, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 1, (London: Henry Colburn, 1817), 417.

<sup>62</sup> Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), 75.

<sup>1</sup> "John Adams—Audience with King George III, 1785,"

<https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/eyewitness/html.php?section=19> (accessed 19 September 2025).

<sup>2</sup> "Abigail Adams to Mary Smith Cranch, 9 December 1784," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-06-02-0006>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 6, *December 1784–December 1785*, ed. Richard Alan Ryerson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 14–23.]

<sup>3</sup> Ferling, 181.

<sup>4</sup> "From John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 2 February 1816," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6575>.

<sup>5</sup> "John Adams to James Warren, 9 January 1787," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-18-02-0286>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 18, *December 1785–January 1787*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Sara Martin, C. James Taylor, Sara Georgini, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Amanda M. Norton. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016, pp. 538–540.]

<sup>6</sup> John Adams, *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: With a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations*, Charles Francis Adams, ed. (1851), 10.

<sup>7</sup> See Wood, "The Relevance and Irrelevance of John Adams."

<sup>8</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 19 December 1793," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-09-02-0278>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 9, *January 1790–December 1793*, ed. C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Karen N. Barzilay, Gregg L. Lint, Hobson Woodward, Mary T. Claffey, Robert F. Karachuk, and Sara B. Sikes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 476–477.]

<sup>9</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 25 March 1796," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-11-02-0119>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 11, *July 1795–February 1797*, ed. Margaret A. Hogan, C. James Taylor,

“I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of Us will be happiest.”<sup>10</sup>  
“The President is fortunate to get off just as the bubble is bursting. . . .”<sup>11</sup>  
“The only Question remaining with me is, what shall I do with myself?”<sup>12</sup>  
“You, my dear sir, have ever possessed a nature too ardent. . . .”<sup>13</sup>  
Historian Joseph Ellis warmly describes Adams during this later period. . . .<sup>14</sup>  
“I must think myself independent, as long as I live. . . .”<sup>15</sup>  
He was, said historian James Grant, a “Party of One.”<sup>16</sup>  
. . . “I wish I could lie down beside her and die, too.”<sup>17</sup>

King George III had heard of John Adams’s tensions with the French government.<sup>18</sup>  
The White House Historical Association concedes. . . .<sup>19</sup>  
“a government of laws, and not of men.”<sup>20</sup>

## Epilogue

“I've always been dissatisfied, I know that. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

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Sara Martin, Neal E. Millikan, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, and Gregg L. Lint. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 228–230.]

<sup>10</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 5 March 1797,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-12-02-0005>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 12, *March 1797 – April 1798*, ed. Sara Martin, C. James Taylor, Neal E. Millikan, Amanda A. Mathews, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Gregg L. Lint, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015, pp. 9–11.]

<sup>11</sup> “Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 8 January 1797,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-16-02-0313>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 16, *27 April 1795–27 March 1797*, ed. J. C. A. Stagg, Thomas A. Mason, and Jeanne K. Sisson. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989, p. 448.]

<sup>12</sup> “John Adams to Cotton Tufts, 26 December 1800,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-14-02-0226>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 14, *October 1799 – February 1801*, ed. Hobson Woodward, Sara Martin, Christopher F. Minty, Amanda M. Norton, Neal E. Millikan, Gwen Fries, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019, pp. 501–502.]

<sup>13</sup> Louisa Catherine Adams to JA, 16 April 1819, AP, #447, MHS.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph J. Ellis, *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams* (New York: Norton, 1993).

<sup>15</sup> “From John Adams to John Quincy Adams, 16 May 1815,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-2869>.

<sup>16</sup> James Grant, *John Adams: Party of One* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005).

<sup>17</sup> “From Harriet Welsh to Caroline Amelia Smith De Windt, 1 November 1818,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-3556>

<sup>18</sup> “John Adams to John Jay, 2 June 1785,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-17-02-0078>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 17, *April–November 1785*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, C. James Taylor, Sara Georgini, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Amanda A. Mathews, and Sara Martin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014, pp. 134–145.]

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-midnight-appointments>

<sup>20</sup> <https://malegislature.gov/Laws/Constitution>

<sup>1</sup> Stone, Peter and Edwards, Sherman. *1776: A Musical Play* (New York: Penguin, 1969), 126–127.

“Why have I not Genius to start some new Thought. . . .”<sup>2</sup>  
“There must be a positive Passion for the public good. . . .”<sup>3</sup>  
“I wish you every Publick as well as private blessing” . . .<sup>4</sup>  
“Romances will never be written, nor flattering orations Spoken” . . .<sup>5</sup>  
“He stood upon the shoulders of the whole congress. . . .”<sup>6</sup>  
“Popularity was never my Mistress. . . .”<sup>7</sup>  
Cousin Sam tried to warn him as much. . . .<sup>8</sup>  
...“I have little Faith in History. I read it as I do Romance.”<sup>9</sup>  
Visitation at Adams National Historic Site. . . .<sup>10</sup>

## Appendix A: An Adams Tour of Quincy

“a plain and modest monument”<sup>1</sup>  
John and John Quincy Adamses Birthplaces and Peacefield<sup>2</sup>  
“It is not large in the first place. . . .”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> “[Spring 1759.]” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0004-0005-0001>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 85–103.]

<sup>3</sup> “John Adams to Mercy Otis Warren, 16 April 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0044>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 123–126.]

<sup>4</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 19 August 1774,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0093>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 142–143.]

<sup>5</sup> “From John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 23 March 1809,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5324>.

<sup>6</sup> William Gordon to John Adams, 27 March 1777, Papers of John Adams, vol. 5. Digital Edition. <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/volume/PJA05/pageid/PJA05p132> (accessed 23 September 2025).

<sup>7</sup> “John Adams to James Warren, 9 January 1787,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-18-02-0286>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 18, *December 1785–January 1787*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Sara Martin, C. James Taylor, Sara Georgini, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Amanda M. Norton. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016, pp. 538–540.]

<sup>8</sup> Adams to Sam Adams, 4 May 1784, *New Nation*, 6.

<sup>9</sup> “From John Adams to Jedidiah Morse, 4 March 1815,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6424>.

<sup>10</sup> For NPS visitation statistics, visit <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/socialscience/visitor-use-statistics-dashboard.htm>.

<sup>1</sup> “From John Quincy Adams to Thomas Greenleaf, 8 September 1826,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-4739>.

<sup>2</sup> Laura A. Miller, *Things Kept and Cherished: A History of Adams National Historical Park* (National Park Service, 2020). See also Caroline Keinath, *Adams National Historical Park: Quincy, Massachusetts* (Eastern National, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> “John Adams to Thomas Brand Hollis, 3 December 1788,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-19-02-0256>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

“I cannot live without books”....<sup>4</sup>

“One of the greatest private collections of its day....”<sup>5</sup>

“In keeping with John Adams's passion for justice....”<sup>6</sup>

## Appendix B: The Patriarch: Adams and His Children

... running “like chickens for a crum, when the Hen clucks”....<sup>1</sup>

“You would smile to see them all gather round mamma....”<sup>2</sup>

“Give my tenderest Love to them, and to all”....<sup>3</sup>

“My Love to all the Children.”<sup>4</sup>

“Love to the Children.”<sup>5</sup>

“Love to the Children.”<sup>6</sup>

“Remember me in the tenderest Language, to all our little Folks.”<sup>7</sup>

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Papers of John Adams, vol. 19, *February 1787–May 1789*, ed. Sara Georgini, Sara Martin, R. M. Barlow, Amanda M. Norton, Neal E. Millikan, and Hobson Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016, pp. 356–357.]

<sup>4</sup> “Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 10 June 1815,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0425>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 8, *1 October 1814 to 31 August 1815*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 522–523.]

<sup>5</sup> From the Boston Public Library website: “Adams, John (1735–1826) Library,” [https://www.bpl.org/archival\\_post/adams-john-1735-1826-library/](https://www.bpl.org/archival_post/adams-john-1735-1826-library/)

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.mass.gov/info-details/visit-the-john-adams-courthouse>

<sup>1</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 25 June 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0155>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 230–233.]

<sup>2</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 16 July 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0162>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 245–251.]

<sup>3</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 2 May 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0128>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 192.]

<sup>4</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 23 July 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0165>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 254.]

<sup>5</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 24 July 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0167>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 255–258.]

<sup>6</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 July 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0172>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 267.]

<sup>7</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 17 September 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0181>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

"My best Wishes and most fervent Prayers attend our little Family."<sup>8</sup>

"My Love to those who are dearest to us both."<sup>9</sup>

"My Love and Duty, where they should be."<sup>10</sup>

"My Love to Nabby, Johnny, Charly and Tommy. . . ."<sup>11</sup>

"I consider it a sacrifice to my country". . . .<sup>12</sup>

Historian John Ferling passes a harsh but probably fair judgment on Adams. . . .<sup>13</sup>

"For we know what happened to all the Adams children. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

"My poor Children," Adams himself fretted. . . .<sup>15</sup>

"My dear Daughters Education is near my Heart. . . ."<sup>16</sup>

"The oldest has given decided proofs of great talents. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

"John has Genius and so has Charles. Take Care that they don't go astray. . . ."<sup>18</sup>

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Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 280–281.]

<sup>8</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 26 September 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0186>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 285–286.]

<sup>9</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 10 October 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0196>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 299.]

<sup>10</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 26 May 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0137>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 206–207.]

<sup>11</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 8 May 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0131>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 195–196.]

<sup>12</sup> "Abigail Adams to John Adams, 5 August 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0240>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 300–302.]

<sup>13</sup> Ferling, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Ellis, *First Family*, 43.

<sup>15</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 17 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0163>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 251–252.]

<sup>16</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 29 June 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0213>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 270–271.]

<sup>17</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams Smith, 16 July 1788," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-08-02-0136>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 8, *March 1787–December 1789*, ed. C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Jessie May Rodrique, Gregg L. Lint, Hobson Woodward, and Mary T. Claffey. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 278–280.]

<sup>18</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 15 April 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0249>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

"Truth, Sobriety, Industry should be pe[r]petually inculcated upon them . . . ."<sup>19</sup>

"I love him too much" . . .<sup>20</sup>

... "a mere rake, buck, blood and beast."<sup>21</sup>

"A son who was once the delight of my eyes. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

... "a pretty strong natural want of confidence in myself."<sup>23</sup>

"He is one of the most unpleasant characters in this world. . . ."<sup>24</sup>

"You come into Life with Advantages which will disgrace you. . . ."<sup>25</sup>

George Washington, whom John Quincy referred to. . . .<sup>26</sup>

"I had rather you Should retire to Montezillo" . . .<sup>27</sup>

"[S]uffer me, at least, to share with my Family. . . ."<sup>28</sup>

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Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 383–385.]

<sup>19</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 17 July 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0163>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 251–252.]

<sup>20</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 16 March 1780," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0234>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 304–305.]

<sup>21</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 12 October 1799," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-14-02-0006>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 14, *October 1799 – February 1801*, ed. Hobson Woodward, Sara Martin, Christopher F. Minty, Amanda M. Norton, Neal E. Millikan, Gwen Fries, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019, p. 6.]

<sup>22</sup> "John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 24 March 1801," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-33-02-0365>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 33, *17 February–30 April 1801*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 426.]

<sup>23</sup> "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Adams, 22 October 1799," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-14-02-0021>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 14, *October 1799 – February 1801*, ed. Hobson Woodward, Sara Martin, Christopher F. Minty, Amanda M. Norton, Neal E. Millikan, Gwen Fries, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019, pp. 28–31.]

<sup>24</sup> "Sunday. May. 30th. IX:15," Diary of Charles Francis Adams, volume I, Adams Papers Digital Edition. <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/ADMS-13-01-02-0003-0006-0031> (accessed 29 September 2025)

<sup>25</sup> "John Adams to John Quincy Adams, 23 April 1794," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-10-02-0088>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 10, *January 1794–June 1795*, ed. Margaret A. Hogan, C. James Taylor, Sara Martin, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Gregg L. Lint, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 150–153.]

<sup>26</sup> Quoted by Adams in letter to William Cunningham: "From John Adams to William Cunningham, 15 October 1808," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5265>.

<sup>27</sup>

<sup>28</sup> "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 26 September 1775," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0186>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 285–286.]

...“To be good, and to do good, is all we have to do.”<sup>29</sup>

“No man, whoever held the office of president . . .”<sup>30</sup>

“a Taste for Literature and a Turn for Business, united in the same Person . . .”<sup>31</sup>

## Appendix C: The Massachusetts Constitution

“Laws for the liberal education of youth. . .”<sup>1</sup>

“The Education of our Children is never out of my Mind. . .”<sup>2</sup>

“I must study Politicks and War. . .”<sup>3</sup>

“Let us tenderly and kindly cherish, therefore, the means of knowledge. . .”<sup>4</sup>

He was “a Sub sub committee” of one.<sup>5</sup>

“Wisdom and Knowledge, as well as Virtue, diffused generally. . .”<sup>6</sup>

...“the Words flowed from my Pen”<sup>7</sup> . . .

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<sup>29</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams 2d, 17 March 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0132>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 178–179.]

<sup>30</sup> Quincy, 74.

<sup>31</sup> “John Adams to John Quincy Adams, 16 March 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0130>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 177–178.]

<sup>1</sup> “III. Thoughts on Government, April 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0026-0004>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 86–93.]

<sup>2</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 August 1774,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0095>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 144–146.]

<sup>3</sup> “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 12 May 1780,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-03-02-0258>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 3, *April 1778–September 1780*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 341–343.]

<sup>4</sup> “VI. ‘A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law,’ No. 4, 21 October 1765,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-01-02-0052-0007>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 1, *September 1755–October 1773*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. 123–128.]

<sup>5</sup> “From John Adams to Edmund Jenings, 7 June 1780,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-09-02-0248>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 9, *March 1780–July 1780*, ed. Gregg L. Lint and Richard Alan Ryerson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996, pp. 388–389.]

<sup>6</sup> This and the quotes that follow: “From John Adams to Benjamin Waterhouse, 7 August 1805,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-5092>.

<sup>7</sup> “From John Adams to Benjamin Waterhouse, 7 August 1805,” *Founders Online*, National Archives.

## Appendix D: John Adams and Slavery

“How is it that we hear the loudest yelps”....<sup>1</sup>  
As historian Mark Maloy has pointed out....<sup>2</sup>  
Later in life, Adams denounced slavery....<sup>3</sup>  
A majority of the delegates owned or had at one time owned slaves.<sup>4</sup>  
...“run out of their Wits at the least Hint of such a Measure.”<sup>5</sup>  
In July 1777, he argued against a Massachusetts “Bill for freeing the Negroes”....<sup>6</sup>  
In justifying his opinion....<sup>7</sup>  
“I have sometimes been ready to think that the passion for Liberty”....<sup>8</sup>  
“I wish most sincerely there was not a Slave in the province....”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Johnson, *Taxation, No Tyranny: An Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Colonies* (London, 1775), 89.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Maloy, “The Founding Fathers’ Views on Slavery,” American Battlefield Trust, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/founding-fathers-views-slavery>

<sup>3</sup> “From John Adams to William Tudor, Jr., 20 November 1819,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7261>.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Maloy, “The Founding Fathers’ Views on Slavery,” American Battlefield Trust, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/founding-fathers-views-slavery>

<sup>5</sup> “John Adams to Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, 17 August 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0215>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 469.] New England states would begin recruiting Black troops in 1777, and all colonies allowed Black servicemen in the Navy.

<sup>6</sup> “John Adams to James Warren, 7 July 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-05-02-0145>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 5, *August 1776–March 1778*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 242–243.]

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0241>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 369–371.]

<sup>9</sup> “Abigail Adams to John Adams, 22 September 1774,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0107>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 161–162.]

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# Atlas of Independence

