

*Loyalist Newspapers  
of the American Revolution  
1763-1783: A Bibliography*

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**T**HIS BIBLIOGRAPHY is both an aid to scholars of the American Revolution and an indicator of the abundance of Loyalist literature. I have designed the bibliography, particularly the internal arrangement of the two major divisions, to facilitate research. The division of MAJOR and MINOR newspapers is based not only on the volume and quality of a paper's contribution to Loyalism, but also on the completeness of present archival holdings. I have arranged both basic parts by colony and city, and then by short and full title. Complete dates of the newspaper are indicated in the short title; the full title represents title changes that occurred during the complete run.

I have examined four features of MAJOR Loyalist newspapers: (1) names of printers, accompanied by the date they assumed and relinquished control of a paper; (2) a brief but complete biography of each printer; (3) a paper's contribution to Loyalism; and (4) the availability of a microform copy and one original copy. The internal pattern of MINOR Loyalist newspapers is the same, except for the deletion of the printer's biography and the paper's contributions.

The organization of this bibliography, especially the internal arrangement of a newspaper's contributions, should not be considered definitive, only suggestive. The utility of these newspapers in the study of Loyalism can be as diverse as the scholar's approach.

# Major Loyalist Newspapers

## GEORGIA

### Savannah

*Royal Georgia Gazette*, 1779-1782. (Weekly.)

*The Royal Georgia Gazette.*

Time period: February 11, 1779, to June 6, 1782.

Printers: John D. Hammerer, January 21, 1779, to August 5, 1779; James Johnston, August 12, 1779, to June 6, 1782.

Biography: Lawrence, Alexander A. *James Johnston, Georgia's First Printer*. Savannah: Pigeonhole Press, 1956.

Contributions: *General*—February 11, 1779; 'Scotus Americanus,' June 8, 1780; 'Helvetius,' July 27, August 31, September 7, 28, 1780, May 24, 1781; 'A Creditor,' April 26, 1781; March 14, 1782.

Location: *Original*—British Museum. *Microform*—See Brigham, Vol. I, p. 132; not available in Microprint 1973.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

*Boston Chronicle*, 1767-1770. (Weekly and semiweekly.)

*The Boston Chronicle.*

Time period: December 21, 1767, to June 25, 1770.

Printers: John Mein and John Fleeming, December 21, 1767, to November 6, 1769; John Fleeming, November 9, 1769, to June 25, 1770.

Biography: Alden, John E. 'John Mein; Scourge of Patriots,' Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications* XXXIV (1942), 571-599.

Contributions: *General*—'Homogeneous,' February 8, 1768; 'Blank,' March 15, 1770. *English Constitution*—'P.Q.,' March 14, 1768; 'Philanthropos,' December 12, 1768; 'Four Letters,' January 30, 1769; 'T,' March 30, 1769; 'An

Extract of a Letter from Boston to London,' May 1, 1769; 'Thoughts on the Origin and Nature of Government,' June 29, 1769; 'Americanus,' February 12, 1770. *Free Press*—'Britannicus,' July 17, 20, 1769. *The Mob*—'Reverer of Honest Men,' September 12, 1768; September 19, 1768; 'Martyr,' January 15, 1770; 'Pacifcus,' February 19, 1770. *Non-importation*—May 25, 1769; 'Well Disposed,' [John Mein] August 17, 1769—March 1, 1770; 'A New-England Man,' January 22, 1770; 'A Bostonian,' February 5, 12, March 5, 1770.

Location: *Original*—American Antiquarian Society. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*Boston News-Letter*, 1704-1776. (Weekly.)

*The Boston News-Letter, and the New-England Chronicle.*

Time period: January 6, 1763, to March 30, 1763.

Printers: Richard Draper and Samuel Draper.

*The Massachusetts Gazette, and Boston News-Letter.*

Time period: April 7, 1763, to October 31, 1765.

Printers: Richard Draper and Samuel Draper.

*The Massachusetts Gazette.*

Time period: November 7, 1765, to May 15, 1766.

Printers: Richard Draper and Samuel Draper.

*The Massachusetts Gazette, and Boston News-Letter.*

Time period: May 22, 1766, to May 19, 1768.

Printers: Richard Draper and Samuel Draper (Samuel Draper died March 21, 1767).

*The Boston Weekly News-Letter.*

Time period: May 26, 1768, to September 21, 1769.

Printer: Richard Draper. During this time period the *Boston News-Letter* was accompanied on alternate weeks by the *Massachusetts Gazette* published by Richard Draper and also John Green, and Joseph Russell of the *Boston Post-Boy*.

*The Massachusetts Gazette; and the Boston Weekly News-Letter.*

Time period: September 28, 1769, to September 7, 1775.

Printers: Richard Draper, September 28, 1769, to May 12, 1774;

Richard Draper and John Boyle, May 19, 1774, to June 2, 1774; Margaret Draper and John Boyle, June 9, 1774, to August 4, 1774; Margaret Draper, August 11, 1774, to September 7, 1775.

*The Massachusetts Gazette: Published Occasionally.*

Time period: October 13, 1775.

Printer: John Howe.

*The Massachusetts Gazette; and the Boston Weekly News-Letter.*

Time period: October 20, 1775, to February 22, 1776.

Printer: John Howe.

Biography: Richard Draper was bred to the newspaper business, the families of his mother and father represented control over the two oldest papers in Boston and the first two Loyalist newspapers on the continent, the *Boston Post-Boy* and the *Boston News-Letter*. Born in Boston in 1726, Draper took over the *News-Letter* and the printing contract with the Governor and Council when his father, John Draper, died in 1763. From 1765 to 1770 Draper opposed the Stamp Act and the Townshend Duties and with reservations favored non-violent action to contravene them, but he was consistently opposed to mob violence and the newspaper attacks on Governors Francis Bernard, Thomas Hutchinson, and General Thomas Gage, all of whom continued to patronize his press with government business.

The lull in conflict from 1770-1773 seems to have been decisive for Draper's attitude to the Patriot cause. The attempt to continue radical newspaper agitation after the repeal of the Townshend Duties except for tea, the prodding of Governor Hutchinson, and the decline of mob activity produced a new willingness in the printer to risk censure. Draper's resolute attitude after 1770 produced the most powerful Loyalist paper in America until *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer* appeared in 1773.

In various stages of ill health throughout his life, which might explain the *News-Letter's* fluctuating contribution to Loyalism, Draper was forced to employ a series of partners until his death in June 1774. Margaret Draper,

his wife, continued the *News-Letter* until she left Boston with the British in March 1775.

Contributions: *General*—'A Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Boston,' November 12, 1767; 'S.E.,' November 19, 1767; 'Z.Z.,' December 15, 1768; 'Salust,' February 9, 1769; 'Hondotus,' December 19, 1771; 'Resolution of the town of Loyalty Massachusetts,' April 22, 1773; 'Z,' October 28, 1773; 'X,' June 16, 1774; 'A Philadelphian,' July 14, 1774; 'A Suffolk Yeoman,' December 29, 1774; 'Phileirene,' January 12, 26, March 2, 30, April 13, 1775; 'Plainheart,' February 16, March 2, 1775. *English Constitution*—'A.B.,' February 7, 1765; 'Philo-Pax,' August 6, 1767; 'Amor Patria,' January 19, 1769; Thomas Hutchinson, June 14, 21, 28, July 26, August 9, 1770, March 5, April 30, July 16, 1772, January 7, March 11, 1773; 'A.Z.,' March 5, 12, 1772; 'Aequitas,' July 18, 1771; 'Bob Short,' February 13, March 19, 1772; 'Philanthrop,' April 9, 1772. *Free Press*—'Publicola,' December 12, 1765; 'Americanus,' and 'Philander,' July 30, 1767; 'Observation,' December 17, 1767; 'Pope,' August 13, 1772. *The Mob*—'A True Patriot,' September 24, 1767; 'Publius,' May 23, 1771; 'Lelius,' June 6, 1771; 'Manlius,' and 'M.Y.,' April 9, 1772; 'Pacificus,' June 25, 1772; 'X.W.,' January 5, 1775; 'C,' February 16, 1775; 'Plain English,' February 23, 1775. *Non-importation*—'Naked Truth,' November 12, 1767; 'Tacitus,' December 22, 1768; December 28, 1769; 'Queries,' June 23, 1774. *Royal Governors*—April 25, 1766; 'Constitutionalist,' February 14, 21, 1771; 'Verus,' May 16, 1771; 'Chronus' [Rev. Henry Caner], November 28, December 2, 1771, January 2, 9, 23, 1772; 'O.T.,' May 7, 1772; 'A Yeoman,' June 4, December 12, 1772; 'Philaethes' [Jonathan Sewall], June 24, July 1, 15, 1773; 'Philo. Patria,' December 22, 1774; 'A Foreigner,' January 19, 1775.

Location: *Original*—American Antiquarian Society. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*Boston Post-Boy*, 1734-1775. (Weekly.)

*The Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*.

Time period: May 30, 1763, to May 16, 1768.

Printers: John Green and Joseph Russell.

*The Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser.*

Time period: May 23, 1768, to September 25, 1769.

Printers: John Green and Joseph Russell. During this time period the paper was accompanied on alternate weeks by the *Massachusetts Gazette* published by John Green, and Joseph Russell and also Richard Draper of the *Boston News-Letter*.

*The Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy Advertiser.*

Time period: October 2, 1769, to April 17, 1775.

Printers: John Green and Joseph Russell, October 2, 1769, to April 19, 1773; Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks, April 26, 1773, to April 17, 1775.

Biography: John Green was the son of Bartholomew Green, the founder of the oldest newspaper on the continent, the *Boston News-Letter*. In 1755, after an apprenticeship to Richard Draper of the *News-Letter*, Green joined with another apprentice, Joseph Russell, to take over the *Boston Post-Boy*. Despite possession of successive printing contracts since 1755 with the House of Representatives and since 1767 with the Customs Commissioners, the two were the least active of Boston's eight Loyalist printers. A general policy of cautious Loyalism on the part of the two printers, particularly during the lull in mob coercion after 1770, probably caused Thomas Hutchinson to pressure a sale of the *Post-Boy* in 1773 to two younger printers who were presumably more zealous. Nathaniel Mills, former apprentice of John Mein of the Loyalist *Boston Chronicle* and John Hicks, apprentice of the previous owners of the *Post-Boy*, reopened the paper with the office and type of the then defunct *Boston Chronicle* and began a slightly more vigorous policy in defense of royal government. Hutchinson's choice of John Hicks to invigorate the *Post-Boy* was strange considering Hicks came from a family of active Whigs and had been involved three years before in provoking the Boston Massacre. The Governor possibly hoped a continuation of the government subsidy would insure Hicks's Loyalism and his conversion might not be lost upon Whiggish Boston. The father of John Hicks was soon

to be killed by the British at Concord, an event that did nothing to change his son's politics. The choice of Nathaniel Mills seems a logical one as he proved himself more than willing to aid the royal government. In addition to printing the *Post-Boy*, Mills traveled during the early summer of 1775 in the countryside around besieged Boston as a spy, being taken prisoner and eventually freed in an exchange authorized by General Thomas Gage. The two printers continued the *Post-Boy* until April, 1775, eventually leaving Boston with the army. During the war the two printers acted as transient merchants, following the British Army to New York, Philadelphia and Charleston.

Contributions: *General*—'Civis,' August 26, 1765; 'Pacificus,' February 10, 1766; 'Ships News Extraordinary,' July 30, 1770; 'W.O.,' June 13, 1774; 'A Lover of Genuine Liberty,' August 22, 1774; 'Z.T.,' August 22, 1774; 'Massachusetts,' [Daniel Leonard] December 12, 1774–April 3, 1775; 'Grotius,' January 9, 16, 30, February 6, 1775. *English Constitution*—'A.B.C.,' July 22, 1765; 'A Real Lover of the British Nation,' July 2, 1770; William Brattle, January 4, 25, 1773. *First Continental Congress*—'P.R.,' June 13, 1774; 'Mentor,' July 11, 18, 1774; 'Zachary Freeman,' July 18, 1774; 'A Friend to Old and New England,' September 19, 1774. *Free Press*—'A Converted Whig,' March 6, 1775. *Royal Governors*—April 28, 1766; 'Impavidus,' May 6, 1771; May 2, 1774. *The Mob*—'Cotta,' May 9, 1774; 'Intercepted Letter,' March 13, 1775.

Location: *Original*—American Antiquarian Society. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*Censor*, 1771-1772. (Weekly.)

*The Censor*

Time period: November 23, 1771, to May 2, 1772.

Printer: Ezekiel Russell.

Biography: Ezekiel Russell, younger brother of Joseph Russell of the *Boston Post-Boy*, was born in Boston and served as an apprentice to his brother's firm. In the mid-1760s the younger Russell left Boston for New Hampshire and formed a partnership with Thomas Furber of the

*Portsmouth Mercury*. By 1769 Russell was back in Boston with a characteristic that no Loyalist printer in the city could claim, anonymity. Unknown and with no established business at stake, Russell was recruited by Thomas Hutchinson to print the most outspoken Loyalist paper in Boston, the *Censor*. It was a bargain of mutual interest: Hutchinson at last had a willing printer and Russell welcomed the semiofficial subsidy the paper enjoyed. Assisted by his wife he put out the paper, making no attempt in style or content to conceal its design. The result was not really a newspaper at all, but a weekly collection of essays by Boston's leading Loyalists with no advertisement for support. Early in 1772, probably caused by an unwillingness of his benefactors to continue their subsidy and the rather narrow support the paper enjoyed, Russell began to take on advertisements and print local news. The printer's attempt to modify the *Censor* was to no avail. Hutchinson allowed the paper to expire, probably realizing he had erred in creating issues at a time when politics in Boston were returning to normal.

With the collapse of the *Censor*, Russell eventually moved to Salem and set up the *Salem Gazette* in June 1774, announcing defensively that his previous printing had never been influenced by the Governor and that he had left Boston only because liberty of the press had been denied. Mirroring the Boston Loyalist press with reprinted articles, Russell's most unique contribution in Salem was a reprinted portion of Samuel Seabury's *The Congress Canvassed*. Forced to move his office and under constant Patriot pressure, Russell terminated the paper in April 1775.

Contributions: *General*—'Censor,' November 23, 1771, February 15, 1772. *English Constitution*—'A,' December 7, November 30, 1771; 'Freeman,' [Andrew Oliver] December 14, 21, 24, 28, 1771, January 4, 1772; 'Mercator Londinensis,' February 22, 1772. *Freedom of Press*—'Party-Writer,' March 7, 1772. *The Mob*—'The Honourable Patrick McAdam O'Flagharty,' February 27, 1772; 'Tullius,' April 18, 1772; 'Harpax,' May 2, 1772.

Location: *Original*—Massachusetts Historical Society. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.



## Salem

*Salem Gazette*, 1774-1775. (Weekly.)

*The Salem Gazette, and Newbury and Marblehead Advertiser.*

Time period: June 24, 1774, to April 21, 1775.

Printer: Ezekiel Russell.

Biography: See *The Censor*, Boston.

Contributions: *General*—'B.A.', July 15, 1774; 'A Plan for the Better Government of North America,' July 22, 1774; 'The Congress Canvassed,' [Samuel Seabury] January 13, 1775.

Location: *Original*—British Museum and Essex Institute.  
*Microform*—Not available in Microprint 1973.

## NEW YORK

### New York

*New-York Mercury*, 1752-1783. (Weekly.)

*The New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury.*

Time period: September 30, 1776, to November 10, 1783.

Printers: Ambrose Serle, September 30, 1776, to October 17, 1776; Hugh Gaine, November 11, 1776, to November 10, 1783.

Biography: Hugh Gaine, an Anglican from Belfast with printing experience, immigrated to New York in 1745 and was apprenticed alternately to James Parker and William Weyman until 1750 when he opened his own press, eventually bringing out the *New-York Mercury* in 1752. With great ambition and industriousness, Gaine surpassed his two former employers. By 1771 he won the printing business of the assembly, the city of New York, and eventually the province and had become the most successful printer in New York.

Gaine's personal inclinations were pro-British, but he always subordinated his politics to business; like most of his Loyalist printing brethren he was only secondarily an advocate of causes. Because of Gaine's skills as a neutralist he infuriated everyone from Lieutenant

Governor Cadwallader Colden to mob leader Alexander McDougall, but at the same time maintained a flourishing business. Without the aid of British troops, it was no mean feat to have survived the years of controversy and still be printing a neutralist paper in 1776.

Gaine continued to demonstrate his ability to manage successfully his business even when war came to New York in August 1776. The British debarkation on Long Island found Gaine embarking with one of his presses for Newark on a bold maneuver. Gaine's plan was to set up a press in New Jersey where no newspaper existed and print for the Americans, while continuing his New York paper for the British. Gaine arrived in Newark before September 8, but was able to bring out the New York version of the *Mercury* as usual on September 9. On September 26, he was back in New York City talking with Sir William Howe's secretary, Ambrose Serle, and Governor William Tryon about the continuation of the *Mercury*. Apparently the British were willing to tolerate Gaine's ambivalence to obtain a press, but the Newark venture proved to be a mistake; the paper had few subscribers, printing material was in short supply, and worse yet, there were few advertisements. On the first of November he left his press in Newark and commuted across the Hudson for the last time. The supervision of the *Mercury* by Ambrose Serle during Gaine's periodic absences ended with his return; the former printer took control and put out the paper until 1783.

During the occupation Gaine was always the least ardent of New York's printers and was never quite trusted by the British. Maintaining his reputation of moderation, he entertained Continental prisoners on parole at his shop and sold printing supplies to Patriot printers in upstate New York. In 1782, with evacuation of the city imminent, Gaine was able to cover his most publicized sin against the Patriots, the counterfeiting of Continental currency, by obtaining a letter from New York authorities showing he had been coerced. Avoiding anything antagonistic to the Patriots after Yorktown, Gaine successfully petitioned the New York legislature and was able to remain in America until his death in April 1807.

Contributions: *General*—'Anglo Americanus,' December 2, 1776; 'Integer,' February 10, 17, March 24, 1777; February 2, 1778; October 12, 1778; 'A Loyalist,' April 5, 1779; 'Papinian,' April 26, May 10, June 14, July 19, August 2, 1779 [Supplements]; 'Clarendon,' June 7, 1779; 'Congress's Final Bankruptcy,' May 14, 1782; 'Titus Taxgrumbler,' August 26, 1782. *Reconciliation*—'Benevolus,' October 7, 1776, January 12, 1778; 'Cato,' January 6, 1777; 'Z,' March 10, 1777; 'To the Inhabitants of America,' [Benedict Arnold] October 16, 1780.

Location: *Original*—New York Public Library. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*Rivington's New-York Gazette*, 1773-1783. (Weekly and semi-weekly.)

*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer; or the Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser.*

Time period: April 22, 1773, to December 9, 1773.

Printer: James Rivington remained sole printer of the paper.

*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer: or, the Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser.*

Time period: December 16, 1773, to November 23, 1775.

*Rivington's New York Gazette: or the Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser.*

Time period: October 4, 1777, to October 11, 1777.

*Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette.*

Time period: October 18, 1777, to December 6, 1777.

*The Royal Gazette.*

Time period: December 13, 1777, to November 19, 1783.

*Rivington's New-York Gazette, and Universal Advertiser.*

Time period: November 22, 1783, to December 31, 1783.

Biography: Hewlett, Leroy. James Rivington, Loyalist Printer, Publisher and Bookseller of the American Revolution, 1724-1802; A Biographical Bibliographical Study, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1958.

Contributions: *General*—'Poplicola,' [John Vardill and Miles Cooper] November 18, December 2, 23, 1773; 'A Freeman,' July 28, 1774; 'Mercator,' [Philadelphia merchant Benjamin Booth] August 11, 1774; 'The Other side of the Question,' February 9, 1775; 'Senex,' March 23, 1775; 'A Stander-By,' February 21, 1778; 'A Loyal Refugee,' April 11, 1778; 'Modern Catechism,' May 23, 1778; 'Indignation,' July 25, 1778; 'Epistle to the American People,' October 10, 14, 21, 1778; 'Britannicus,' December 19, 23, 1778, January 2, 6, February 27, 1779; 'A Loyal American,' December 19, 1778, December 8, 1779; 'Scotus Americanus,' December 16, 26, 1778; January 2, 1779; 'Temple,' March 3, 1779; 'Fidus and Probus,' April 10, 1779; 'A Refugee,' February 2, 1780; 'A Real Loyalist,' June 30, 1780; 'The Candid Retrospect, or the American War Examined by Whig Principles,' [Councilor and Chief Justice William Smith] March 28, 31, April 4, 1781; 'New York Freeholder,' [Rev. Charles Inglis] June 15, 22, 29, July 13, 20, 1782. *The First Continental Congress*—July 5, 1774; 'A Merchant of New York,' August 18, 1774; 'Z,' September 8, December 1, 1774; 'M,' December 1, 1774; 'A Jersey Farmer,' January 26, 1775; 'America's Real Friend,' February 16, 1775; 'An Englishman,' March 30, 1775. *French Alliance*—'American Freeman,' August 22, 1778; October 7, 1778; October 31, 1778; 'Florus,' March 6, 17, April 7, 1779; 'Americanus,' March 1, 1780; May 3, 1780; May 24, 1780; October 7, 1780; August 25, 1781; November 7, 1781. *The Mob*—'Philelentheros,' April 21, 1774. *Reconciliation*—April 11, 1778; May 20, 1778; May 30, 1778; 'An American,' June 20, 1778; 'Mentor,' September 23, 1778; 'Concord,' October 3, 1778; 'Aristides,' October 7, 1778; October 10, 1778; 'Modestus,' November 14, 21, 25, 1778; 'Philarethes,' December 9, 1778; 'A New York Exile,' January 6, 1779; 'An American Loyalist,' October 7, 14, 1780; 'A Friend of America and to Peace,' September 8, 1781; 'Mortuum Caput,' June 1, 1782; November 20, 1782; 'Nathaniel,' December 11, 1782. *Second Continental Congress*—'A Declaration,' November 17, 1781; 'C.D.,' November 9, 1782.

Location: *Original*—American Antiquarian Society. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*Royal American Gazette*, 1777-1783. (Weekly and semiweekly.)

*The Royal American Gazette.*

Time period: January 16, 1777, to July 31, 1783.

Printers: James Robertson, January 16, 1777, to January 8, 1778; Alexander Robertson, January 15, 1778, to September 29, 1778; James Robertson and Alexander Robertson, October 6, 1778, to June 20, 1780; Alexander Robertson, June 27, 1780, to December 24, 1782; James Robertson, Alexander Robertson, Nathaniel Mills, and John Hicks, January 1, 1782, to July 31, 1783.

Biography: James and Alexander Robertson were the sons of a Scottish printer in Edinburgh, born in 1740 and 1742 respectively. In 1766, James was brought to Boston, as a journeyman printer, by his countryman and fellow Loyalist, John Mein, of the *Boston Chronicle*. Robertson remained there until Mein's business declined with his increasing Loyalism, then left for New York shortly after his employer was forced out of the city. In the spring of 1769 he opened a *Chronicle* of his own in New York City and was joined by his crippled younger brother, Alexander. Despite the Whig character of the paper and the good technical skill of its printers, the two Scots antagonized the established city printers. In 1770 they closed the *New-York Chronicle* and moved to Albany upon the invitation of royal Indian agent and Loyalist, Sir William Johnson. In Albany the two brothers printed the neutral *Albany Gazette* until 1772 when the paper, but not the print shop, was closed and James left for Connecticut to publish the *Norwich Packet* with John Trumbull. Although Alexander's name appeared on the imprint of the Norwich paper, the crippled and less mobile brother remained in Albany until late 1777.

In the spring of 1776 James parted company with the Patriot John Trumbull and joined his brother in Albany to print for both the local Committee of Correspondence and Sir Guy Carleton when he crossed from Canada pursuing Benedict Arnold. Fearing reprisal with Carleton's withdrawal, James buried his press and fled alone in December 1776 to British occupied New York where he was granted the government printing business over the untrustworthy Hugh Gainé.

An exchange of prisoners in November 1777 resulted in the return of Alexander and his journeyman, William Lewis, from Albany just in time to keep the recently founded *Royal American Gazette* in existence. The return of James Rivington from London ended the Robertsons' subsidy and was such a severe blow that James was forced to leave Alexander in New York and travel to occupied Philadelphia in hope of receiving the printing contract for that province. Denied again, this time at the hands of James Humphreys, Jr., Robertson opened the *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette* in Philadelphia and printed it until the British returned to New York in 1778.

The two brothers continued jointly to print their New York paper until the British occupation of Charleston lured the older Robertson south in search of another lucrative government printing contract. Disappointed again when preference was given to John Wells, Robertson opened the *Royal South-Carolina Gazette* with the aid of two fellow Scots, Alexander Cameron and Donald MacDonald, printing the paper until evacuation in 1782. Lord Dunmore's 1775 raid on the *Virginia Gazette* of John H. Holt, netted him two printers, Alexander Cameron and Donald MacDonald. During the war they moved to New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, printing for the British.

Returning to New York, James joined his brother who had been maintaining the *Royal American Gazette* with the aid of Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks, former printers of the *Boston Post-Boy*. Together they printed the paper until its termination in the summer of 1783. James and Alexander Robertson left New York in the same year with the British, stopped for a year in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, where Alexander died, and then James went on to Scotland.

Contributions: *General*—January 30, 1777; February 6, 1777; 'A Loyal Refugee,' March 27, April 10, 1777; May 8, 1777; 'Reflections on Liberty and Law,' June 19, 1777; November 6, 1777; November 20, 1777; March 12, 1778; March 26, 1778; 'Pacifcus,' September 29, October 13, 1778, January 11, 1780; 'Scotus Americanus,' December 3, 10, 1778; 'Cudgo,' March 9, 1779; 'Scaliger,' March 16, 25, April 1, 8, 15, May 11, 20,

June 8, 1779; April 29, 1779. *French Alliance*—February 20, 1777; July 10, 1777; January 1, 1778; March 5, 1778; May 28, 1778; June 16, 1778; June 23, 1778; August 24, 1779; March 16, 1780; January 1, 1782. *Continental Currency*—January 23, 1777; February 6, 1777; February 26, 1778; July 7, 1778; June 10, 1779; 'Johannes Picus,' June 22, 1779; October 7, 1779; October 21, 1779; February 15, 1780; July 12, 1781. *Reconciliation*—'A New Yorker,' January 23, 1777; 'Americanus,' February 20, 1777; 'Civis,' March 6, 1777; March 27, 1777; August 27, 1778; 'A British American,' November 10, December 15, 1778; 'Scotus,' December 10, 1778; 'A Committee Man,' January 21, 1779; December 10, 1782; December 19, 1782; 'B. Waller,' June 19, 1783. *Second Continental Congress*—'Anti Mela,' January 16, 1777; March 27, 1777; April 10, 1777; December 11, 1777; 'Cato,' [Rev. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia?] September 15, 1778; November 19, 1778; 'W.T.,' December 29, 1778.

Location: *Original*—Historical Society of Pennsylvania.  
*Microform*—Not available in Microprint 1973.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

*Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 1775-1784. (Triweekly, semiweekly, and daily.)

*The Pennsylvania Evening Post*.

Time period: October 11, 1777, to May 20, 1778.

Printer: Benjamin Towne.

Biography: Teeter, Dwight L. 'Benjamin Towne: The Precarious Career of a Persistent Printer,' *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIX (1965), 316-330.

Contributions: *French Alliance*—January 3, 1778; January 6, 1778; March 11, 1778; February 7, 1778; April 15, 1778. *Reconciliation*—May 4, 1778. *Second Continental Congress*—'Answer to the Declaration of the General

Congress, February 17, 21, March 25, 1778; March 18, 25, April 3, 1778.

Location: *Original*—American Antiquarian Society. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*Pennsylvania Ledger, 1775-1778.* (Weekly and semiweekly.)

*The Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser.*

Time period: January 28, 1775, to November 30, 1776.

Printer: James Humphreys, Jr.

*The Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Weekly Advertiser.*

Time period: October 10, 1777, to November 26, 1777.

Printer: James Humphreys, Jr.

*The Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Philadelphia Market-Day Advertiser.*

Time period: December 3, 1777, to May 23, 1778.

Printer: James Humphreys, Jr.

Biography: James Humphreys, Jr., was born in 1748 into the family of a non-distinguished Philadelphia attorney and Justice of the Peace who entered his son at the College of Philadelphia in 1763. During his college years Humphreys was apprenticed to William Bradford of the *Pennsylvania Journal* while he pursued his studies in physics and developed a friendship with the Whig scientist, David Rittenhouse. Humphreys dropped out of college and with his father's aid became a clerk in the Court of the Chancery. Continuing his association with Bradford, by 1770 Humphreys was a master printer and early in 1775, urged on by a number of Philadelphia Loyalists, he began printing the *Pennsylvania Ledger*. Continually harrassed and bribed by the radicals to discontinue his paper, Humphreys was finally forced to store his press and flee the city in November 1776 after an article in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* charged that he was in the pay of the Howe brothers.

In the fall of 1777, Humphreys returned to Philadelphia with the British occupation and conducted a flourishing newspaper business, with the aid of a printing contract from Sir William Howe, until the British left in the summer of 1778. Humphreys traveled with the army to New York, then on to London, Shelburne, Nova



Scotia, and eventually at fifty-one years of age he returned to Philadelphia despite having been charged with treason, and died there in 1810.

Contributions: *General*—'Eugenio,' January 28, 1775; 'Cato,' [Rev. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia] March 9, 16, 23, 30, 1776; 'Pacificus,' March 18, 25, 1778. *French Alliance*—February 4, 1778. *Reconciliation*—'A Common Man,' March 30, 1776; 'A Settled Citizen,' May 4, 1776; 'An American,' February 4, 1778; 'A British Officer,' May 16, 1778. *Second Continental Congress*—'Hampden,' May 9, 1778.

Location: *Original*—Library Company of Philadelphia.  
*Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1778. (Semiweekly.)

*The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*.

Time period: March 3, 1778, to May 26, 1778.

Printer: James Robertson.

Biography: See *Royal American Gazette*, New York.

Contributions: *General*—March 6, 17, 31, April 7, 1778; 'Nestor,' April 7, 1778. *French Alliance*—April 7, 1778; April 10, 1778; May 12, 1778; May 15, 1778. *Reconciliation*—'Dialogue at a Town in Massachusetts Bay, between an Englishman (a Prisoner on Parole) and Two Americans,' March 31, April 3, 14, 17, 28, May 5, 12, 1778.

Location: *Original*—Historical Society of Pennsylvania and New York Public Library. *Microform*—Not available in Microprint 1973.

## RHODE ISLAND

### Newport

*Newport Gazette*, 1777-1779. (Weekly.)

*The Newport Gazette*.

Time period: January 16, 1777, to October 6, 1779.

Printer: John Howe.

Biography: Born in Boston on October 14, 1754, John Howe served as an apprentice there until 1775, when on the death of

her husband, Margaret Draper hired him to print the *Boston News-Letter* from October 1775 to the evacuation of Boston in March 1776. A member of the Scottish sect called Sandemanians, Howe's Loyalism might have stemmed from the religious hostility expressed by Congregational Boston. With little to keep him in Boston, Howe left for Halifax with the British in March 1776 and then accompanied the navy under Admiral Richard Howe to Newport, Rhode Island, in December. Early in 1777, subsidized by the military and using John Mein's type and the press of a local printer, Solomon Southwick, Howe printed the *Newport Gazette* until the evacuation in October 1779. Howe returned to Halifax, secured the position of government printer there and died in December 1835.

Contributions: *General*—April 9, 1778; 'An Englishman,' April 30, 1778; 'Marcellus,' May 28, 1778; June 25, 1778; 'G.G.,' August 14, 1778; 'On the Power of England,' August 27, 1778. *French Alliance*—'A.A.,' April 10, 1777; May 8, 1777; January 29, 1778; March 12, 1778; March 19, 1778; May 21, 1778; July 8, 1779. *Reconciliation*—January 16, 1777; 'Americanus,' February 6, 1777; March 13, 1777; September 18, 1777; October 16, 1777; May 28, 1778; August 27, 1778. *Second Continental Congress*—'Publicola,' January 16, 1777; February 6, 1777; 'G.A.,' April 10, 1777; April 24, 1777; 'Tom Doubt,' February 12, 1778.

Location: *Original*—Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Microform*—See Brigham, Vol. II, p. 995; not available in Microprint 1978.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

### Charleston

*South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, 1764-1782. (Weekly and semiweekly.)

*The South-Carolina and American General Gazette.*

Time period: July 26, 1780, to February 28, 1781.

Printer: John Wells, Jr.

*The Royal Gazette.*

Time period: March 3, 1781, to September 28, 1782.

Printer: John Wells, Jr., and William C. Wells.<sup>1</sup>

Biography: John Wells, Jr., was the older of two sons of Robert Wells, a Scottish printer who had come to Charleston in 1757. Success in the printing business brought Robert Wells property and an appointment as Marshal of the Vice Admiralty Court. In 1764, Wells began to print the *South-Carolina and American General Gazette* and although a convinced Loyalist, he maintained the paper as a neutralist sheet until May 1775, when he left for London and turned the paper over to his teenage son, John Wells, Jr. John had been sent away early to Edinburgh as a printer's apprentice, but returned by 1775 to steer the paper to a Patriot position after his father's permanent departure.

Wells's consistent goal of maintaining a printing business despite the exigencies of war, led him into numerous changes in politics. Never really a convinced Patriot while he printed as one, he confided to Henry Laurens, that only after the news of Saratoga did he support the Patriot cause and even then he hoped for reconciliation.

Early in 1780 Wells suspended his paper and commanded a militia company against Sir Henry Clinton's siege of Charleston. The defeat of the Americans, plus the opportunity to maintain a more comfortable political position, persuaded Wells, in July 1780, to again print the *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, but this time as a Loyalist paper. In January 1781, John's twenty-four-year-old younger brother, Dr. William C. Wells, arrived in the city, instructed by his father to put the family's extensive properties in order and also carrying the news that the paper had been granted the royal printing business. Consequently in March, John Wells changed the paper's title to *Royal Gazette* and left for London to explain his sojourn as a rebel to his father, while William handled the paper until he returned. By January 1782, John was back in Charleston thinking hard about Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown

<sup>1</sup>The imprint during this time included the name of the former neutralist printer, Robert Wells, despite the fact that he left for England in May 1775 and never returned.

and talking about changing his politics again when the British would be gone. However, because of the enmity the *Royal Gazette* had created, John disassembled his presses and left Charleston with his brother when the British evacuated in December 1782. William went permanently to London but John traveled to St. Augustine, Nassau, and in 1792 returned to Charleston after successfully petitioning the South Carolina legislature.

Contributions: *General*—'Drusus,' May 5, July 26, August 2, 9, 16, 1780; 'Scriblerus,' July 26, 1780; 'Homo,' December 30, 1780; 'Veridicus,' January 31, 1781; 'Carolina Loyalist,' December 5, 9, 1781; 'Suffering Loyalist,' July 13, 1782. *French Alliance*—'Lucullus,' February 16, 1782.

Location: *Original*—Charleston Library Society. *Microform*—Micro Photo Inc.

## *Minor Loyalist Newspapers*

### CONNECTICUT

#### Norwich

*Norwich Packet*, 1773-1802. (Weekly.)

*The Norwich Packet*.

Time period: November 4, 1773, to May 13, 1776.

Printers: Alexander Robertson, James Robertson, and John Trumbull.

Location: *Original*—The Connecticut State Library. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

#### Exeter

*New Hampshire Gazette*, 1776-1777. (Weekly.)

*New Hampshire Gazette*, or, the *Exeter Morning Chronicle*.

Time period: June 1, 1776, to July 15, 1777.  
Printer: Robert L. Fowle.  
Location: *Original*—American Antiquarian Society. *Microform*—  
Not available in Microprint 1973.

## NEW YORK

### Albany

*Albany Gazette*, 1771-1772. (Weekly.)

*The Albany Gazette.*

Time period: November 25, 1771, to August 3, 1772.  
Printers: Alexander Robertson and James Robertson.  
Location: *Original*—Massachusetts Historical Society. *Microform*  
—Not available in Microprint 1973.

### New York City

*New York Evening Post*, 1782-1783. (Triweekly.)

*The New York Evening Post.*

Time period: October 25, 1782, to March 21, 1783.  
Printers: Christopher Sower [Saur, III], William Morton, and  
Samuel Horner.  
Location: *Original*—William L. Clements Library. *Microform*—  
Not available in Microprint 1973.

*New York Mercury*, 1752-1783. (Weekly.)

*The New York Mercury.*

Time period: August 3, 1752, to January 25, 1768.  
Printer: Hugh Gainé.

*The New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury.*

Time period: February 1, 1768, to November 2, 1776.  
Printer: Hugh Gainé.  
Location: *Original*—New York Historical Society and New York  
Public Library. *Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*New York Mercury*, 1779-1783. (Weekly.)*The New York Mercury; or, General Advertiser.*

Time period: September 10, 1770, to August 15, 1783.

Printers: William Lewis, September 10, 1779, to May 24, 1782; William Lewis and Samuel Horner, May 31, 1782, to August 1782; William Lewis, August 1782 to August 1783; William Lewis and John Ryan, August 15, 1783.

Location: *Original*—Historical Society of Pennsylvania and American Antiquarian Society. *Microform*—Not available in Microprint 1973.

## PENNSYLVANIA

## Germantown

*Germantowner Zeitung*, 1766-1777. (Biweekly and weekly.)*Die Germantowner Zeitung.*

Time period: August 7, 1766, to April 20, 1775.

Printer: Christoph Saur, Jr.

*Germantowner Wochen-Blat.*

Time period: June 22, 1775.

Printer: Christoph Saur, Jr.

*Die Germantowner Zeitung.*

Time period: March 20, 1776, to February 26, 1777.

Printers: Christoph Saur, Jr., and Christoph Saur, III, March 20, 1776, to September 11, 1776; Christoph Saur, III, and Peter Saur, February 26, 1777.

Location: *Original*—Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Microform*—Not available in Microprint 1973.

## Philadelphia

*Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 1767-1774. (Weekly.)*Pennsylvania Chronicle, and Universal Advertiser.*Time period: January 26, 1767, to May, 1769.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Galloway and Thomas Wharton subsidized the *Chronicle* during this period, but it was of little consequence in moving the printer, William Goddard, to an aggressive Loyalist position. See Joseph Galloway's need to go to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 16, 1768 as 'A Chester County Farmer' to answer the 'Farmers Letters.'

Printer: William Goddard.  
Location: *Original*—Historical Society of Pennsylvania.  
*Microform*—Readex Microprint Corp.

*Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier*, 1777-1778. (Weekly.)

*Der Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier, oder Einlaufende Wöchentliche Nachrichten.*

Time period: February 11, 1778, and May 6, 1778.  
Printers: Christoph Saur, III, and Peter Saur.  
Location: *Original*—Historical Society of Pennsylvania and American Antiquarian Society. *Microform*—Not available in Microprint 1973.

*Story and Humphreys's Pennsylvania Mercury*, 1775. (Weekly.)

*Story and Humphreys's Pennsylvania Mercury, and Universal Advertiser.*<sup>3</sup>

Time period: April 7, 1775, to December 22, 1775.  
Printers: Enoch Story and Daniel Humphreys.  
Location: *Original*—Library of Congress. *Microform*—Not available in Microprint 1973.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

### Charleston

*South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, 1764-1781. (Weekly and semiweekly.)

*The South-Carolina and American General Gazette.*

Time period: April 4, 1764, to December 17, 1779.  
Printers: Robert Wells and David Bruce, April 4, 1764, to July 3, 1765; Robert Wells, October 31, 1765, to December 30, 1774; Robert Wells and John Wells, January 6, 1775, to November 13, 1777<sup>4</sup>; John Wells, November 20, 1777, to February 4, 1780.  
Location: *Original*—Charleston Library Society. *Microform*—Micro Photo Inc.

<sup>3</sup>The first issue of April 7, 1775, appeared with the title *The Pennsylvania Mercury, and Universal Advertiser*.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Wells permanently left Charleston for England in May 1775, yet his name appeared in the imprint until November 13, 1777.

*Royal South-Carolina Gazette*, 1780-1782. (Triweekly and semi-weekly.)

*The Royal South-Carolina Gazette.*

Time period: July 6, 1780, to September 12, 1782.

Printers: James Robertson, Donald MacDonald, and Alexander Cameron, July 6, 1780, to May 17, 1781; James Robertson, January 22, 1782, to September 12, 1782.

Location: *Original*—Charleston Library Society. *Microform*—Micro Photo Inc.

## VIRGINIA

### Norfolk

*Virginia Gazette*, 1775-1776. (Sporadically.)

*The Virginia Gazette.*

Time period: November 25, 1775, to February 3, 1776.

Printers: John, Earl of Dunmore, Donald MacDonald, and Alexander Cameron.

Location: *Original*—British Public Records Office. *Microform*—Photocopy available at Library of Congress and Virginia Historical Society.



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