

Contents

Acronyms xi

Acknowledgments xv

ONE Introduction 1

- Representative Assemblies in the Seventeenth Century 2
- The Rise of Representative Assemblies in America 3
- Trustees and Delegates 5
- Representation and Movement toward Mass Democracy 7
- Making Sense of the Historical Record 8
- The Progression of the Book 9

TWO The Emergence of Representative Assemblies in the Colonies 12

- Virginia and the Trustee Model 12
- The New England Colonies and the Delegate Model 14
- Mid-Atlantic Hybrids 17
- The Later Colonies and the Return of the Trustee Model 19
- Conclusion 27

THREE Who Could Vote and Who Could Represent 29

- Formal Qualifications for Voting 29
- Contemporary Assessments of Assembly Voters 37
- Formal Qualifications for Assembly Service 38
- Contemporary Assessments of Assembly Members 54

FOUR	The Apportionment of Assembly Seats	57
	Apportionment in Virginia	58
	Apportionment in New York	63
	Apportionment in Massachusetts	65
	Additional Apportionment Schemes	72
	Apportionment Complications	74
	Governors and Apportionment	76
	Apportionment and the Shape of the Future States	81
	Apportionment and Representation	82
FIVE	Election Mechanics and Candidate Emergence	85
	Election Mechanics	88
	Deference and Candidate Emergence	101
SIX	Campaigns and Voters	113
	Campaigning	114
	The Importance of Issues	119
	Assembly Salaries as an Election Issue	123
	Treating	127
	Voter Turnout	134
	Voter Intimidation and Election Violence	137
	Voting Irregularities	141
	Voter Behavior	146
	Gubernatorial Influence	147
	Ethnic Politics	149
	Contemporary Assessments of Elections and Representation	150
	Epilogue: The 1733 Westchester and 1768 and 1769 New York City and County Elections	151
SEVEN	Expectations for the Representative's Role	158
	What They Were Called and How They Were Treated	159
	Representation and the Frequency of Assemblies and Elections	162
	Consulting Constituents	168
	Instructions	173
	The Practice of Instructions	178
	Representatives and Instructions	181
	Recall of Members	185
	Burkean before Burke	185
	Information about Assembly Actions	189
EIGHT	Representation in the Colonial Legislative Process	199
	Lawmakers and Representational Activities	201

Explanations for an Increase in Constituent Influence	204
Documenting the Growing Pull of Local Interests	206
Member Voting Behavior	209
Constituents and Their Representatives	215
Did Representatives Represent Their Constituents’ Policy Preferences?	216
NINE Colonial Representatives and the Enduring Dilemma of Representation	231
<i>Appendix A: Instructions to Representatives</i>	235
<i>Appendix B: Initial Floor Vote and Town Position on the 1754 Massachusetts Excise Bill</i>	255
<i>References</i>	259
Government Documents and Publications	259
Newspapers and Periodicals	279
Other Publications	291
<i>Index</i>	313

The Rise of the Representative: Lawmakers and Constituents in Colonial America
Peeverill Squire
https://www.press.umich.edu/9429646/rise_of_the_representative
University of Michigan Press, 2017