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THE 1ST GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION, 1776-1783

(THE ONE THAT SUCCEEDED)



"They fight and fight and fight; they are fighting now, they fought before, and they'll fight in the future.... So you see, you can say anything about world history.... Except one thing, that is. It cannot be said that world history is reasonable."



— Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevski

NOTES FROM UNDERGROUND



Over the years, people I've met have often asked me what I'm working on, and I've usually replied that the main thing was a book about Dresden.

I said that to Harrison Starr, the movie-maker, one time, and he raised his eyebrows and inquired, "Is it an anti-war book?"

"Yes," I said. "I guess."

"You know what I say to people when I hear they're writing anti-war books?"

"No. What do you say, Harrison Starr?"

"I say, 'Why don't you write an anti-glacier book instead?'"

What he meant, of course, was that there would always be wars, that they were as easy to stop as glaciers.

I believe that, too.

— Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE
OR THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

A DUTY-DANCE WITH DEATH. NY: Dell, 1971, page 3.



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I am personally of the opinion that the [American Revolution](#) was a piss-poor idea. I am personally of the opinion that if we had remained as docile British colonial subjects or if our insurrection had been put down, our collective trajectory here would have been vastly superior to what it has since been. My sympathies lie always with [Dr. Samuel Johnson](#), who had at the time found all this so passing strange: "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of Negroes?" However, in fact, in American academe, no history professor whether tenured or not tenured can afford to acknowledge anything problematic about this particular one of America's military struggles, the American Revolution. The rules of PC-ness include that being opposed to this particular war is way way outside the bounds of all propriety.

There appears also to be a taboo against recognizing that the [American Revolution](#), and the [American Civil War](#), were both started by the same group of folks, white slavemasters, and for the very same reason: to guarantee the continued existence of their favored peculiar institution, that of human enslavement. This United States/Confederate States of America struggle was a real big deal locally, of course -not in any manner as huuge as the Chinese Civil War that was going on at the time between the Chinese Christians of the nation's southlands and the Chinese Buddhists of the nation's northlands, and far less deadly- but still, by Western standards our struggle was a really big deal - by the end of this war 1 in 50 of the US population of 32,000,000 would be dead from combat or disease (600,000 Union/Confederate soldier fatalities). And nomenclature is important. So what should this war be called? If the South had won it would now be known as "The War to Preserve Slavery," but the North won and so it is come to be known as "The War to End Slavery" (as you are aware, it's the winner who gets to determine such matters).

Nevertheless I would defer to the losing side and prefer that it be known as the War to Preserve Slavery - my reason being that it wasn't Fort Sumter that shelled Charleston, but Charleston that shelled Fort Sumter. In this war, that is to say, the Confederate States of America was the initiator. And why was it that this aggressor determined that it was going to wage war upon the United States of America? The answer, historically, is clear: the Southern states went to war because they perceive a need to protect and preserve their peculiar institution, that of human enslavement.

When we now tell our little children that this civil war was "The War to End Slavery," we are perpetuating a couple of Donald-sized huuge historical lies. Lie #1 is that the North was desiring to shed the blood of white people in order to improve the lives of enslaved black Americans, by striking off their chains. Huh. In fact, as Presidential Candidate [Abraham Lincoln](#) many times pointed out, the federal government of the United States of America had no particular impetus to free enslaved black Americans or improve their lives. Nor did any significant number of soldiers in the Northern armies have any





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particular desire to improve the lives of enslaved black Americans by striking off their chains. Lie #2 is that the Emancipation Proclamation and the XIIIth Amendment did away with human bondage. To the contrary, the effect of the XIIIth Amendment was to render the Emancipation Proclamation unconstitutional, as a mere act of the Executive about something reserved exclusively to the Legislature. -And, since there never has been any federal legal definition of slavery, neither before during or after the Civil War, and since that constitutional amendment merely assigned the power to create such a definition to the federal Legislature without requiring it ever to actually do so, and since in fact it has never done so, what the vaunted XIIIth Amendment did falls clearly into the category of the merely verbal. The constitutional amendment did not outlaw "enslavement," whatever that might be, but it merely reduced it to a topic impossible that it was impossible for us to talk about. Without a legal definition of what it might be "to enslave someone," when we talk about this we might as well be talking about what it might be "to aardvark someone"! It's all airy fairy talk, and we might as well be waving our hands in "The Accordion" the way The Donald does.

We talk about this Civil War as if it were a War to Preserve the Union, again because it is the winner who writes the history, but if the South had won we would of course be describing it instead as our War of Disunion. Again, for good and sufficient reason I prefer the Southern terminology. If the South had won, we would denominate this war correctly: it was the War to Preserve Slavery. Just as the Revolutionary War was not a War for Union with Britain but a War for Disunion with Britain, so also this Civil War was not a War for the Union but instead a War for Disunion, a 2d Disunion matching the Disunion from Britain that we denominate our "American Revolution." -Which is why, in this Kouroo Contexture, you will find the American Revolutionary War denominated as [the 1st Great American Disunion](#) and the USA/CSA Civil War denominated as [the 2d Great American Disunion](#). We should deem things to be what they are.

Please note a curious coincidence: the Revolutionary War, so called, had been enabled by Southern slavemasters such as [Thomas Jefferson](#) and [George Washington](#) at a time at which abolitionism was more advanced in Britain than in its American colonies, and this Civil War, so called, was enabled by Southern slavemasters such as [Jefferson Davis](#) and [Robert E. Lee](#) at a time at which abolitionism was more advanced in the northern states than in the southern ones. Of course, these two wars were all about freedom, not slavery, and union, not disunion - right? Don't you go letting me **confuse** you here.



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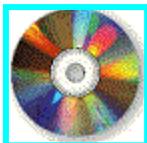
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Our Perennial Quest to Do Harm So Good Will Come



| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| English Civil War | 1640-1649 |
| Secession from Britain | 1776-1783 |
| Chinese Civil War | 1850-1864 |
| Secession from the Union | 1862-1865 |



"To be active, well, happy, implies rare courage. To be ready to fight in a [duel](#) or a [battle](#) implies desperation, or that you hold your life cheap."





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— [Henry Thoreau](#)





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1770

Initially, in their internal political debates, Americans seem to have referred more frequently to Mason's draft Virginia Declaration of Rights, which began by asserting "that all men are born equally free and independent," than to the [Declaration of Independence](#) which we now have come to emphasize as having a certain primacy in our national system. It would be Mason's formulations, in most cases by use of the verb "born," rather than [Thomas Jefferson's](#) formulations, that would be incorporated into various state bills of rights and, by way of the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights, into the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. After [the Constitution](#) and Bill of Rights had included no statement of basic revolutionary principles, it would be later generations of Americans, not this initial generation, who would find those principles useful in national politics and would gradually be transforming the Declaration from a revolutionary or "external" manifesto into a standard for established "internal" governance akin to a bill of rights. In a sense the Declaration had to be rescued from an initial obscurity before the Americans of the Early Republic began to be able to made their internal political appeals on its basis.

During this [period of revolutionary turmoil](#), in which there would be a whole lot of talk about human rights and a whole lot of taking of human life, a total of 34 Friends would need to be "dealt with" in Pennsylvania, and a total of 9 Friends would need to be "dealt with" in [New Jersey](#), on account of their refusing to give up all involvement in public affairs. That is, a number of [Quakers](#) would refuse their society's demand that they "withdraw from being active in civil government" during a period so preoccupied with "the spirit of wars and fighting." They would either continue to hold public office, or would continue to attend town meeting, or would continue to cast votes for persons to hold public office, all of which activities were being proscribed by the Religious Society of Friends as morally unacceptable:

Friends being in any ways active in government [in the present commotions of public affairs] is inconsistent with our principles [against wars and fightings].



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For the duration of the war, no Quaker would be allowed to even serve as an overseer of the poor, without being “dealt with” on account of this implicit involvement in violence by his meeting.

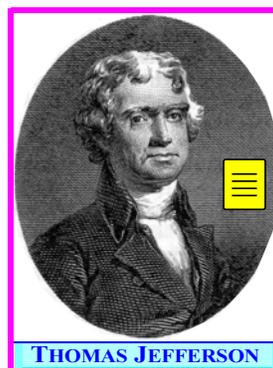
In Virginia, [Jefferson](#) was building [Monticello](#) on the backs of slave laborers.



“The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn't that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK.”



- [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84





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**YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION. WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”:
IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.**



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1772

- June: A new mutual council of resolution was called, to attempt to resolve the religious issues which continued to divide [Concord](#) worshipers. (These religious issues would not be settled, however, until with the advent of the [Revolution](#), the dissidents would fall into disfavor in the town due to their continued support of the King of England.)
- June: Only a couple of two weeks after purchasing some fresh [slaves](#) to use on his estates, [George Washington](#) affixed his signature to a document drafted by the “Association for the Counteraction of Various Acts of Oppression on the Part of Great Britain.” The signers were pledging that “we will not import or bring into the Colony, or cause to be imported or brought into the Colony, either by sea or land, any slaves, or make sale of any upon commission, or purchase any slave or slaves that may be imported by others, after the 1st day of November next, unless the same have been twelve months upon this continent.” –This resolution may well have been intended as economic retaliation, with the blacks in question mere pawns in a white power struggle, as the document displays no moral disapproval of slaveholding, or of the domestic slave trade, or of the international slave trade.

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[THE MIDDLE PASSAGE](#)

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1773



January 6, Wednesday: In the 1st of 8 such petitions during the [revolutionary](#) period, Massachusetts slaves asked the legislature for their freedom. (Note here that some local historians have proudly asserted that Massachusetts had done away with human slavery within that colony, some 4 years earlier! –Evidently, these proud local historians had neglected to consult primary sources.)¹

[SLAVERY](#)

1. They supposed the hostilities to have something to do with freedom. A cumulating total of 8 such petitions would be submitted during the period of the revolutionary war. Find these petitioners in the fresco by Brumidi on a wall of our federal capitol:



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June: [John Brand](#) was appointed curate of St. Andrew's church in Newcastle upon Tyne.



A group of Massachusetts [slaves](#) asserted to colonial governor Thomas Hutchinson that they shared with white citizens a common and natural right to be free (although the petition below is incomplete, it is possible due to many similarities that it was an earlier draft for a later such document).

June, 1773

The recent Petition sent in by [...]

To his Excellency Thomas Hutc[hinson Gov]ernor of said Provnce,
to the Honorable his Majesty s [Council, and to the] Honourable
House of Representatives in General court assembled June 1773 –
The Petition of us the subscribers in behalf of all thous who
by divine Permission are held in a state of slavery, within the
bowels of a free Country, Humbly sheweth –

That your Petitioners apprehend they have in comon with other
men a naturel right to be free and without molestation to injoy
such Property, as thay may acquire by their industry, or by any
other means not detrimetal to their fellow men, and that no
Person can have any just claim to their services unless

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December 27, Monday: The town of Lincoln, Massachusetts joined the great [tea](#) boycott.²

March 15, 1770, the town [of Lincoln] voted, "that they will not
purchase any one article of any person that imports goods
contrary to the agreement of the merchants of [Boston](#)"; and in a
long answer to a circular sent to the town, they say, February,
1773, "We will not be wanting in our assistance according to our

2. As an outgrowth of heavy [tea](#) taxes and the Boston Tea Party, abstinence from [tea](#) was being equated with the quest for liberty. The colonial tradition of [tea](#) drinking would permanently decline, and [coffee](#) consumption increase. Dr. Benjamin Rush would author numerous papers on the ravages caused by [tea](#) drinking (although after the [Revolutionary War](#) he would do an about-face and promote [tea](#) as an alternative to [alcohol](#)).



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ability, in the prosecuting of all such lawful and constitutional measures, as shall be thought proper for the continuance of all our rights, privileges, and liberties, both civil and religious; being of opinion that a steady, united, persevering conduct in a constitutional way, is the best means, under God, for obtaining the redress of all our grievances."

The first committee of correspondence was chosen November 2, 1773, - Deacon Samuel Farrar, Capt. Eleazer Brooks, and Capt. Abijah Pierce; a similar one was elected annually till 1784. The sentiments of the town [of Lincoln], on several questions then agitating the province, being requested by the citizens of [Boston](#), were communicated in the subjoined very interesting letter, on the 20th of December.

"Gentlemen, - We have read your letter, enclosing the proceedings of the town of Boston at their late meeting; as also another letter enclosing the proceedings of a collective body of people, not only of Boston, but the adjacent towns; in which, after some very pertinent observations on the alarming situation of our public affairs, you desire our advice and to be acquainted with the sense of this town respecting the present gloomy situation of our public affairs. We rejoice at every appearance of public virtue, and resolution in the cause of liberty; inasmuch as, upon our own virtue and resolution, under Divine Providence, depends the preservation of all our rights and privileges.

"We apprehend that we, in America, have rights, privileges, and property, of our own, as well as the rest of mankind; and that we have the right of self-preservation, as well as all other beings. And we are constrained to say, that after the most careful and mature deliberation, according to our capacities, weighing the arguments on both sides, we apprehend our rights and privileges have been infringed in many glaring instances, which we mean not to enumerate, among which the late ministerial plan, mentioned in your letter, is not the least.

"The Act imposing a duty on [tea](#) is alarming, because, in procuring the same, our enemies are dealing by us, like the great enemy of mankind, viz. endeavouring to enslave us by those things to which we are not necessitated, but by our own contracted ill habits; although, if [tea](#) were properly used, it might be of some advantage. When we speak of our enemies, as above, we mean those persons on either side of the water, who by many ways, either secret or open, are sowing the seeds of strife and discord between Britain and her colonies; or are in any way the active instruments of our distress.

"Now since it must be granted, that our rights and privileges are infringed, and that we have the right of self-defence; the important question is, by what means to make such defence. Doubtless the means of defence in



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all cases ought to quadrate with the nature of the attack; and since the present plan seems to be to enslave us, we need only (had we virtue enough for that) to shun the bait, as we would shun the most deadly poison. Notwithstanding, considering so many are so habituated to the use of tea, as perhaps inadvertently to ruin themselves and their country thereby; and others so abandoned to vice, expecting to share in the profits arising from the ruin of our country, as to use all means in their power to encourage the use of tea; we cannot, therefore, but commend the spirited behaviour of the town of Boston, in endeavouring to prevent the sale of the East India Company's teas, by endeavouring to persuade the consignees to resign their office, or any other lawful means; and we judge the consignees, by refusing to comply with the just desire of their fellow-citizens, have betrayed a greater regard to their private interest than the public good and safety of their country, and ought to be treated accordingly.

"The situation of our public affairs growing more alarming, and having heretofore tried the force of petitions and remonstrances and finding no redress; we, the inhabitants of this town, have now come into a full determination and settled resolution, not to purchase, nor use any tea, nor suffer it to be purchased or used in our families, so long as there is any duty laid on such tea by an act of British Parliament. And we will hold and esteem such, as do use such tea, enemies to their country; and we will treat them with the greatest neglect. And as we beg leave to recommend it to the several towns within this province, who have not done it, to go and do likewise.

"How easy the means! How sure the event! But be the event what it may, suppose this method should not obtain a repeal of the act, which we judge to be unrighteous, but the event should be a total disuse of that destructive article, we might then (if we may so express ourselves) bless God, that ever he permitted that act to pass to pass the British Parliament.

"We trust we have courage and resolution sufficient to encounter all the horrors of war in the defence of those rights and privileges, civil and religious, which we esteem more valuable than our lives. And we do hereby assure, not only the town of Boston, but the world, that whenever we shall have a clear call from Heaven, we are ready to join with our brethren to face the formidable forces, rather than tamely to surrender up our rights and privileges into the hands of any of our own species, not distinguished from ourselves, except it be in disposition to enslave us. At the same time, we have the highest esteem for all lawful authority; and rejoice in our connexion with Great Britain, so long as we can enjoy our charter rights and privileges."



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This able paper is attributed to the pen of the Hon. Eleazer Brooks. The original agreements of the town [of Lincoln] about the disuse of [tea](#) and non-consumption of imported articles of merchandise have been found among his papers, and are now [1835] deemed worthy of preservation.

"Whereas, the town of Lincoln did, on the 27th day of December current, by a full vote, come into full determination and settled resolution, not to purchase nor use any [tea](#), nor suffer it to be purchased or used in their families, so long as there is any duty laid on such [tea](#) by the act of the British Parliament; and that they would hold and esteem all such as do use such [tea](#), as enemies to their country; and that they will treat with them with the greatest neglect; - We, the subscribers, inhabitants of said town, pursuant to the same design, do hereby promise and agree to and with each other, that we will strictly conform to the tenor of the abovesaid vote. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

"Lincoln, Dec. 27th, 1773."

This was signed by 52 of the principal inhabitants. The following by 82.

"We, the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of Lincoln, do sincerely and truly covenant and agree to and with each other, that we will not for ourselves, or any for or under us, purchase or consume any goods, wares, or manufactures, which shall be imported from Great Britain, after the thirty-first day of August, seventeen hundred and seventy-four, until the Congress of Deputies from the several colonies shall determine what articles, if any, to except; and that we will thereafter, respecting the use and consumption of such British articles, as may not be excepted, religiously abide by the determination of said Congress."

This was a time when it was impossible to stand on neutral ground and escape censure. Those who were not decided in opposition to the measures of Great Britain, were supposed to favor them. Of the suspected was the minister of the town [of Lincoln]; and, though the suspicion was groundless, and of short duration, the people in September assembled around the meeting-house on a Sabbath, and prevented him from entering to preach. Two or three individuals were subsequently obliged to leave the town [of Lincoln] for not conforming to the prevailing sentiments of the people. One of the largest estates in the town [of Lincoln] was for some time in the hands of the government.³

3. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)**1774**

Construction of the [Quaker](#) school at Nine Partners northeast of Poughkeepsie, New York would be delayed for five years, between 1775 and 1780, because Quakers sensed the [Revolutionary War](#) coming and resolved not to place themselves under any obligation by soliciting funds from any person who might not be able to maintain, in the face of such a popular cause, an attitude of Quaker pacifism. Warner Mifflin of Delaware, convinced by Friend John Woolman, became the first of our [slaveholders](#) to voluntarily manumit all his [slaves](#). He was a true son of liberty. He fired a shot heard round the world. Colonel Elisha Jones, a wealthy landowner and [slaveholder](#) of Newton MA, was an active Tory with 14 sons and one daughter (Mary Jones → Mary Jones Dunbar → Mary Jones Dunbar Minot, [Henry David Thoreau](#)'s maternal grandmother).

After the [Revolutionary War](#), 8 of these sons would be banished for loyalty to England, and all Jones property in the new United States of America would be confiscated. Two sons would be put in the Concord lockup as Tories, but they would escape when sympathizers smuggled them a file in their food. Thoreau would find it worthy of note that one of the other prisoners in the Concord lockup with his relatives was named Hicks. Find these American loyalists who would sacrifice everything, in the fresco by Brumidi on a wall of our federal capitol:



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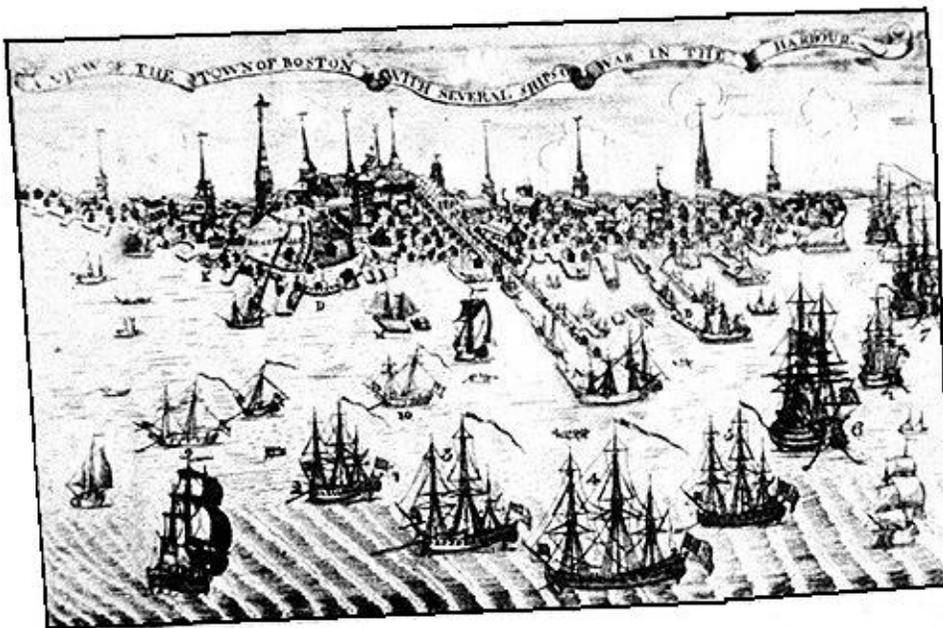
The manufacturer Florio, Gedney, and Potter of London removed the C# key from the footjoint of their [flute](#).

“Although Instructor A is responsible for 220+ young scholars, he has only one young assistant (himself just a year out of school). Meanwhile, in the same municipality, Instructor B oversees merely 76 young scholars and has a highly qualified and respected deputy — and yet he earns 20% more than Instructor A.”

(Is the above a description of the problem with higher education today? –No, the above is a description of the situation in the [Boston](#) public schools just prior to the [American Revolution](#). The teachers at the two “grammar” or “Latin” schools received more money, for teaching what the annual school surveys showed were fewer total students. Meanwhile the teachers at the three “writing” schools had massive enrollment lists and less support — Samuel Holbrook at the South Writing School had as his “usher” during the 1774/1775 school year a 14-year-old. Boston’s Latin schools have been well documented, we have graduates’ memoirs and reading lists. However, who can direct us to 1st-hand accounts or studies of what was going down in Boston’s writing schools? How did those teachers manage their large student bodies —through rotating schedules —or shortened days —or spotty attendance by the young scholars? What, besides the ubiquitous New England Primers, did they study from?)

January: “A View of the Town of [Boston](#) with several Ships of War in the Harbour” was prepared by Paul Revere as the frontispiece for The Royal American Magazine, a Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement. Revere based this engraving on his earlier engraving depicting the landing of British troops in October 1768. This should be available as a 13” x 20 1/2” reproduction in black and white on cover stock paper in a heavy mailing tube, from Historic Urban Plans, Inc., Box 276, Ithaca NY 14851 (607 272-MAPS), for roughly \$14.⁰⁰ inclusive of postage.

This was Revere’s Boston Harbor:



Colonel [Elisha Jones](#), maternal grandmother [Mistress Mary Jones Dunbar](#)’s wealthy father, a landowner and [slaveholder](#) in Newton, Massachusetts and an active Tory with 14 Tory sons, persuaded the town of Weston, Massachusetts to refrain from the Committees of Correspondence, and the Continental Congress, which were

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the precursor bodies of revolution.

[DUNBAR FAMILY](#)

It wasn't all that unusual for Americans of this period to be in favor of peace and of the seeking of mutual accommodation with the mother country. For instance, the construction of the [Quaker](#) school at Nine Partners northeast of Poughkeepsie, New York was being delayed for five years, between 1775 and 1780, merely because the Quakers sensed this [Revolutionary War](#) a-coming and were resolved that they were not about to place themselves under any obligation by soliciting funds from persons who might not be able to maintain, in the face of such a popular cause, an attitude of Quaker pacifism.

I'll task you to find these American pacifists in this fresco by Brumidi on a wall in our federal capitol:



Don't think of these continental congresses as innocuous. For instance, the 1st Continental Congress would not merely deal with weighty issues of freedom, but also would ban horseracing, the theater, and gaudy attire.

[CONTINENTAL CONGRESS](#)

May-September: The Intolerable Acts effectively required that [Boston](#) be closed as a port as of July 1st. This means that, although Massachusetts would not formally ban the African slave trade until the revolution and would allow the persistence of [slavery](#) despite its constitution of 1780 and despite the judicial determinations in the Quock Walker cases of 1781 and 1783, effectively its importation of black slaves ceased at this point.

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June: By this document a group of slaves from Massachusetts petitions the colonial governor General Thomas Gage, the Council, and the Massachusetts House of Representatives, asserting that they share in common with other men, a natural right to be free.

To his Excellency Thomas Gage Esq Captain General and Governor
in Chief in and over This Province
To the Honourable his Majestys Council and the Honourable House
of Representatives in General Court assembled may 25 1774
[Although the year looks a little like 1777, the heading, and
the fact that Gage was Governor between 1774-1775 would show



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that the date is 1774.]

The Petition of a Grate [Great] Number of Blackes of this Province who by divine permission are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of a free and Christian Country Humbly Shewing That your Petitioners apprehend we have in common With all other men a naturel [natural] right to our freedoms without Being depriv'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn Pepel [People] and have never forfeited this Blessing by aney [any] compact or agreement whatever. But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest frinds [friends] and others sum [some] of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents and from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land Thus are we deprived of every thing that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable, the endearing ties of husband and wife we are strangers to for we are no longer man and wife then our masters or Mestreses [Mistresses] thinkes [think] proper marred [married] or onmarred [unmarried]. Our Children are also taken from us by force and sent maney [many] miles from us wear [where] we seldom or ever see them again there to be made slaves of fore [for] Life which sumtimes [sometimes] is verey [very] short by Reson [reason] of Being dragged from their mothers Breest [Breast] Thus our Lives are imbittered to us on these accounts [Page 2]

By our deplorable situation we are rendered incapable of shewing our obedience to Almighty God how can a Slave perform the duties of a husband to a wife or parent to his child How can a husband leave master and work and Cleave to his wife How can the wife submit [theres?] [there?] themselves to there [their] Husbands in all things. How can the child obey thear [their] parents in all things. There is a grat [great] number of us Members Sencear [Sincere] thou [though] once [ov the?] members of Christs Church the Church of Christ how can the master and the Slave be said to fullfil [fulfill] that command Live in love let Brotherly Love contuner [continue] and abound Beare [Bear] yea onenothers [one another] Bordenes [Burdens] How can the master be said to Beare my Borden [Burden] when he Beares [Bears] me down, with the Have chanes [chains] of slavery and operson [oppression] aganst my will and How can we fullfill [fulfill] our parte [parte] of duty to him whilst in this Condition and as we cannot searve [serve] our god as we ought whilst in this situation Nither [Neither] can we reap an equal benefet [benefit] from the laws of the Land which doth not justifi [justify] but condemes [condemns] Slavery or if there had bin [been] aney [any] Law to hold us in Bondege [Bondage] we are Humbely [Humbly] of the opinon ther never was aney [any] to inslave our children for life when Born in a free Countrey [Country]. We therfor [therefore] Bage [Beg] your Excellency and Honours will give this it its deu [due] weight and consideration and that you will accordingly cause an act of the legislative to be pessed [passed] that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our Children be set at lebety [liberty] at the yeare of Twenty one for whoues [whose] sekas [sakes] more Petequeley



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[Particularly] your Petitioners is in Duty ever to Proy [Pray].

March/June: Parliament resolved to punish the recalcitrant colonial community of [Boston](#) by means of a series of Coercive Acts.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The legislature of Massachusetts argued out bills that would prohibit importation of any more black [slaves](#), finally achieving a consensus — but then these measures would fail to gain the assent of the governor.

Two bills designed to prohibit the importation of slaves fail of the governor's assent. First bill: GENERAL COURT RECORDS, XXX. 248, 264; MASS. ARCHIVES, DOMESTIC RELATIONS, 1643-1774, IX. 457. Second bill: GENERAL COURT RECORDS, XXX. 308, 322.

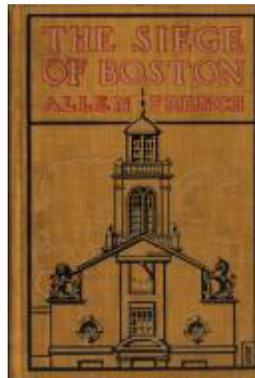
INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

March 31, Thursday: The Coercive Acts were passed by the British Parliament in an effort to exert control over England's colonies. The port of [Boston](#) was closed and the Massachusetts legislature was deprived of some of its authority.

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

For the implications of this closing of the port of Boston, read Concord resident Allen French's THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.



VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES



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April 27, Wednesday: [John Brown](#) was setting sail in [Newport](#) harbor to take his *Diana* up to [Providence, Rhode Island](#), along with two freighters containing 300 barrels of flour, when he was hailed by the *Rose*, Captain James Wallace. The *Diana* was boarded and he was transferred to the *Swan*, where the British shut him up in the ship's brig.

In [Boston](#), the British military officers had offered that anyone who turned in their private firearms would be allowed through the picket lines to escape the hardship of the siege. More than 2,000 muskets, rifles, and pistols were being turned in at Faneuil Hall.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 28, Thursday: [Moses Brown](#) and Joseph Brown rode from [Providence](#) to Roxbury, near [Boston](#). In the following week Joseph would travel from there west to [Concord](#), to bring his brother [John Brown](#)'s situation to the attention of the influential American insurgents who were centering there, while Moses would attempt to persuade the British military officers in the port to release their prize prisoner. Meanwhile, Governor Wanton of [Rhode Island](#) wrote Captain James Wallace, urging John's release. The British captain, however, was recording in his diary that the sloops he had seized in the [Newport](#) harbor were filled with cargo "bound to Providence for the rebel army" — clearly, he intended that not only that contraband but also the vessels themselves were going to be forfeit, and that he was going to treat his captive as in rebellion against the monarch, and that this privateering booty was going to make his personal fortune.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE BROWN BROTHERS

May 1, Sunday: The [Newport Mercury](#) reported the arrest of [John Brown](#):

Mr. Brown was sent off in one of the Packets, to be carried to Admiral Graves, at Boston, without having a single reason given for his being thus violently seized and carried out of this colony, contrary to all law, equity and justice.

RHODE ISLAND

At [Boston](#), [Moses Brown](#) was attempting to obtain his brother's release:

When Moses attempted to enter Boston on Monday, no arrangements had yet been made for passage into town. But Moses was pragmatic by nature and simply ignored what must have seemed an intractable impasse. he first located the officers in charge of the rebel army, explained his business, and obtained a permit to pass through the lines. At dusk, leading his horse by the reins, Moses ventured into the no-man's-land between the opposing forces on the Neck. Before him stood elaborate earthworks, burnished brass cannon, and scowling, red-coated sentries. Stepping toward the British position, he "sent in some of my letters and got the promise of return from some of the officers," as he recalled the episode in a letter years later. As the minutes passed, darkness fell on the Neck, and Moses realized he could no longer wait for an answer. He saw an officer decked out in gold braid and approached him from behind. It was a rash step, Moses recounted. "When he turned and saw me near





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he was so angry that he gave me such a blast as I never had or heard before." But Moses answered with an exercise of Quaker principles that seems borrowed from the annals of some Oriental martial discipline. "I stood and felt in a humble state of mind and as soon as he had left room for a word I replied to him in such a manner and with information of my message that he came down in mind as low as he was high before and in a very kind and gentle manner offered and did take a message." This was certainly an unusual adaptation of Quaker orthodoxy, but also a deliberate one. As Moses put it to Nicholas a week later, "I have seldom seen a patient, humble mind more needed nor more useful and as in proportion I have found this to be my state way was made for success." Indeed, moments after calming the officer he had startled at the fortified gate, Moses was escorted to a meeting with General Gage, becoming "the first man that entered Boston after the Lexington battle." ... In fact, Gage was being less than candid with Moses. The general had already decided to release John Brown, and wrote that day in a reply to Governor Wanton that "I don't ... see any reason for his detention." But he didn't mention that to Moses just yet, apparently hoping to use John's arrest as leverage to guarantee his cooperation. Instead, Gage scheduled another meeting for the next morning and dispatched a guard as an escort. Moses rode through the iron gates of Province House that night feeling optimistic for his brother's release, and for his peace plan as well.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 2, Monday: At [Boston](#), [Moses Brown](#) continued to petition General Gage for his brother [John Brown](#)'s release — quite unaware that the British authority had already decided that he would not be held:



Moses returned the next day to find that John's ship had arrived at Boston harbor but that he remained a prisoner. Moses met with Gage, who regaled him with insights into the proceedings of the first Continental Congress, still in session at Philadelphia. Gage was clearly toying with him — possibly to better gauge his political leanings — for he still did not divulge his plans for John, and sent Moses to speak with Adm. Samuel Graves, where he got "a rather cool reception." ... The admiral sent Moses under escort onto a flat skiff that rowed out into the harbor and up to the imposing bulk of Graves's flagship, the new fifty-gun frigate *Preston*. Once aboard, Moses was led between decks, where he found his brother tearful and distraught. John had heard no good news and seen no friendly faces since his arrest six days before. Whatever distance there was between the brothers was erased in that instant. "He was glad to see me as he ever was," Moses wrote later. ... Armed with Oliver's statement [Peter Oliver, chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, a Tory], Moses hurried back through the besieged city for a return visit to Graves. "When I went next to the admiral he appeared in quite a different state," Moses recounted, "and very kindly sent an officer with me to his barge to bring my brother on



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shore." Before John's release, however, there was a final audience with General Gage. There, Gage and Moses executed a scheme the two had apparently devised in the course of their meetings: as a condition of John's release, both the Brown brothers were to sign a pledge that they would lobby the General Assembly in Rhode Island to intercede between the patriots in Massachusetts and the British forces in Boston.

This, of course, contradicted John's clear record as rebel activist and his strong inclination to resist the mandates of the crown. But it fit nicely with Moses's effort to derail a revolution that was still gathering steam, and he was glad to enlist Gage in forcing John to speak for moderation. For John, forced to choose between freedom and a trial for treason, this was an easy decision: he signed without protest.

General Gage closed the deal with a flourish. He ordered that John's flour be returned to him along with an award for damages, that the *Abigail* and the *Diana* both be released from navy custody, and that Captain Wallace receive an official reprimand for arresting John Brown. Admiral Graves added a cheerful note, encouraging John to meet with Wallace personally to settle their differences, and the brothers were released that evening.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 13, Friday: Circular Letter of the [Boston](#) Committee of Correspondence.

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 17, Tuesday: Pugachev's forces captured Fort Magnitnaia (Magnitogorsk).

Carrying a much more aggressive colonial policy, General Thomas Gage arrived in [Boston](#) to take up the post of royal governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, replacing [Thomas Hutchinson](#) (this former royal governor would depart for England, where he would act as an adviser to King George III and the British ministry on American affairs, uniformly counseling moderation).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A former resident of the Caribbean island of Antigua named Jacob Schoemaker, a [slaveholder](#) who had for a time been living in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) off the earnings of a black father named Tom whom he had rented out, had died intestate. Tom, therefore, along with his wife and their four young children, had therefore by default become the property of the town. [Moses Brown](#) had therefore petitioned the town meeting, to set free this family of six. On this day an emergency meeting of the citizens was called to consider the new Boston Port Bill, which had closed the harbor of [Boston](#) pending reimbursement to the East India Company for the cargo of tea it had lost in the Boston Tea Party. Moses Brown managed to get the two issues, of freedom for Americans and of freedom for Tom and his family, tied together in the minds of the citizens attending the town meeting, by proclaiming how very "unbecoming" it would be for American freemen to be, simultaneously, American enslavers. The resolution voted therefore contained a clause, "and they do hereby give up all claim



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of right or property in them.” Going even beyond that particular, “Whereas the inhabitants of America are engaged in the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind, the deputies of the town are directed to use their endeavors to obtain an act of the General Assembly prohibiting the importation of Negro slaves into this colony; and that all Negroes born in the colony, should be free, after obtaining to a certain age.” This was the first such call by any assembly in the American colonies. The new Quaker, [Friend Moses](#), would soon be sitting down with the recently disowned Quaker, [Stephen Hopkins](#), to craft a bill banning the slave trade in Rhode Island, and this is the language which the two of them would come up with: “Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties ... as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no Negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free.”

[THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY](#)

[FREE PAPERS](#)

May 19, Thursday: Proceedings of Farmington, Connecticut, on the [Boston](#) Port Act.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

June 27, Monday: At a [Concord](#) town meeting, more than 300 residents signed a non-consumption covenant document pledging themselves to abstain from the consumption of items of commerce supplied through Great Britain:

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

“We the subscribers, inhabitants of the town of [Concord](#), having taken into our serious consideration the precarious state of the liberties of North America, and more especially the present distressed condition of this insulted province, embarrassed as it is by several acts of the British Parliament, tending to the entire subversion of our natural and charter rights; among which is the act for blocking up the harbour of [Boston](#): and fully sensible of our indispensable duty to lay hold of every means in our power, to preserve and recover the much injured constitution of our country; and conscious at the same time of no alternative between the horrors of slavery, and the carnage and desolation of a civil war, but a suspension of all commercial intercourse with the Island of Great Britain: do in the presence of God, solemnly, and in good faith, covenant and engage with each other:—

“1. That from henceforth we will suspend all commercial intercourse with the Island of Great Britain, until the said act for blocking up the said harbour be repealed, and a restoration of our charter rights be obtained.

“2. That there may be the less temptation to others to continue in the said now dangerous commerce, we do in like manner, solemnly covenant that we will not buy, purchase, or consume, or suffer any person by, for, or



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under us to buy, purchase, or consume, in any manner whatsoever, any goods, wares, or merchandise, which shall arrive in America from Great Britain from and after the last day of August next ensuing. And in order as much as in us lies, to prevent our being interrupted and defeated in this only peaceable measure, entered into for the recovery and preservation of our rights, we agree to break off all trade, commerce, and dealings whatsoever with all persons, who, preferring their own private interest to the salvation of their now perishing country, shall still continue to import goods from Great Britain, or shall purchase of those who shall import: arms, ammunition, and medicines for the sick only excepted.

"3. That such persons may not have it in their power to impose upon us by any pretence whatever, we further agree to purchase no article of merchandise from them or any of them, who shall not have signed this, or a similar covenant, or will not produce an oath, certified by a magistrate, to be by them taken to the following purport; viz. 'I, ___ of ___, in the county of ___, do solemnly swear, that the goods I have now on hand and propose for sale, have not, to the best of my knowledge, been imported from Great Britain into any part of America since the last of August, 1774; and that I will not, contrary to the spirit of an agreement entered into through this province, import, or purchase of any person so importing, any goods as aforesaid, until the port or harbour of [Boston](#) shall be opened, and we are restored to the freedom of our constitution and charter rights.'

"4. We agree that after this or a similar covenant has been offered to any persons, and they refuse to sign it or produce the oath aforesaid, we will consider them as contumacious importers, and withdraw all commercial connexion with them, so far as not to purchase any article whatever of merchandise imported from Great Britain.

"Provided nevertheless; notwithstanding the obligations which we have laid ourselves under by the above instrument, should there be a congress of the provinces on the continent, or the major part of them, to consult and advise suitable measures to be taken in this difficult and alarming day, which is already begun by the late House of Representatives, and the example is likely to be followed by the neighbouring governments; should said body, when convened, adopt measures, after deliberation, which they shall judge more salutary and safe for the whole community; then what has been signed above we hereby reserve liberty to disannul, and make void this present covenant upon our acceptance thereof. As witness our hands this 24th of June 1774."



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This covenant, copied partly from one sent from [Boston](#), was scrupulously regarded. It may well be supposed, that where proceedings like these were had, the attention of the people would be greatly awakened. If there were any "enemies of liberty," they might be easily detected. In a careful review of that period, however, I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] am astonished that so few arrayed themselves on the side of England in opposition to the wishes of the colonies. The whole town of [Concord](#), excepting two or three individuals, was a united family of "Sons of Liberty." The excitement, or rather the opposition to British oppression, gradually increased; and its progress from the year 1773 was uncommonly rapid. Petitions having been presented in vain for a redress of their grievances, the people began seriously to think of asserting their rights by an appeal to arms, should other means to accomplish their object fail. Such a crisis seemed then to be approaching; for England had already assumed a hostile attitude; large numbers of soldiers and munitions of war had arrived at [Boston](#); and the people had every indication that they were to be compelled into submission by military force.⁴

- July: In Alexandria, Virginia, [George Washington](#) co-authored, with George Mason, the Fairfax County Resolves, which protested the British "Intolerable Acts," punitive legislation passed by the British in the wake of the Boston Tea Party. The Resolves called for non-importation of British goods, support for [Boston](#), and the meeting of a Continental Congress.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

4. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

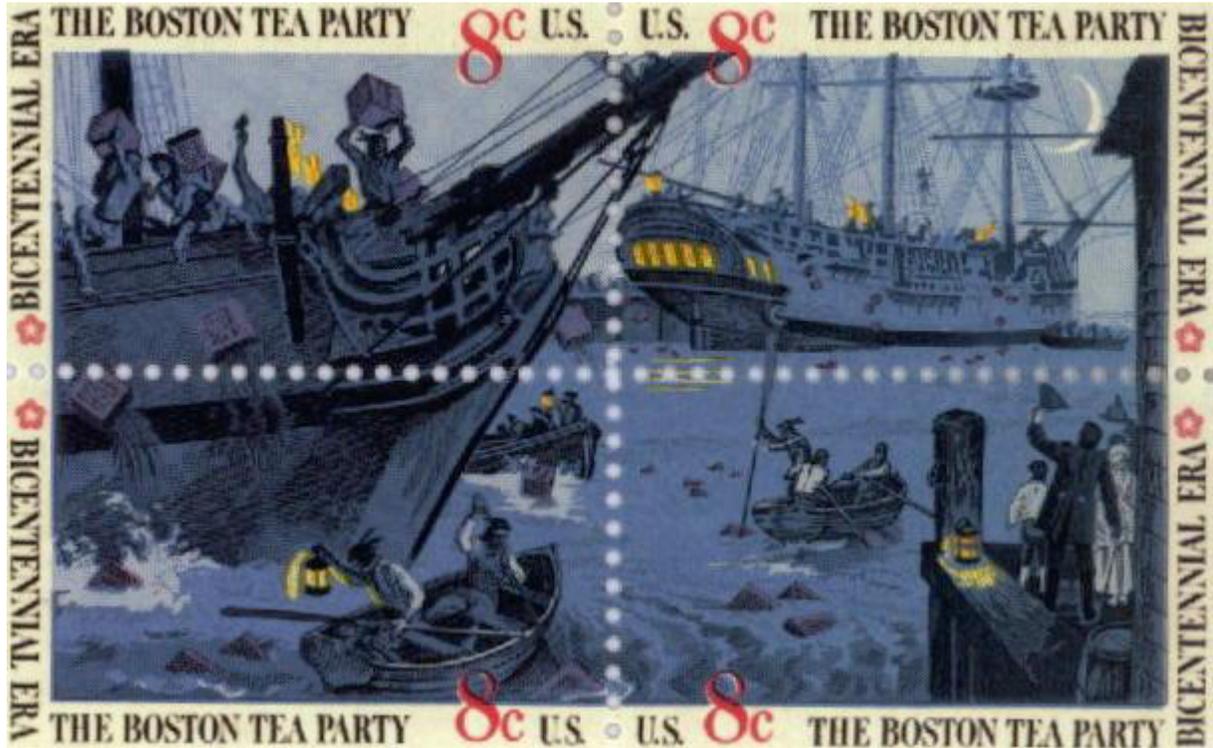
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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July 1, Friday: The British closed the port of [Boston](#) in implementation of the punishment enacted by Parliament in the Boston Port Bill for the “[tea party](#).”



As the blockade of the port continued to interrupt economic life, there came to be more and more needy families in Boston. However, despite food shortages and money shortages, the town had “plenty of English goods.”

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

The religious divisions which had plagued the town of [Concord](#) were settled, with the advent of the revolution, not by any progress in understanding but through the dissidents falling into disfavor in the town due to their continued support of the King of England.

At length, after several more unsuccessful attempts towards an accommodation, another mutual council was called, June, 1772, consisting of the First and Second churches in Rowley, the First in Hingham, the First in Newbury, the First in Stoughton, the First in Portsmouth, the Second in Shrewsbury, and the churches in Weymouth, Byfield, Groton, Milton, Upton, Haverhill, Newbury, and Newton. The pastor, Deacon Hunt, John Flint, James Barrett, Jr., Deacon Brown, and Amos Wood were chosen a committee to lay matters before the council. A public examination was had in the meeting-house. The result was generally acceptable. After this period little was said on the subject; and, the more immediate author of these difficulties having become unpopular with the friends of liberty, all was settled, on July 1, 1774, when the following vote was passed by the church:

“That inasmuch as our aggrieved brethren, Benjamin



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Wheeler and others, have for some considerable time withdrawn from our communion, on account chiefly of the non-admission of Mr. Joseph Lee into full communion, a draft of a confession was made, and several times read in church meeting, which, if the said Joseph Lee consented to by signing his name to the said confession, the church voted that it should be satisfactory to them, so as that they could receive him into their communion and fellowship. The aggrieved brethren, being informed that the church had passed the above mentioned vote, signified in church meeting that the difficulty in their minds was hereby removed, as to the church's former refusal of Mr. Joseph Lee's admission into full communion, so as that they could return to their duty, if there was no objection in the minds of the brethren on any other account. Upon which it was agreed on all sides, that, as it had been a day of temptation, there should be a mutual confession of our faults one to another, and that the brethren aggrieved should return to the communion and fellowship of the church, without any further being said or done."⁵

5. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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August 1, Monday: The [Reverend Joseph Priestley](#)'s EXPERIMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON DIFFERENT KINDS OF AIR disclosed that burning a candle in a closed container changes the quality of the atmosphere so the flame is extinguished. Animals placed in that environment quickly die. A living sprig of mint renews the air so a candle will once again burn. Today we know that the non-flammable air is carbon dioxide; growing a plant in such an environment replenishes the oxygen which is necessary to sustain life. On learning of his results, [Benjamin Franklin](#), a correspondent of Priestley's, would comment in a letter: "I hope this [rehabilitation of air by plants] will give some check to the rage of destroying trees that grow near houses, which has accompanied our late improvements in gardening from an opinion of their being unwholesome."⁶ The Reverend's other experiments during this decade would have to do with the properties of vegetables growing in light, and the properties of water and air. Through such experiments he would conclude that water is the basis for all air. Priestley would exchange data and specimens with Claude Louis Berthollet, Joseph Banks, Richard Kirwan, Peter Woulfe, and Karl Scheele. He would discuss his work with, among others, Matthew Boulton, James Keir, [James Watt](#), William Withering, and [Dr. Erasmus Darwin](#), contemporaries with whom he was meeting monthly at the Soho



House in a group known as the Lunar Society. These people thought big: through their discussions of pure and applied sciences, the Society intended to transform the face of England materially, socially, and culturally.

THE LUNAR SOCIETY OF BIRMINGHAM

In [Boston](#), the mode of government was altering in response to pressure from Great Britain, and it was anticipated that the Americans were not going to take something like this lying down:

In July the "Act for the better regulation of the government of Massachusetts Bay" was received in [Boston](#); in conformity to which the Mandamus Council and many other officers were appointed. This produced great excitement in the community and evil consequences were anticipated. The people seemed determined not to submit to an act so unconstitutional and oppressive. During this commotion an individual went secretly to Cambridge on the 1st of August, contrary to the unanimous wish of his fellow citizens, to inform some of the members of the Council, of the state of public feeling, and to put them on their guard against an attack from the people, which he thought likely to take place.⁷

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

6. This was a strange remark to be coming from [Franklin](#), since as a person responsible for city fire control he had expressed himself in opposition to the idea of people having any trees at all on their house lots and along the sidewalks in the city of Philadelphia — trees that might carry a house fire from one structure to another, trees that belonged out in the countryside.

7. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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August 30, Friday: Dr. Lemuel Shattuck has pointed out that although there were some historians who attempted to make out that the first American liberty convention was held not in Middlesex but in Suffolk, "this is undoubtedly erroneous ... Middlesex took the lead in these important proceedings."

Daniel Bliss, a supporter of the Crown, rose in the meeting of delegates to warn them that they were biting off more than they could chew, and would ultimately be humiliated through subjection to greater military force and harm. The [Concord](#) cabinetmaker, Joseph Hosmer, then rose and spoke in favor of revolution.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In August frequent meetings were held in [Concord](#) to consult on the proper measures to be pursued in those gloomy times. A county convention was also recommended, and it was invited to meet here at Concord on the last of the month. This convention, consisting of 150 delegates from every town in the county, held a session in Concord on the 30th and 31st of August. Messrs. Ephraim Wood, jr., John Flint, and Nathan Meriam were delegates from Concord; Mr. Samuel Farrar, Capt. Abijah Pierce, and Capt. Eleazer Brooks, from Lincoln; Messrs. Francis Faulkner, John Hayward, and Ephraim Hapgood, from Acton; Messrs. Stephen Davis, John Reed, John Moore, and John Webber, from Bedford; and from other towns, an able delegation. The Hon. James Prescott of Groton was chairman, and Mr. Ebenezer Bridge, clerk. The objects of the convention were brought forward, and discussed with great energy, talent, an most ardent patriotism; and a committee of nine were chosen to take them into consideration. They reported as follows:

It is evident to every attentive mind, that this Province is in a very dangerous and alarming situation. We are obliged to say, however painful it may be to us, that the question now is, whether by a submission to some late Acts of Parliament of Great Britain, we are contented to be the most abject slaves, and entail that slavery on posterity after us, or, by a manly, joint and virtuous opposition, assert and support our freedom. There is a mode of conduct, which, in our very critical circumstances, we would wish to adopt, - a conduct, on the one hand, never degenerating into rage, passion and confusion. This is a spirit which we revere, as we find it exhibited in former ages, and which will command applause to the latest posterity. The late Acts of Parliament pervade the whole system of jurisprudence, by which means we think the fountains of justice are fatally corrupted. Our defence must therefore be immediate in proportion to the danger. We must now exert ourselves, or all those efforts, which for ten years past have brightened the annals of this country, will be totally frustrated. LIFE and DEATH, or what is more, FREEDOM and SLAVERY, are in a peculiar sense now before us; and the choice and success, under God, depend greatly on ourselves. We are therefore bound, as struggling not only for ourselves, but for future generations, to express our sentiments in the following



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resolves - sentiments, which we think are founded in truth and justice, and therefore sentiments we are determined to abide by.

Resolved, 1. That as true and loyal subjects of our gracious Sovereign, George the Third, King of Great Britain, etc., we by no means intend to withdraw our allegiance from him; but, while permitted the free exercise of our natural and charter rights, are resolved to expend life and treasure in his service.

2. That when our ancestors emigrated from Great Britain charters and resolves and solemn stipulations expressed the conditions, and what particular rights they yielded, what each party had to do and perform; and what each of the contracting parties were equally bound by.

3. That we know of no instance in which this province has transgressed the rules on their part, or any ways forfeited their natural and charter rights to any power on earth.

4. That the Parliament of Great Britain has exercised a power contrary to the abovementioned charter by passing acts, which hold up their absolute supremacy over the colonists; by another act blocking up the harbour of [Boston](#), and by two late acts, the one entitled, "an Act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay;" the other entitled "an Act for the more impartial administration of justice in said province;" and by enforcing all these iniquitous acts with a large armed force to dragoon and enslave us.

5. That the late act of Parliament, entitled, "an Act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay," expressly acknowledges the authority of the charter granted by their Majesties, King William & Queen Mary, to said province; and that the only reasons, suggested In the preamble to said act, which is intended to deprive us of The privileges confirmed to us by said charter, are the inexpediency of continuing those privileges, and a charge of their having Been forfeited, to which charge the province has had no opportunity Of answering.

6. That a debtor may as justly refuse to pay his debts, because it is inexpedient for him, as the Parliament of Great Britain deprive us of our charter privileges, because it is inexpedient to a corrupt administration for us to enjoy them.

7. That in all free states there must be an equilibrium in the legislative body, without which constitutional check they cannot be said to be a free people.

8. That the late act, which ordains a council to be appointed by his Majesty, his heirs and successors from time to time, by warrant under His or their signet or



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sign manual, and which ordains that the said Counselors shall hold their offices respectively during the pleasure Of his Majesty, effectually alters the constitutional equilibrium, renders The council absolute tools and creatures, and entirely destroys the importance of the representative body.

9. That no state can long exist free and happy, where the course of Justice is obstructed; and that when trials by juries, which are the grand bulwarks of life and property, are destroyed or weakened, a people fall immediately under arbitrary power.

10. That the late act, which gives the governor of this province a power of appointing judges of the superior and inferior courts, commissioners of oyer and terminer, the attorney general, provosts, marshals and justices of the peace, and to remove all of them (the judges of the superior court excepted) without consent of the council, entirely subverts a free administration of justice - as the fatal experience of mankind in all ages has testified, that there is no greater species of corruption, than when judicial and executive officers depend for their existence and support on a power independent of the people.

11. That by ordaining jurors to be summoned by the sheriff only, which sheriff is to be appointed by the governor without consent of council, that security which results from a trial by our peers is rendered altogether precarious; and is not only an evident infraction upon our charter, but a subversion of our common rights as Englishmen.

12. That every people have an absolute right of meeting together to consult upon common grievances, and to petition, remonstrate, and use every legal method for their removal.

13. That the act which prohibits these constitutional meetings cuts away the scaffolding of English freedom, and reduces us to a most abject state of vassalage and slavery.

14. That it is our opinion these late acts, if quietly submitted to, will annihilate the last vestiges of liberty in this province, and, therefore, we must be justified by God and the world in never submitting to them.

15. That it is the opinion of this body, that the present act, respecting the government of the province, is an artful, deep-laid plan of oppression and despotism, that it requires great skill and wisdom to counteract it. This wisdom we have endeavoured to collect from the united sentiments of the county. And although we are grieved that we are obliged to mention



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anything, that may be attended with such very important consequences as may now ensue, yet a sense of our duty as men, as freemen, as Christian freemen, united in the firmest bonds, obliges us to resolve, that every civil office now in commission in this province, and acting in conformity to the late act of Parliament, is not an officer agreeable to our Charter, therefore unconstitutional, and ought to be opposed in the manner hereafter recommended.

16. That we will obey all such civil officers now in commission, whose commissions were issued before the first day of July, 1774, and support them in the execution of their offices according to the manner usual before the late attempt to alter the constitution of this province; Nay, even although the Governor should attempt to revoke their commissions. But that if any Of the said officers shall accept a commission under the present plan of arbitrary government, Or, in any way or manner whatever, assist the Governor or administration in the assault now Making on our rights and liberties, we will consider them as having forfeited their commissions And yield them no obedience.

17. That whereas the Honorable Samuel Danforth and Joseph Lee, Esqrs., two of the judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for this county, have accepted commissions under the new act by being sworn members of his Majesty's Council, appointed by said act: we therefore look upon them utterly incapable of holding any office whatever. And whereas a venire on the late act of Parliament has issued from the Court of Sessions, signed by the clerk, we think they come under a preceding resolve of acting in conformity to the new act: we therefore resolve that a sub-commission to courts thus acting and under these disqualifications, is a submission to the act itself, and of consequence, as we are resolved never to submit one iota to the act, we will not submit to courts thus constituted, and thus acting in conformity to said act.

18. That is, in consequence of the former resolve, all business at the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and Court of General Sessions of the Peace next to be holden at Concord must cease, to Prevent the many inconveniences that may arise therefrom: we resolve that all actions, writs, Suits, etc., brought to said court, ought to remain in the same condition as at present (unless Settled by consent of parties), till we know the result of a provincial and continental congress. And we resolve that no plaintiff, in any case, action, or writ aforesaid, ought to enter said action In said court thus declared to be unconstitutional. And we resolve, if the court shall sit in defiance to the voice of the county, and default actions, and issue executions accordingly,



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no Officer ought to serve such process. And we are also determined to support all constables, Jurors, and other officers, who from these constitutional principles shall refuse obedience to Courts which we have resolved are founded on the destruction of our charter.

19. That it is the opinion of this body of delegates that a provincial congress is absolutely necessary in our present unhappy situation.

These are sentiments which we are obliged to express, as these acts are intended *immediately* to take place. We must now either oppose them, or tamely give up all we have been struggling for. It is this that has forced us so soon on these very important resolves. However, we do it with humble deference to the provincial and continental congress, by whose resolutions we are determined to abide; and to whom, and the world, we cheerfully appeal for the uprightness of our conduct. On the whole, these are 'great and profound questions.' We are grieved to find ourselves reduced to the necessity of entering into the discussion of them. But we deprecate a state of slavery. Our fathers left a fair inheritance to us, purchased by a waste of blood and treasure. This we Are resolved to transmit equally fair to our children after us. And if in support of our rights We are called to encounter even death, we are yet undaunted, sensible that he can never die too Soon, who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberties of his country.

The causes of the opposition to the mother country, and the then state of the controversy, are Clearly brought to view in these important proceedings. They were not mere paper resolves, To remain a dead letter, but were to be rules of *action*: and they were executed! The question On their acceptance, after being "maturely deliberated," was taken by yeas and nays; 146 were in favor, and 4 in opposition. An additional vote, recommending a "provincial meeting," to assemble in [Concord](#), on the 1st Tuesday of October, was passed; and another, to transmit these proceedings to the several towns and to the Continental Congress. On the same day, a county convention was held in Worcester, and, nine days after, one in Suffolk, for similar objects.⁸

8. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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September 5, Monday: [Captain James Cook](#)'s ship *Resolution* dropped anchor at New Caledonia.

Pursuing Russian troops caught up to the forces of Pugachev south of Tsaritsyn (Volgograd). The surviving rebels scattered in flight (although Pugachev escaped, effectively this ended the rebellion).

The 1st Continental Congress began in Philadelphia (to October 26th). All the North American colonies except Georgia were represented. Peyton Randolph of Virginia was elected president. [George Washington](#) was a delegate.



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The daily proceedings as intended for public dissemination would be kept by the office of its secretary, Charles Thomson, and printed contemporaneously. (A set of "Secret Journals" would be held from the American public until 1821.)

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS



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T H E

ASSOCIATION, &c.

WE, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Delegates of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Three Lower Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, deputed to represent them in a continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed, and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs, is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British Ministry



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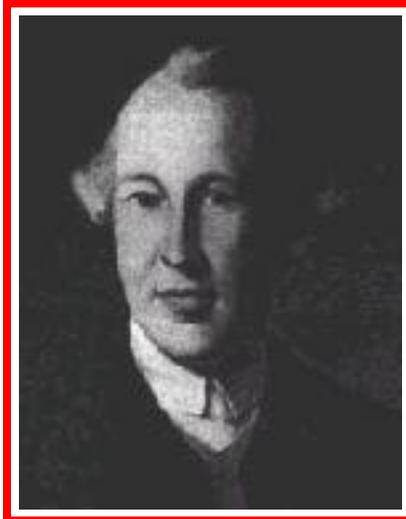
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October 11, Tuesday: The First Provincial Congress of 300 delegates and clerks from various points in Massachusetts assembled in [Concord](#). The good news is, they were going to sit down and talk to one another for a week. The bad news was, what they were going to talk about was the killing of a whole bunch of English. The courthouse being too small to contain such ambitious plans, they held their meetings in the Parish Meeting House, dedicated to God. John Hancock, a [Boston](#) smuggler, was elected the President of this Congress. They created a Committee of Safety (Messrs. Hancock, Orne, Heath, White, Palmer, Watson, Devens, and Pigeon) and a Committee of Supplies (Messrs. Cheever, Lincoln, Lee, Gerry, and Gill), and began a militia of “minutemen” who pledged “to hold ourselves in readiness at a minute’s warning with arms and ammunition.” –No matter what you may have thought after seeing that famous statue, they were not termed minutemen because they were shorter than their flintlocks!

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General Thomas Gage and his brother-in-law Major Stephen Kemble, the army’s Chief Intelligence Officer, had cut a cash deal with Dr. Benjamin Church, a member of the Provincial Congress and Committee of Safety who was maintaining an expensive mistress, to provide them with information as to the activities of the rebellious colonials ([General George Washington](#) would find out about Dr. Church by way of this mistress and the doctor would die in a shipwreck on his way to exile). While the Provincial Congress was meeting in Concord, although its members were sworn to secrecy, Dr. Church would be providing regular summaries of the proceedings to General Gage. Not only would the army have a secret surveillance system to monitor colonial activities, but also the [Boston](#) rebels under Dr. Joseph Warren would have an elaborate spy network to monitor the activities of the army. We suspect that the wife of the Royal Governor, Mistress Margaret Kemble Gage, since she was born in America, may have been more or less sympathetic with the rebels.



The Provincial Congress met here, Oct. 11th, which was an important event. The delegates from [Concord](#) were Capt. James Barrett, Mr. Samuel Whitney, and Mr. Ephraim Wood, jr.; from Bedford, Mr. Joseph Ballard, and John Reed, Esq.; from Acton, Messrs. Josiah Hayward, Francis Faulkner, and Ephraim Hapgood; and from Lincoln, Capt. Eleazer Brooks, Mr. Samuel Farrar, and Capt. Abijah Pierce. The whole number of members was 288; and it was in all respects a most important assembly. The Hon. John Hancock of [Boston](#) was chosen President and Mr. Benjamin Lincoln,



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Secretary. The meeting was first held in the old court-house, but that being too small to convene so large an assembly, it was adjourned to the meeting-house. The Rev. William Emerson, by invitation of the Congress, officiated as chaplain. Two sessions, one at nine and the other at three o'clock were held each day. The state of public affairs was taken into consideration, and an address to Gov. Gage agreed upon; but it was unavailing, and did not accomplish its intended object. After remaining in session till the 15th, the Congress adjourned to Cambridge,⁹ probably for a more easy communication with the capital.¹⁰

9. The records in the Secretary's office give the following account of the different Congresses:—

First Congress.

Convened at Salem, October 7, 1774; adjourned the same day.
Convened at [Concord](#), Tuesday October 11; adjourned Saturday 15th, same month.
Convened at Cambridge, Monday October 17th; adjourned Saturday 29th, same month
Convened at Cambridge Wednesday, November 23d; dissolved Saturday, Dec. 10th.

Second Congress.

Convened at Cambridge, Wednesday Feb. 1, 1775; adjourned Thursd. 16th same month.
Convened at [Concord](#), Tuesday March 22; adjourned Saturday 15th, April.
Convened at [Concord](#), Saturday, April 22; adjourned same day.
Convened at Watertown, Monday April 24; dissolved May 29th.

Third Congress.

Convened at Watertown, May 31, 1775; dissolved July 19th.

10. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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1775

Colonel [Elisha Jones](#), a wealthy landowner and [slaveholder](#) of Weston, Massachusetts, was an active Tory with



14 sons and one daughter ([Mary Jones](#) -> [Mary Jones Dunbar](#) -> [Mary Jones Dunbar Minot](#), Thoreau's grandmother).

[DUNBAR FAMILY](#)

**THOREAU WAS
"CLEAR JONES"
IN ONE RESPECT
AT LEAST ...**

After the [Revolutionary War](#), 8 of these sons would be banished for loyalty to England, and the Jones estates in Weston would be confiscated. Two sons who were in the Concord lockup as Tories escaped with a variant of the old "file baked in the cake" trick. Later, [Henry Thoreau](#) would consider it worthy of note, that one of the prisoners who had been in the Concord lockup with his relatives was named Hicks.

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The man named Hicks in [GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#) mouth who had been traveling on the *Polly* with Doctor Josiah Jones of Hinsdale NH and who had been taken prisoner along with him by the captain, as men suspected of Tory sympathies, to be delivered to the Committee of Safety of Arundel ME.

[Arundel is now named Kennebunkport. This Hicks prisoner could not have been John Hicks of Rockaway LI, the father of Elias and of Elias's five brothers Samuel, Jacob, John, Stephen, and Joseph, because that Hicks had become a convinced Friend, that is, a convert to Quakerism, a few years before the birth of Elias in 1748 and in 1774 he would have been 63. It could not have been any of Elias's brothers, or the biographies of Elias would have noted this. During the Revolution, six Friends attempted to cross from the mainland to *Paumanok*

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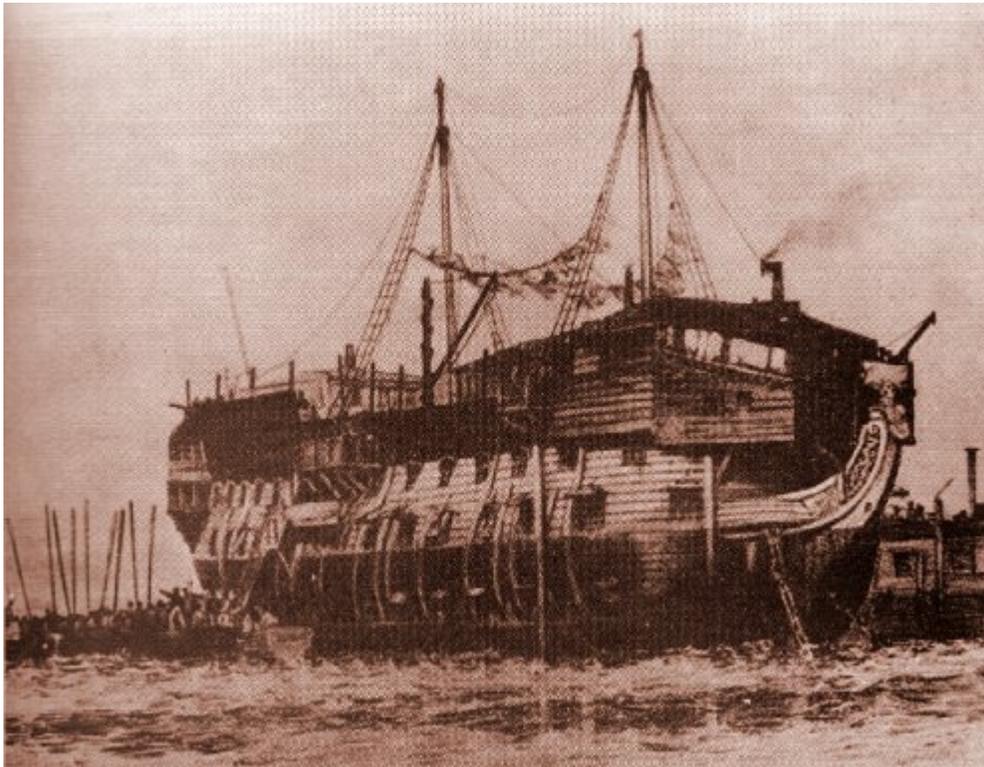
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“Long Island” to attend [Yearly Meeting](#) and were intercepted by the British, but they were kept aboard one of



the prison hulks the British anchored off the Narrows and this was not until the late spring of 1777 whereas



what we are presently considering is the lockup in Concord MA *circa* 1775. When the British and their Hessian troops went through the port of New York for transportation at the end of the active fighting, 1,004 Quaker loyalists made an escape without their American property to the Maritime Provinces of Canada and among these 1,004 at least 6 families were named Hicks. As heads of families or as individual unattached males, there were John Hicks and Charles Hicks who were descendants of Elias Hicks's great-grandfather Thomas Hicks, who was not a Quaker and in fact held the office of Sheriff which a Quaker cannot hold (these two emigrated to Annapolis County), and there were Oliver Hicks who emigrated to Digby, Sylvester Hicks who emigrated



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to Granville Township, Gilbert Hicks who emigrated to New Brunswick, and Samuel Hicks who emigrated to the Maritimes. Perhaps it was one of these men who was in the Concord lockup and participated with Thoreau's two loyalist Jones ancestors in making their dramatic but nonviolent jailbreak, but there doesn't seem to be any particular reason to suppose that this Hicks might have been directly related to the family of Friend [Elias Hicks](#) or even, were he related, that he might have been a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) imprisoned because of a refusal to participate in warfare. There is no more reason to speculate here, than there is to fancy a connection between the Quaker painter [Edward Hicks](#) who was limning so many Peaceable Kingdoms On God's Sacred Mountain and the William Hicks who would daub the *marchés*



Planning a Peaceable Kingdom on God's Holy Mountain

d'Ossoli in Rome. There doesn't seem to be anything to do with this mention in [Thoreau](#)'s journal, other than to use it as a demonstration that Thoreau was sensitive to the name Hicks, a fact for which no explanation has been offered other than his familiarity with the testimony of Friend Elias. The new stone Middlesex County jail in which Thoreau was to be kept overnight was not built until 1797, and had nothing whatever to do with the old wooden jail of Concord town, which had been nearly opposite the present library and near the old cemetery.]



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[Charles Town](#)'s population was estimated at 12,000.

William Johnston, a farmer, shopkeeper, and ammunition manufacturer, served in the Provincial Capital Congress of [North Carolina](#) and helped underwrite the explorations of Daniel Boone, who during this August would be escorting his wife Rebecca and their daughter to Boonesborough. They were, except for a few women who had been captured by Indians, the first white women in Kentucky, and their arrival may therefore be interpreted as marking the first permanent settlement there. The plan to establish the 14th colony failed, however, and Kentucky was made a county of Virginia. Boone became a captain in the county's militia and a leader in defending Boonesborough against the Indians.



Several free African-Americans from the [Durham](#) vicinity would fight in the [Revolutionary War](#).

According to [Henry Thoreau](#)'s early biographer [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#), what Thoreau said of Simeon Jones in the following journal extract was true rather of Josiah Jones and of Doctor Hicks, that Simeon was not thrown in jail until after his brother Josiah had already escaped. Sanborn also pointed out that it is quite unlikely that the prisoners were in fear of being deliberately poisoned and more likely that they were trying to cope with disgusting, possibly tainted, and nutritionally inadequate prison fare.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Since the attorney Peter Prescott of [Concord](#) removed to Nova Scotia some time before the American revolution, and there would serve as clerk of one of the courts, he may well have been one of the local Tories here mentioned by Thoreau:



ELISHA JONES

After May 26, 1849: Col. Elisha Jones was the owner & inhabitant of an estate in Weston Mass before the Revolution. He was a man of standing & influence among his neighbors. He was a tory. He had 14 sons & 1 daughter viz Nathan Daniel Ephraim, Israel Elias Josiah Simeon –Elisha Stephen –Charles Edward Silas – Philemon, Jonas –& –Mary 8th child.– Simeon was confined in Concord jail 4 months & a fortnight His sister

CONCORD





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Mary brought every meal he had from Weston— He was afraid he might be poisoned else— 17th June '75 she brought over ripe cherries in her chaise— There was a Hicks & one more imprisoned with him. They secreted knives furnished them with their food sawed the grates off & escaped to Weston. Hid in the cider mill. Mary heard they were in the mill put on her riding hood—was frightened—somebody had told her that they had seen 3 blackbirds hid that day somewhere—met Cicero did not know her. took old Baldwin's the sheriff's horse who took him up from lower part of Weston & went to Portland pawned him for 2 bushels of potatoes—wrote back to Baldwin where he'd find his horse by paying charges. All but 3 of the Tories went abroad to England—Canada & New-Brunswick Nova Scotia and Maine— 4 settled in one town Sissiboo now called Weymouth— One at Goldsborough on Frenchmans Bay.— Nathan the oldest son went to Goldsborough.

LOUISA DUNBAR

Mary Dunbar widow of Asa Dunbar (first a minister of the 1st church in Salem afterward a lawyer in Keene—) with her 3 children Sophia aged 14—Louisa 10—& Cynthia 8, health failing went from Keen to visit her Brother Nathan at Frenchman's Bay—& her brothers Josiah—Elisha Simeon Stephen—at Sissiboo. She took passage in the fall of '95 in a 90 ton wood sloop with a crew of 3 men beside the Capt. Sloop going down empty. She had lost her sails coming up—not sea worthy— she had fallen down into the stream bending her sails— were put aboard Saturday afternoon by a boat, found her down in the stream. Sunday fine weather but sick— Were all in berths at midnight Sunday. struck Matinicus rock. They went at sundown—from Boston to Goldsborough hands said they had touched every rock between B. & G. Cried all hands on deck. Water came in so fast as to wet her before they got up on deck.— She exclaimed Capt where are we— “God almighty only knows for I dont! The Capt was pulling a rope *{illegible letters}*”

Two sons were put in the [Concord](#) lockup as Tories, but they escaped using a variant of the old “file baked in the cake” trick. Later, Thoreau would consider it worthy of note, that one of the other prisoners in the Concord lockup with his relatives was named Hicks. The Hicks in the jail was presumably the Doctor Jonathan Hicks of Plymouth who had been traveling on the *Polly* with Doctor Josiah Jones of Hinsdale NH and who had been taken prisoner along with him by the captain, as men suspected of Tory sympathies, to be delivered to the Committee of Safety of Arundel ME.¹¹

A British army officer described [Concord](#) in the following manner: “There is a river that runs through it, with two bridges over it. In summer the river is pretty dry. The town is large, and contains a church, gaol, and court-house, but the houses are not close together, but in little groups.”

During the American Revolution there were some Americans who considered it necessary to guard the shoreline of the mainland, and [Nantucket Island](#), against seizure of property by British foraging parties based on [Aquidneck Island](#) in [Narragansett Bay](#). We don't know how effective this fighting was in protecting American property from the British, but Quakers of course refused to contribute to the cost of such protection, and therefore there were 496 cases of seizure of the goods of peace-testimony Quakers in [Rhode Island](#) by local revolutionary authorities. In 1778 the property thus distrained from members of New England [Yearly Meeting](#) by local American authorities amounted to £2,473, while in 1779 the total distraint rose to £3,453. For instance, here are some of the revolutionary seizures made of property of ancestors of [Quaker](#) families of [Providence](#) monthly meeting:

- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized a dictionary belonging to Friend Thomas Lapham, Jr. of [Smithfield](#).
- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized 5 pairs of women's shoes belonging to Friend Paul Green of [East Greenwich](#).
- In 1776, local revolutionary authorities would seize the fire tongs of Friend Stephen Hoxsie of [South Kingstown](#), as he was the guardian of John Foster but John had not mustered during an alarm.
- Between 1777 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 7 cows, 5 heifers, and 2 table cloths belonging to Friend Simeon Perry of South Kingstown.



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- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize a mare worth £30 belonging to Friend John Foster of South Kingstown.

11. Arundel is now named Kennebunkport. This Hicks prisoner could not have been John Hicks of Rockaway LI, the father of Elias and of Elias's five brothers Samuel, Jacob, John, Stephen, and Joseph. He had become a convinced Friend, that is, a convert, a few years before the birth of Elias in 1748 and in 1774 he would have been 63. It could not have been any of Elias's brothers, or the biographies of Elias would have noted this. During the Revolution, six Friends attempted to cross from the mainland to *Paumanok* "Long Island" to attend [Yearly Meeting](#) and were intercepted by the British, but they were kept aboard one of the prison hulks the British anchored off the Narrows and this was not until the late spring of 1777 whereas what we are presently considering is the lockup in Concord MA *circa* 1775. When the British and their Hessian troops went through the port of New York for transportation at the end of the active fighting, 1,004 Quaker loyalists made an escape without their American property to the Maritime Provinces of Canada and among these 1,004 at least 6 families were named Hicks. As heads of families or as individual unattached males, there were John Hicks and Charles Hicks who were descendants of [Elias Hicks's](#) great-grandfather Thomas Hicks, who was not a Quaker and in fact held the office of Sheriff which a Quaker cannot hold (these two emigrated to Annapolis County), and there were Oliver Hicks who emigrated to Digby, Sylvester Hicks who emigrated to Granville Township, Gilbert Hicks who emigrated to New Brunswick, and Samuel Hicks who emigrated to the Maritimes. Perhaps it was one of these men who was in the Concord lockup and participated with Thoreau's two loyalist Jones ancestors in making their dramatic but nonviolent jailbreak, but there doesn't seem to be any particular reason to suppose that this Hicks might have been directly related to the family of Elias or even, were he related, that he might have been a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) imprisoned because of a refusal to participate in warfare. There is no more reason to speculate here, than there is to fancy a connection between the painter Edward Hicks who was limning so many Peaceable Kingdoms On God's Sacred Mountain and the William Hicks who would daub the *marchesa d'Ossoli* in Rome. There doesn't seem to be anything to do with this mention in Thoreau's journal, other than to use it as a demonstration that Thoreau was sensitive to the name Hicks, a fact for which no explanation has been offered other than his familiarity with the testimony of Friend Elias. The new stone Middlesex County jail in which [Henry Thoreau](#) was to be kept overnight was not built until 1797, and had nothing whatever to do with the old wooden jail of Concord town, which had been nearly opposite the present library and near the old cemetery.





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- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize 3 felt hats belonging to Friend John Carey of [East Greenwich](#).
- In 1780, local revolutionary authorities would seize a silver porringer belonging to Friend Isaac Lawton of [Portsmouth](#).
- Between 1780 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 29 boxes of spermaceti candles, 20 yards of white linen sheeting, 14 yards of kersey, 16 sides of sole leather, a 3-year-old heifer, and 2 stacks of hay belonging to Friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#).
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 9 sheep and 2 steers belonging to Friend Amos Collins of South Kingstown.
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 2 ox chains and an ax belonging to Friend George Kinyan of [Rhode Island](#), because he had not been appearing at militia trainings.

In addition to property seizures, in three cases a Quaker man who refused to participate in militia activities would be jailed. One of these men was Friend David Anthony of [East Greenwich](#). In each case the Friends would conduct an investigation to determine whether the person had acted in the spirit and manner of Friends, and if he had, would go to the General Assembly at [Providence](#) to petition the “tender consciences” of the lawgivers for his freedom.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Not all [Rhode Island](#) Quakers refused to participate in the civil unrest of the period but those who did participate in any way were always rigorously and promptly [disowned](#). Between 1775 and 1784, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would disown a total of 147 Quakers who had become involved in one way or another with the civil disruption. Among those [disowned](#) was, upon his own request, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#). (Less tolerance, in fact, was shown for those who deviated from the Peace Testimony than for those Friends who continued to hold slaves.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

The [Reverend Elihu Spencer](#) and the [Reverend Alexander McWhorter](#), who had in 1766 attempted to persuade irregular congregations in [North Carolina](#) to affiliate with the Presbyterian church organization, returned to western [North Carolina](#) at the invitation of its Provincial Congress to attempt to persuade loyalist congregations to join in the revolutionary cause.

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Although he wasn't exactly the first American 10-lost-tribes-of-Israel theorist (Dan Vogel's "INDIAN ORIGINS AND THE BOOK OF MORMON" has an extensive appendix of such theorists), in this year [James Adair](#) put out a THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS; PARTICULARLY THOSE NATIONS ADJOINING THE MISSISSIPPI, EAST AND WEST FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH AND [NORTH CAROLINA](#), AND VIRGINIA: CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN, LANGUAGE, MANNERS, RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL CUSTOMS, LAWS, FORM OF GOVERNMENT, PUNISHMENTS, CONDUCT IN WAR AND DOMESTIC LIFE, THEIR HABITS, DIET, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, DISEASES AND METHODS OF CURE, AND OTHER PARTICULARS, SUFFICIENT TO RENDER IT A COMPLETE INDIAN SYSTEM.

PERUSE AN EXTRACT

READ THE ENTIRE BOOK

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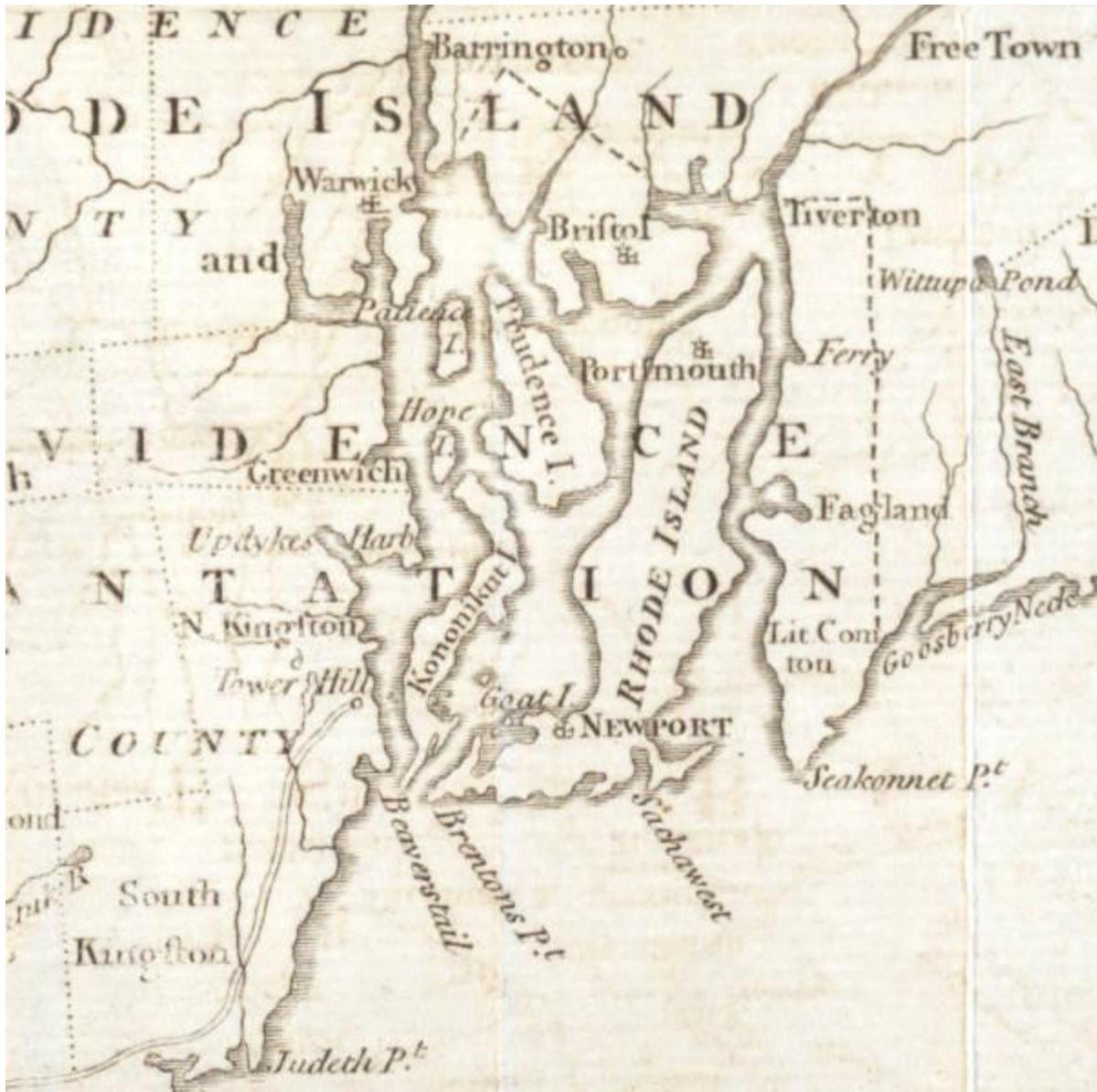
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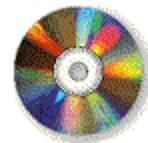
WITH OBSERVATIONS ON FORMER HISTORIANS, THE CONDUCT OF OUR COLONY GOVERNORS, SUPERINTENDENTS, MISSIONARIES, &C. ALSO AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF THE FLORIDAS, AND THE MISSISSIPPI LANDS, WITH THEIR PRODUCTIONS — THE BENEFITS OF COLONISING GEORGIANA, AND CIVILIZING THE INDIANS — AND THE WAY TO MAKE ALL THE COLONIES MORE VALUABLE TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY. WITH A NEW MAP OF THE COUNTRY REFERRED TO IN THE HISTORY. BY JAMES ADAIR, ESQUIRE, A TRADER WITH THE INDIANS, AND RESIDENT IN THEIR COUNTRY FOR FORTY YEARS (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, in the Poultry) that would become one of the more influential treatises of [American Exceptionalism](#). This would be followed in 1816 by Elias Boudinot's STAR IN THE WEST and in about 1820 by Ethan Smith's VIEWS OF THE HEBREWS (many have presumed that Smith's book, the most exclusively religious of these texts, must have influenced Joseph Smith's BOOK OF MORMON, but this is problematic), and then by [Josiah Priest](#)'s AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES. Adair was a sort of frontier white outlaw who had gone native and become Leatherstocking, and in his pseudo-anthropological text he made not only an extensive underinformed comparison between Israelite and Indian languages, but also a comparison of torture techniques, and of eating customs, and of religious beliefs — such as he knew about or supposed he knew about. [Thomas Jefferson](#) and John Adams would correspond about Adair, dissing his religious theories but allowing themselves to be influenced by his disclosures about the American natives, some of which he apparently made up because he was so utterly convinced that they were really Israelites. James Fenimore Cooper would rely upon this crap and would feature a 10-tribes theorist in his 1848 novel OAK OPENINGS.

In spite of the fact that both slaves and free men served at Lexington and [Concord](#), the colonists would become increasingly reluctant to have any blacks serving in their Army. The Council of War, under [George Washington](#)'s leadership, unanimously rejected the enlistment of slaves and, by a large majority, opposed their recruitment altogether. The Continental Congress decided that the revolutionary army would be a pure white-men-only segregated army. However, the British governor of [Virginia](#), deciding against such a racist policy, extended an offer of freedom to all male [slaves](#) who joined his loyalist forces. The eager response of many slaves to Lord Dunmore's invitation would gradually compel these pure-white colonists to reconsider their stand. Disregarding the instructions of the Continental Congress, therefore, our General Washington eventually would be forced to allow his recruiters to accept the enlistment of free black male Americans. Although many of these white Americans felt that the arming of their slaves was inconsistent with the principles for which their forces were fighting, the colonies with the exceptions of Georgia and South Carolina eventually would be recruiting slaves as well as freedmen. In most cases, such slaves would in fact be granted freedom at the end of their military service. During the war some 5,000 blacks would serve in the Continental Army, the vast majority of these blacks coming from the Northern colonies.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



— Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

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June 15, Thursday: While serving as delegate to the 2d Continental Congress, [George Washington](#) was appointed commander in chief of American armed forces.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly ordered the local Committee of Safety to fit out two ships to defend the colony's shipping, and appointed a committee of three to obtain vessels. The new committee immediately chartered the sloop [Katy](#), that had been one of [John Brown](#) of [Providence](#)'s "negreros," and the sloop [Washington](#). The General Assembly appointed Abraham Whipple, who had won a certain amount of local recognition in the burning of the armed schooner HMS *Gaspee* in 1772, as the commander of the larger ship, [Katy](#), and as commodore of the two-ship fleet. At about 6PM, the [Katy](#), Captain Abraham Whipple (for whom Whipple Street in [Providence](#) would be named), and the [Washington](#), attacked a British patrol ship, the [Diana](#), off [Jamestown](#) on Conanicut Island in Narragansett Bay. When the powder chest of the British exploded, the crew beached their vessel just north of Jamestown and fled into the woods. The Americans seized the [Diana](#) and took it to [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).

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July: [General George Washington](#), who in this month was in Cambridge, Massachusetts assuming command over the main American army besieging the British army of occupation of the port of Boston, ordered (and then the Continental Congress in Philadelphia confirmed) that no more Americans of color were to be allowed to participate in our revolution. We are not an equal opportunity employer as that might be unbearably offensive to our white Southron brothers!



CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

However, those black Americans already enlisted might be suffered to remain in service to his Continental formations.¹² There were already persons of color among the Minutemen of Massachusetts, and thus we saw some swarthy faces among the whites of the militia at the fights in Lexington and Concord:

- Peter Salem, who had been the slave of the Belknaps in Framingham MA but had been [manumitted](#) expressly that he might enlist in the militia
- Pompy or Pomp Blackman of Braintree
- Cato Wood of Arlington
- Prince of Brookline
- Prince Estabrook, belonging to Benjamin Wellington of Lexington, one of those wounded on Lexington common

12. After some debate over whether the commander-in-chief had intended to exclude all blacks on the basis of race, or only [slaves](#) on the basis of status, the consensus became that he must of course have meant to exclude all blacks on the basis of race.

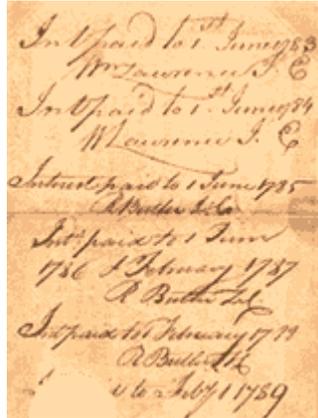


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Here is the certificate provided to one such soldier of color, Juba Freeman of Connecticut:



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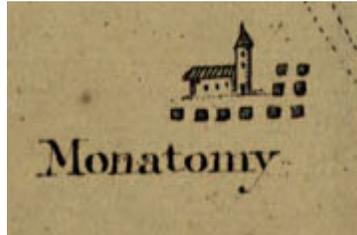
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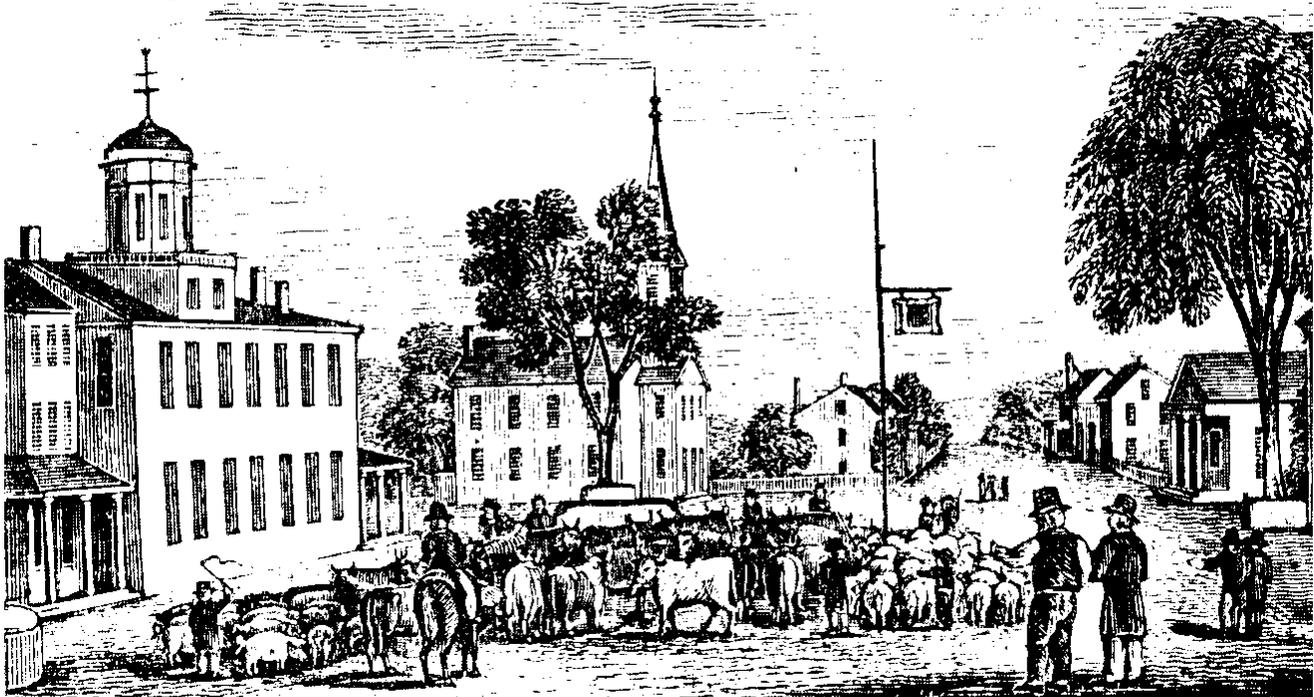
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The citizens of Menotomy voted to abstain from use of that “detestable herb” (tea) and committees were set up in all neighborhoods to ensure that this patriotic resolve was faithfully adhered to.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Jonathan Winship and his son Jonathan founded the Little Cambridge Cattle Market to provision General Washington and his Continental Army, which was headquartered in Cambridge. The Winship slaughterhouse was located near the intersection of Chestnut Hill Avenue and Academy Hill Road. From this beginning grew the renowned Brighton Cattle Show and Fair and the neighborhood’s nearly two centuries as a venue for doing chop-chop.



Speaking of doing chop-chop, a company of Massachusetts soldiers, on their way to [Québec](#) to kill people, passed through Newburyport. The tomb of [George Whitefield](#) was entered and the corpse within was examined by Benedict Arnold in the company of other revolutionary officers, along with their chaplain. They cut pieces from the clerical collar and wristbands, for the troops to carry along with them for good luck and God’s blessing upon their errand. (Presumably they would have taken his ears and nose as well, had they been in good shape — a good-luck charm is a good-luck charm, as any rabbit might inform you.) Recently I saw a kiddie schoolbook that pointed this up as an instance of how “religion helped sustain patriotism.” This history text went on to request of its tender readers that we attempt to “comprehend the importance of religion” in the lives

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of such people, and not simply dismiss this sort of activity as “ghoulish.”¹³

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS



Tobias Mayer mapped the visible surface of the moon.

CARTOGRAPHY
ASTRONOMY

In Florence, Grand duke Pietro Leopoldo established the Royal Museum of Physics and Natural History (La Specola). Unlike many older natural history repositories, this institution would admit any visitor — at least, of course, anyone meeting the museum’s standards for dress and hygiene.

THE SCIENCE OF 1775

PALEONTOLOGY

In approximately this timeframe, Benjamin West closed his store in Providence, Rhode Island and began to make revolutionary war uniforms.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE NEW-ENGLAND ALMANACK FOR 1775. By Benjamin West. Providence: John Carter.

It contains “A brief view of the present controversy between

13.It’s almost enough to make me believe in the separation of church and state! Here’s a POP ESSAY QUESTION. In terms of the above, define and provide synonyms for the term “religious”:



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Great Britain and America, with some observations thereon."

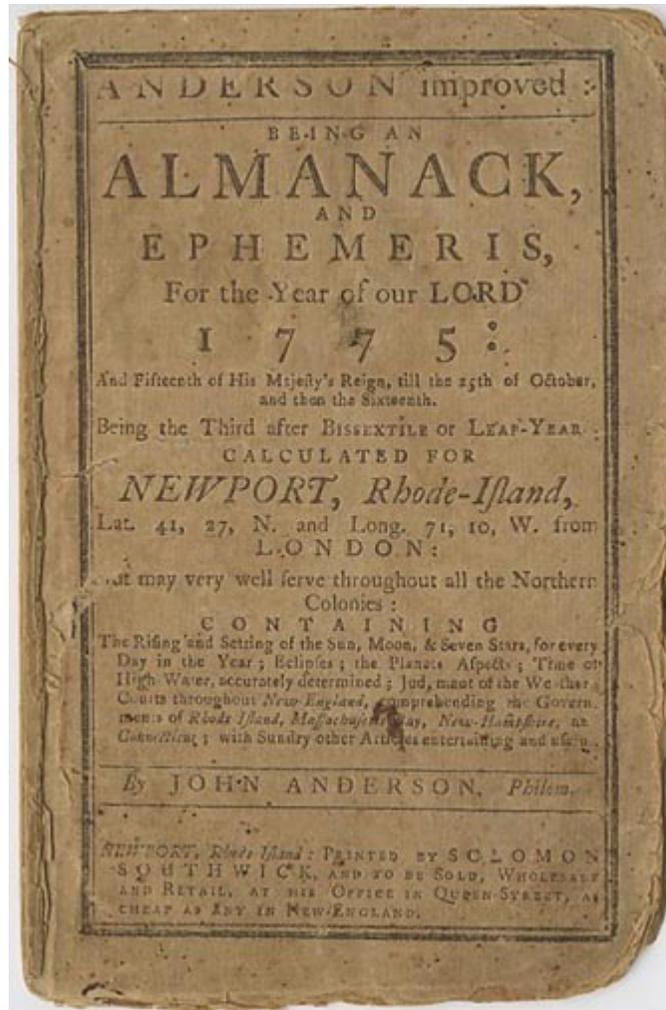
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ANDERSON IMPROVED: BEING AN [ALMANACK](#), AND EPHEMERIS FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1775. By John Anderson, Philom. [Newport](#): Printed by Solomon Southwick. The publication included verses on the history of astronomy. The (pseudonymous) author addressed his American public in these “troublesome times,” disclaiming any “gift of prophecy” but daring to offer his two cents worth so that we may “remain the freest and happiest people under Heaven.” Americans needed to “stop all trade with Great Britain till the Parliament shall recognize your right to carry on trade upon an equal footing with the people of England, till they withdraw all their useless creatures and tools from this country, and till they leave the sole government of yourselves to yourselves.” A tabulation of Britain’s exports makes a case that “America takes off more of the British manufactures, &c. than all the other parts of the world.”



Nathanael Low’s AN ASTRONOMICAL DIARY; OR, ALMANACK FOR...1775. Boston: Printed and Sold by John Kneeland, in Milk Street. Low also was determinedly fanning the flames of rebellion. His title-page woodcut depicted a “virtuous patriot at the hour of death.” His “Address to the Inhabitants of Boston” took up four pages and decried the Port Bill as well as the “British armament parading in your streets and harbour”: “My dear brethren, the destiny of America seems to be suspended on the present controversy; and it is on your fidelity, firmness and good conduct ... that a happy issue of it in a great measure depends....”



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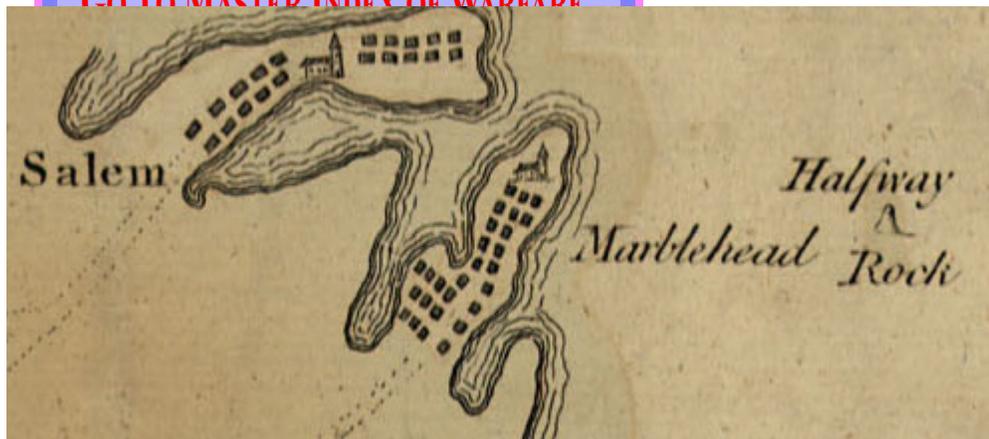
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February 26, Sunday: The minutemen of Salem managed to turn back an army column out of [Boston](#) without anybody getting killed. They were quite elated about this at the time, but it would turn out to be extremely shortsighted of them — as, had somebody had the good sense to get himself killed, it would in all likelihood have turned out to be Salem that would be raking in the big tourist bucks as the sacred town of the beginning of our Revolutionary¹⁴ War, rather than Lexington on their Green and [Concord](#) at their [Old North Bridge](#)!

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During the month of



February 1775, the town [[Concord](#)] used the greatest caution to have the articles of association observed. Several meetings were held, and such measures as the state of the times required, adopted. Capt. Timothy Wheeler, Mr. Andrew Conant, Mr. Samuel Whitney, Capt. John Greene, Mr. Josiah Merriam, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Mr. William Parkman, and Capt. Thomas Davis, were added to the committee of inspection, and directed to return the names of those who declined signing the articles of association. Such were to be treated with neglect and detestation.¹⁵ Three only were returned.¹⁶

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 17, Friday: Much to the horror of the Protestant citizens of [Boston](#), Irish Catholics among the British army units in Boston celebrated St. Patrick's Day. For the army, the day's "parole" was "St. Patrick" with the countersign being "Ireland." Unfounded rumors were being circulated that General Thomas Gage was a Papist and that his intention was to convert the American colonies to Catholicism at the point of his sword. —Hey, we'd better have a revolution before the Pope takes over!

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14. As a point of nomenclature, actually at this point we should not be referring to this developing conflict as a revolution. At this stage at least, it was still a nascent civil war.

15. This vote remained in force till May 14, 1778, when the town [[Concord](#)] annulled it, "so far as respects any persons who reside among us, and no farther."

16. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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On the 17th, Mr. Cheever sent from Charlestown John Austin and several other men, to be Constantly employed in carrying on the military preparations. He directed Colonel Barrett to provide them all necessary provisions, and a house to work in retired from company, "as our operations depend upon secrecy." Guards were stationed at the old south and north bridges, on the [Boston](#) road, and in the middle of the town [[Concord](#)], for the safe keeping of the stores, and to alarm the surrounding country, should occasion require. Every teamster, suspected of carrying any article to the British, was carefully examined. [Concord](#) now became as it had been a hundred years before, a distinguished military post.

British spies were often sent in disguise into the country, to learn its geography, the state of public feeling, the quantity and condition of the provincial stores, &c. Two of these spies, Capt. Brown and Ensign D'Bernicre, of the British army, went to Worcester in February, and on the 20th of March, 1775, visited Concord. They went up through Weston and Sudbury and entered the town [[Concord](#)] over the south bridge. In a narrative of this expedition D'Bernicre says, "The town of Concord lies between two hills that command it entirely. There is a river runs through it with two bridges over it. In summer it is pretty dry. The town is large, and contains a church, gaol, and court house, but the houses are not close together, but in little groups. We were informed that they had fourteen pieces of cannon (ten iron and four brass), and two cohorn. They were mounted, but in so bad a manner that they could not elevate them more than they were, that is, they were fixed to one elevation; their iron cannon they kept in a house in town; their brass they had concealed in some place behind the town, in a wood. They had also a store of flour, fish, salt and rice; and a magazine of powder and cartridges. They fired their morning gun, and mounted a guard of ten men at night. We dined at the house of Mr. Bliss [Daniel Bliss, Esq.] a friend of government; they had sent him word they should not let him go out of town alive that morning; however, we told him if he would come with us, we would take care of him, as we were three and all well-armed. He consented and told us he would show us another road called the Lexington road. We set out, and of consequence left the town on the contrary side of the river to what we entered it." * * * "In the town of Concord a woman directed us to the house of Mr. Bliss; a little after she came in crying, and told us they swore if she did not leave the town they would tar and feather her for directing tories on their road" [Massachusetts Historical Collection Vol. iv. pages 214, 215]. The British officer remarked to Mr. Bliss, that the people would not fight. He urged a different opinion, and pointing to his brother, Thomas Theodore Bliss, just then passing in sight, and said, "There goes a man who will fight you in blood up to his knees!" This brother Thomas was opposed to him (Daniel Bliss) in politics; and was subsequently a brave, though unfortunate officer in the American army.¹⁷



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April 18, Tuesday: General Thomas Gage received word that the Provincial Congress had adjourned until May after avowing the right of each colony to tax and govern itself. He was alerted that although military stores were being moved out of [Concord](#), large amounts of provisions, several cannon, and gunpowder still remained, much of it located over the bridge at Barrett's farm.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 18, Tuesday, night: Ensign Francis Grose was a son of Captain Francis Grose (1731-1791), author of *LEXICON BALATRONICUM*; A DICTIONARY OF BUCKISH SLANG, UNIVERSITY WIT, AND PICKPOCKET ELOQUENCE. Francis the younger had entered the British army as ensign in His Majesty's 52d Regiment of Foot and would fight both at [Concord](#) and at Cambridge. On this night he marched with the army.¹⁸ Since he would be twice wounded, it seems plausible that he was wounded first in the fight to get back from Concord to Boston and then again in the fight to take control of Breeds Hill. Sent home on account of his wounds, he would be promoted to captain and would serve as a recruiter for the army for two years. He would then be promoted to be a major in the 96th Regiment. In Australia he would raise the New South Wales Regiment and would be promoted again, to lieutenant-colonel. He would function as the acting governor of New South Wales for a couple of years, from Captain Arthur Phillip's departure on December 11, 1792 until Captain John Hunter's arrival on December 12, 1794. In 1795, because his wounds so bothered him, he would return to England and would be given a staff assignment. In 1805 he would receive a final appointment, to major-general. There is a town in New South Wales named Concord, which would be incorporated as a local municipality within the governance of greater Sydney on August 11, Saturday, 1883. Between 1835 and 1838 rebels from Canada had been transported to the Longbottom Stockade in Concord. There they had made roads and sank a shaft looking for coal. Eventually these Canadian rebels were pardoned, and they presumably all returned to Canada. It would be as a suburb of Sydney that this town of Concord, New South Wales would in the year 2000 host the Olympic Games. The question obviously has arisen, how did this town of Concord in Australia acquire its name? Concord in Australia is on the Parramatta River, which rises somewhere near Parramatta west of Sydney. No European could have entered the area before February 5, Tuesday, 1788 when people off the 1st fleet vessels began rowing up the Parramatta River. Captain John Hunter, in charge of that expedition, was not officially empowered to bestow names on the landscape features although a sandstone outcrop on the river bank in Concord called "Hen and Chickens" is thought to have probably been then named. The granting of land locally did not commence until the 1790s. Some of the early land grants were assigned to free or freed settlers, and some were assigned to non-commissioned officers of the New South Wales Corps of the English Army. When the NCOs Hudson, Tuckwell, Day, Radford, Prosser, and West were granted adjoining plots on Christmas Eve 1793, their military land grants were recorded at the time as being in "Concord." Plausibly, it was Major Francis Grose, the Acting Governor of New South Wales during all of 1793, who selected that name for this district. Is it possible, therefore, that this town down under was named Concord because of his bothersome wound received on April 19, 1775 in Concord?

The preceding winter had been one of great mildness. The spring vegetation was uncommonly forward. Fruit trees were in blossom, winter grain had grown several inches out of the ground, and other indications equally propitious were observed on that

17. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)
18. Note that Major Pitcairn, who also came to Concord on April 19th, would have an island in the Pacific named after him.



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memorable day. And on the morning of the 19th the weather was as delightful, as if Providence intended thus to mark with peculiar favor the commencement of a series of glorious events, which happily resulted in the establishment of an independent republic. The exclamation of Adams on that morning, "O what an ever glorious morning is this!" was doubtless true, whether applied to the weather or the occasion.

At this time there were stationed in Boston ten large regiments of British troops, of seven companies each, the 4th, or King's own regiment, 5th, 10th, 23d, or Royal Welch Fusileers, 38th, 43d, 47th, 57th and 59th, and a battalion of marines of six companies. A detachment of 800 of these troops, consisting of grenadiers, light infantry and marines, had been taken off duty on Saturday the 15th under pretence of learning a new exercise; and about 10 o'clock on Tuesday evening the 18th, embarked from Boston under command of Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith, of the 10th regiment and Major John Pitcairn, commander of the marines, and landed at Lechmere Point [Lechmere Point was in Cambridge]. After having received a day's provisions and thirty-six rounds of cartridges; they began their march at 12 o'clock in silence and under cover of the night, towards Concord. The object of this expedition was to destroy the military stores deposited here, and to apprehend Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Barrett and other distinguished patriots, who had become obnoxious to the British government. To facilitate the accomplishment of their object, officers were despatched during the day and evening of the 18th, to intercept any messengers who might be sent by the friends of liberty and thus to prevent the discovery of their approach. Happily for the provincials it could not be concealed. The first movement of the British troops in Boston was known; and no sooner known, than messengers were immediately despatched towards their intended destination. Paul Revere left Charlestown about 11 o'clock, passed through Medford, awoke the captain of the minute company there, and alarmed almost every family on his way to Lexington. Nearly at the same time William Dawes set out for the same destination and passed through Roxbury. Having arrived at the Rev. Mr. Clark's in Lexington, Revere found Hancock and Adams, who had tarried there on their way from Concord, after the adjournment of the Provincial Congress, to whom he related what he knew of the intended expedition. They also received similar intelligence from the committee of safety then in session at West Cambridge. After he had stayed there a short time, Dawes arrived and both proceeded together towards Concord. They had not travelled far before they were overtaken by Dr. Samuel Prescott of Concord, who had spent the evening at Lexington, at the house of Mr. Mulliken, to whose daughter he was paying his addresses; and having been alarmed was hastening his return home. All rode on together, spreading the alarm at every house. When they arrived near Mr. Hartwell's tavern in the lower bounds of Lincoln, they were attacked by four British officers who belonged to the scouting party sent out the preceding evening and Revere and Dawes were taken. Prescott was also attacked, and had the reins of his bridle cut, but



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fortunately succeeded in making his escape by jumping his horse over the wall; and, taking a circuitous route through Lincoln, he proceeded with all possible expedition to Concord. Elijah Saunderson, Solomon Brown and Jonathan Loring of Lexington, who had been sent out to watch the movement of the British officers, and several others passing on the road, were taken prisoners a short time before 10 o'clock by another party. After detaining them till 2 o'clock and asking many questions about the magazines at Concord, whether any guards were posted there, and whether the bridges were up, they conducted them back to Lexington, where they were released. Hancock and Adams, having remained at the Rev. Mr. Clark's around whose house a guard had been placed, after consultation now proceeded towards Woburn. Between 12 and 1 o'clock the same night, information was brought from the Hon. Joseph Warren, that the king's troops were marching to Lexington, and soon after the militia were alarmed and ordered to assemble. An express was sent to Cambridge, and returned between three and four o'clock, without obtaining any intelligence of the movements of the enemy, upon which the militia were dismissed for a short time. The commanding officer, however, thought best soon to call them together again, "not," says the Rev. Mr. Clark, "with the design of opposing so superior a force, much less commencing hostilities; but only with a view to determine what to do, when and where to meet, and to dismiss and disperse."

"Accordingly, about half an hour after four o'clock, alarm guns were fired, and the drums beat to arms; and the militia were collecting together. Some, to the number of fifty or sixty, or possibly more, were on the parade, others were coming towards it. In the mean time the troops, having thus stolen a march upon us, and to prevent any intelligence of their approach, having seized and held prisoners several persons, whom they met unarmed upon the road, seemed to come determined for murder and bloodshed; and that whether provoked to it or not! When within about half a quarter of a mile of the meeting-house, they halted, and command was given to prime and load; which being done, they marched on till they came up to the east end of said meeting-house, in sight of our militia (collecting as aforesaid) who were about twelve or thirteen rods distant. Immediately on their appearing so suddenly and so nigh, Captain Parker, who commanded the militia company, ordered the men to disperse and take care of themselves and not to fire. Upon this our men dispersed; but many of them not so speedily, as they might have done, not having the most distant idea of such brutal barbarity and more than savage cruelty, from the troops of a British king, as they immediately experienced. For no sooner did they come in sight of our company, but one of them, supposed to be an officer of rank, was heard to say to the troops, "Damn them, we will have them!" Upon which the troops shouted aloud, huzza'd, and rushed furiously towards our men. About the same time, three officers (supposed to be Colonel Smith, Major Pitcairn and another officer) advanced on horseback to the front of the body, and coming within five or six rods of the militia, one of them cried



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out, "Lay down your arms!" The second of these officers, about this time fired a pistol towards the militia as they were dispersing. The foremost, who was within a few yards of our men, brandishing his sword, and then pointing towards them, with a loud voice, said to the troops, "Fire! by God, fire!" which was instantly followed by a discharge of arms from the said troops, succeeded by a very heavy and close fire upon our party dispersing, so long as any of them were within reach. Eight were left dead upon the ground; ten were wounded."¹⁹

The British troops then passed on without molestation to Concord, six miles further. In the meantime Prescott had arrived there; and the guard, the committee of safety, the military officers and principal citizens had been alarmed. The church bell rung a little before three o'clock. Major John Buttrick requested Mr. Reuben Brown to proceed towards Lexington, obtain what information he could, and return. Another messenger was sent to Watertown on the same errand. Mr. Brown arrived at Lexington just before the British troops fired on the devoted Lexington militia, and immediately returned to Concord, without waiting to ascertain what effect their firing had produced. On his arrival Major Buttrick inquired if they fired bullets. "I do not know, but think it probable," was the answer. It was supposed at that time, that they fired nothing but powder, merely to intimidate the people, though various reports were circulated of a different character. The provincials were unwilling to be the aggressors, and could not then believe the mother country was in earnest, and intended to murder the inhabitants of her colonies. The object was conceived to be, to destroy the public stores. The people, however, wished to be prepared in any event. Mr. Brown proceeded by the direction of Colonel Barrett to Hopkinton to alarm the people in that direction. Other messengers were sent at the same time to other towns with the intelligence; and the alarm spread like electric fire from a thousand sources, and produced a shock that roused all to action.

The committee of safety in Concord had been engaged the preceding day, according to the directions of the provincial committee, in removing some of the military stores to the adjoining towns, and immediately gave directions for removing and securing such as yet remained. This occupied the attention of Colonel Barrett and a large number of citizens a considerable portion of the morning. Four cannon were carried to Stow, six to the outer parts of the town, and some others covered with hay, straw, manure, etc. Loads of stores of various kinds were carried to Acton, and other towns, and many others were concealed in private buildings and in the woods. The utmost activity prevailed in preparing for the approaching crisis.

The road from Lexington to Concord enters the town from the southeast along the side of a hill, which commences on the right about a mile below the village, rising abruptly from thirty to fifty feet above the road, and terminating at the north easterly part of the public square. The top is plain land, commanding a

19. "Plain and faithful Narrative of Facts," by the Rev. Jonas Clark, minister of Lexington, published as an appendix to his Sermon, preached at the anniversary of these events in 1776 - See Appendix.



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pleasant view of the village and vicinity. Here, in the rear of Reuben Brown's stood the pole on which the flag of liberty was first unfurled. The meeting-house stood in its present situation; the courthouse was near the county-house, now occupied by the jailer; Captain Timothy Wheeler's store-house was near Mr. Stow's. There was no house between Elisha Tolman's and Abel B. Heywood's. The main branch of the Concord River flows sluggishly in a serpentine direction on the westerly and northerly side of the village about half a mile from the principal houses. This river was then passed by two bridges, one by Deacon Cyrus Hosmer's called the "old South Bridge," the other near the Rev. Dr. Ripley's, called the North Bridge, about a half a mile from the meeting house. The river, which before ran easterly, turns at this place and runs northerly. The road, just beyond Dr. Ripley's turned nearly at right angles and passing over the bridge went parallel with the river over wet ground below the house then owned by Capt. David Brown and by Humphrey Hunt's, to Colonel Barrett's, who lived about two miles from town. This road was entered by another, about thirty rods above the bridge nearly at right angles, leading from the high lands at Colonel Jonas Buttrick's, also about fifty rods direct from the bridge, on which the main body of the provincial militia paraded. This bridge was taken up in 1793 and two others, one above and the other below the old site, were erected. Guards were stationed at the north and south bridges, below Dr. Heywood's and in the centre of the village. Jonathan Farrar was then commander of the guard. In case of an alarm, it was agreed to meet at Wright's Tavern, now Deacon Jarvis's. A part of the company under Captain Brown paraded about break of day; and being uncertain whether the enemy was coming, they were dismissed, to be called together by the beat of drum. Soon afterward the minute-men and militia, who had assembled, paraded on the common; and after furnishing themselves with ammunition at the court-house, marched down below the village in view of the Lexington road. About the same time a part of the minute company from Lincoln, who had been alarmed by Dr. Prescott, came into town and paraded in like manner. The number of armed men, who had now assembled was about one hundred. The morning had advanced to about seven o'clock; and the British army were soon seen approaching the town on the Lexington road. The sun shone with peculiar splendor. The glittering arms of eight hundred soldiers, "the flower of the British army," were full in view. It was a novel, imposing, alarming sight. What was to be done? At first it was thought best that they should face the enemy, as few as they were, and abide the consequences. Of this opinion, among others, was the Rev. William Emerson, the clergyman of the town, who had turned out amongst the first in the morning to animate and encourage his people by his counsel and patriotic example. "Let us stand our ground," said he, "if we die, let us die here!" Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln was then on the hill. "Let us go and meet them," said one to him. "No," he answered, "it will not do for us to begin the war." They did not then know what had happened at Lexington. Their number was, however, very



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small in comparison with the enemy, and it was concluded best to retire to a short distance and wait for reinforcements. They consequently marched to the northern declivity of the burying-ground hill, near the present site of the court-house. They did not, however, leave their station till the British light infantry had arrived within a few rods' distance.

Major Buttrick went to one of the companies then under the command of Lieut. Joseph Hosmer, the other officers not then being at their posts, and requested him to act as adjutant. He remonstrated by telling him "his company would be left alone if he did." "It must be so then," said Buttrick; "you must go." He accordingly left his company and officiated as adjutant the remaining part of the morning. About the same time Colonel James Barrett, who was commander of the regiment of militia, and who had been almost incessantly engaged that morning in securing the stores, rode up. Individuals were frequently arriving, bringing different reports. Some exaggerated the number of British troops; some said that they had, and others that they had not killed some Lexington militia men. It was difficult to obtain correct information. Under these circumstances, he ordered the men there paraded, being about one hundred and fifty, to march over the North Bridge, near the present residence of Colonel Jonas Buttrick, and there wait for reinforcements. "This shows," says Murray, "that they did not intend to begin hostilities at this time, otherwise they would have disputed the ground with the light infantry."

In the mean time the British troops entered the town. The six companies of light infantry were ordered to enter on the hill, and disperse the minute men whom they had seen paraded there. The grenadiers came up the main road and halted on the common. Unfortunately for the people's cause, the British officers had already been made somewhat acquainted, through their spies, and the tories, with the topography of the town, and the situation of many of the military stores. On their arrival they examined as well as they could, by the help of spyglasses from a post of observation on the burying-ground hill, the appearance of the town, condition of the provincials, etc. It was found that the provincials were assembling, and that no time was to be lost. The first object of the British was to gain possession of the north and south bridges to prevent any militia from entering over the bridges. Accordingly, while Colonel Smith remained in the centre of the town, he detached six companies of light infantry, under command of Captain Lawrence Parsons of his own regiment, to take possession of the north bridge, and proceed thence to places where stores were deposited. Ensign D'Bernicre, already mentioned, was ordered to direct his way. It is also intimated that tories were active in guiding the regulars. Captain Beeman of Petersham was one. On their arrival there, three companies under command of Captain Lawrie of the 43d regiment were left to protect the bridge; one of those commanded by Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould, paraded at the bridge, the other, of the 4th and 10th regiments, fell back in the rear towards the hill. Captain Parsons with three companies proceeded



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to Colonel Barrett's to destroy the stores there deposited. At the same time Captain Munday Pole of the 10th regiment was ordered to take possession of the south bridge, and destroy such public property as he could find in that direction. The grenadiers and marines, under Smith and Pitcairn, remained in the centre of the town, where all means in their power were used to accomplish the destruction of military stores.

By the great exertions of the provincials the principal part of the public stores had been secreted, and many others were protected by the innocent artifice of individuals. In the centre of the town the grenadiers broke open about sixty barrels of flour, nearly one half of which was afterwards saved; knocked off the trunnions of three iron twenty-four pound cannon, and burnt sixteen new carriage-wheels, and a few barrels of wooden trenchers and spoons. The liberty-pole on the hill was cut down and suffered the same fate. About five hundred pounds of balls were thrown into the mill pond and into wells. "The shrewd and successful address of Captain Timothy Wheeler on this occasion deserves notice. He had the charge of a large quantity of provincial flour, which, together with some casks of his own, was stored in his barn. A British officer demanding entrance, he readily took his key and gave him admission. The officer expressed his pleasure at the discovery; but Captain Wheeler with much affected simplicity, said to him, putting his hand on a barrel, "This is my flour. I am a miller, Sir. Yonder stands my mill. I get my living by it. In the winter I grind a great deal of grain, and get it ready for market in the spring. This, (pointing to one barrel), is the flour of wheat; this, pointing to another, 'is the flour of corn; this is the flour of rye; this, - putting his hand on his own casks, 'is my flour; this is my wheat; this is my rye - this is mine.'" "Well, said the officer, 'we do not injure private property'; and withdrew leaving this important depository untouched."²⁰

Captain Ephraim Jones kept the tavern now owned by Hartwell Bigelow and had the care of the jail nearby. Henry Gardner, Esq., the province treasurer, had boarded with him during the session of the Congress, and had left in his custody a chest containing some money and other important articles. Captain Jones was taken by the British, and placed under guard of five men with their bayonets fixed and pointing towards him. After being thus detained a short time he was released to furnish refreshment at his bar. In the meantime, they entered his house in search of public stores, and went to the chamber where Mr. Gardner's chest was deposited. Being about to enter, Hannah Barns, who lived in the family, remonstrated telling them it was her apartment and contained her property. After considerable parleying, they left her and the chamber unmolested.

The court-house was set on fire, but was extinguished by Mrs. Martha Moulton, a near resident, assisted by a servant of Dr. Minott. They remonstrated, saying to the British, "The top of the house is filled with powder and if you do not put the fire out, you will all be killed." On this they lent their aid. They



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seized and abused several unarmed inhabitants who remained in the village.

The party at the south bridge entered several adjacent houses, where at their request, milk, potatoes, meat and other refreshments, as a breakfast, were provided. They entered the house of Ephraim Wood, Esq., and endeavored to take him prisoner. He was town clerk and a distinguished patriot. Being actively engaged in directing the important events of the day, and assisting in removing the stores, he was not at home and escaped detection. At Mr. Amos Wood's they paid a guinea apiece to each of the female attendants to compensate them for their trouble. They searched the house; and an officer observing one room fastened, significantly inquired of Mrs. Wood, "whether there were not some females locked up there?" By her evasive answer he was led to believe it was so, and immediately said, "I forbid any one entering this room!" and a room filled with military stores was thus fortunately preserved. This party remained her till they heard the firing at the north bridge, when they recrossed the river, took up the planks of the bridge to render it impassable, and hastened to join the main body in the middle of the town.

After Colonel Barrett had ordered the militia to march over the bridge, he rode home to give some directions respecting the stores at his house. He set out on his return to the militia companies just before the party of British troops arrived. They said to Mrs. Barrett, "Our orders are to search your house and your brother's from top to bottom." Leave was granted. The soldiers here, as at other places in town, requested and were provided with refreshments. One of the sergeants asked for spirit, but it was refused; and the commanding officer forbid it, as it might render him unfit for duty, saying, "We shall have bloody work to day, we have killed men at Lexington." The officers offered to pay Mrs. Barrett, but she refused, saying, "We are commanded to feed our enemies." They then threw some money into her lap. Hesitating some time, she accepted it with the remark, "This is the price of blood." They assured her of good treatment, but said they must execute their orders. Mrs. Barret had concealed some musket-balls, cartridges, flints, etc., in casks in the garret and had put over them a quantity of feathers, which prevented discovery. They however, took fifty dollars in money from one of the rooms. On seeing Stephen, a son of Colonel Barrett, the officer demanded his name. Being answered "Barrett" they called him a rebel, and taking hold of him, said, "You must go to Boston with us and be sent to England for your trial." Upon Mrs. Barrett saying, "He is my son and not the master of the house," they released him. They collected some gun-carriages in order to burn them; but before they executed their intention the firing at the bridge was heard and they immediately retreated.

While the British were thus engaged, our citizens and part of our military men having secured what articles of public property they could, were assembling under arms. Beside the minute men and militia of Concord, the military companies from the



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adjoining towns began to assemble; and the number increased to about two hundred and fifty or three hundred.

There were at this time in the vicinity under rather imperfect organization, a regiment of militia and a regiment of minute-men. The officers of the militia were James Barrett, Colonel; Ezekiel How of Sudbury, lieutenant-colonel; Nathan Barrett & George Minot of Concord; Joseph Robbins of Acton; John Moore of Bedford; Samuel Farrar of Lincoln; and Moses Stone and Aaron Haynes of Sudbury, captains. The officers of the minute-men were Abijah Pierce of Lincoln, Colonel; Thomas Nixon of Framingham, lieutenant-colonel; John Buttrick of Concord, Major; Jacob Miller of Holliston, 2d Major; Thomas Hurd of East Sudbury, Adjutant; David Brown and Charles Miles of Concord; Isaac Davis of Acton, William Smith of Lincoln, Jonathan Wilson of Bedford, John Nixon of Sudbury, captains. There were two small companies of horse, one in Concord and one in Sudbury; but they were out among the foot companies at this time. Joseph Hosmer, David Wheeler, Francis Wheeler, and James Russell of Concord; John Hayward, Simon Hunt, and John Heald of Acton; Samuel Hoar of Lincoln; Moses Abbott of Bedford; and Jonathan Rice, David Moore, Asahel Wheeler, and Jabez Puffer of Sudbury, were lieutenants. All these, however, were not present at the engagement at the North Bridge.²¹

The officers of the minute companies had no commissions. Their authority was derived solely from the suffrages of their companies. Nor were any of the companies formed in regular order. John Robinson of Westford, a Lieutenant - Colonel in a regiment of minute-men under Colonel William Prescott, and other men of distinction had already assembled. The hostile acts and formidable array of the enemy, and the burning of the articles they had collected in the village, led them to anticipate a general destruction.

Joseph Hosmer, acting as adjutant, formed the soldiers as they arrived singly or in squads, on the field westerly of Colonel Jonas Buttrick's present residence; the minute companies on the right and the militia on the left, facing the town. He then, observing an unusual smoke arising from the centre of the town, went to the officers and citizens in consultation on the high ground nearby, and inquired earnestly, "Will you let them burn the town down?" They then, with those exciting scenes before them deliberately with noble patriotism and firmness "resolved to march into the middle of the town to defend their homes, or die in the attempt." And at the same time they resolved not to fire unless first fired upon. "They acted upon principle and in the fear of God."²²

21. It has been customary in giving notice of deceased revolutionary soldiers who met the British at any time on that day, or marched to meet them, to say they were present at the North Bridge. This in many instances is doubtless incorrect. Scarcely any, except those from Concord and the towns immediately adjoining, were or could be present, though troops came with celerity and bravery from a greater distance, and were in the engagement on the retreat. Two companies from Sudbury, under How, Nixon and Haynes, came to Concord; and having received orders from a person stationed at the entrance of the town for the purpose of a guide, to proceed to the north instead of the south bridge, arrived near Colonel Barrett's just before the British soldiers retreated. They halted in sight, and Colonel How observed, "If any blood has been shed, not one of the rascals shall escape." and disguising himself rode on to ascertain the truth. Before proceeding far, the firing began at the bridge and the Sudbury companies pursued the retreating British.

22. "History of the Fight at Concord," by the Rev. Dr. Ripley.



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Colonel Barrett immediately gave orders to march by wheeling from the right. Major Buttrick requested Lt. Colonel Robinson to accompany him, and led them in double file to the scene of action. When they came to the road leading from Captain Brown's to the bridge, a part of the Acton minute company under Captain Davis passed by in front, marched towards the bridge a short distance and halted. Being in files of two abreast, the Concord minute company under Captain Brown, being before at the head, marched up the north side, till they came equally in front. The precise position, however, of each company cannot now be fully ascertained. This road was subject to inundations, and a wall was built with large stones on the upper side, in which posts were placed, connected together at their tops with poles to aid foot passengers in passing over in times of high water.

The British, observing their motions, immediately formed on the east side of the river, and soon began to take up the planks of the bridge. Against this Major Buttrick remonstrated in an elevated tone, and ordered a quicker step of his soldiers. The British desisted. At that moment two or three guns were fired in quick succession into the river, which the provincials considered as alarm - guns and not aimed at them. They had arrived within ten or fifteen rods of the bridge, when a single gun was fired by a British soldier, the ball from which passing under Colonel Robinson's arm slightly wounded the side of Luther Blanchard, a fifer in the Acton company and Jonas Brown, one of the Concord Minute men. This gun was instantly followed by a volley by which Capt. Isaac Davis and Abner Hosmer both belonging to Acton, were killed, a ball passing through the body of the Capt. Isaac Davis and another through the head of Abner Hosmer. On seeing this, Major Buttrick instantly leaped from the ground and partly turning to his men, exclaimed, "Fire, fellow-soldiers, for God's sake, fire." discharging his own gun almost in the same instant. His order was instantly obeyed; and a general discharge from the whole line of the provincial ranks took place. Firing on both sides continued a few minutes. Three British soldiers were killed; and Lieutenants Sunderland, Kelley and Gould, a sergeant, and four privates were wounded. The British immediately retreated about half way to the meeting-house, and were met by two companies of grenadiers, who had been drawn thither by "the noise of battle."

Two of the soldiers killed at the bridge were left on the ground, where they were afterwards buried by Zachariah Brown and Thomas Davis, Jr., and the spot deserves to be marked by an ever enduring monument, as the place where the first British blood was spilt, - where the life of the first British soldier was taken, in a contest which resulted in a revolution the most mighty in its consequences in the annals of mankind.

Most of the provincials pursued them across the bridge, though a few returned to Buttrick's with their dead.²³ About one hundred and fifty went immediately across the Great Field to intercept the enemy on their retreat at Merriam's Corner. From this time through the day, little or no military order was preserved.

23. Luther Blanchard went to Mrs. Barrett's, who, after examining his wound, mournfully remarked, "A little more and you'd been killed." "Yes, said Blanchard, "and a little more and 't wouldn't have touched me;" — and immediately rejoined the pursuers.



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Every man chose his own time and mode of attack.

It was between 10 and 11 o'clock when the firing at the bridge took place; and a short time after Captain Parsons and his party returned unmolested from Colonel Barrett's. They might have been attacked and taken, had the party that went across the Great Fields remained, and had strict military order preserved it; but it was probably feared, that, if this had been done, the grenadiers would have burnt the village, or committed some other act of retaliation, which it would have been impossible for the number of Americans then assembled to prevent. War, too, at this time was not declared. Though some may suppose the provincials here made a mistake, and neglected the advantages they possessed, yet no one who views all the circumstances correctly, will hesitate to consider this, as one of the most fortunate events, or be dissatisfied with what the provincials did on that memorable day.

By this time the provincials had considerably increased, and were constantly arriving from the neighboring towns. The British had but partially accomplished the objects of their expedition; the quantity of public stores destroyed being very small in comparison with what remained untouched. They observed, however, with no little anxiety and astonishment, the celerity with which the provincials were assembling, and the determined resolution with which they were opposed. Hitherto their superior numbers had given them an advantage over such companies as had assembled; but they now began to feel that they were in danger, and resolved, from necessity, on an immediate retreat. They collected together their scattered parties, and made some hasty provision for the wounded.

Several were taken into Dr. Minott's (now [1835] the Middlesex Hotel), where their wounds were dressed. One of the officers left his gold watch, which was discovered after he had gone out, by an old black servant. She, with honest simplicity called out, "Hollo, sir, you have left your watch," and restored it without fee or reward. At Wright's Tavern, Pitcairn called for a glass of brandy, and stirred it up with his bloody finger, remarking, "He hoped he should stir the damned Yankee blood so before night."²⁴ One of the wounded died and was buried where Mr. Keyes's house stands. A chaise was taken from Reuben Brown,²⁵ and another from John Beaton, which were furnished with bedding, pillaged as were many other articles from the neighboring houses, in which they placed some of their wounded; and began a hasty retreat a little before 12 o'clock. Several were left behind. About the same time they fired at Mr. Abel Prescott,²⁶ whom they saw returning from an excursion to alarm the neighboring towns; but though slightly wounded in his side, he secreted himself in

24. Major Pitcairn was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill on June 17th.

25. Lieutenant Joseph Hayward, who had been in the French War, took these two chaises in Cambridge and brought them to Concord, having killed a man in each. A little before, observing a gun pointed out of the window of a house by a British soldier, he seized it, and in attempting to enter the house found it fastened. He burst open the door, attacked and killed by himself, two of the enemy in the room, and took a third, prisoner. One of their guns is still owned by his son, from whom I received this anecdote.

26. He was the brother of Samuel Prescott, who brought the intelligence from Lexington in the morning. Samuel Prescott was taken prisoner on board a privateer afterwards, and carried to Halifax where he died in jail. Abel Prescott died of dysentery in Concord, September 3, 1775, aged 25 years.



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Mrs. Heywood's house and escaped.

The designs of the enemy were now fully developed; and the indignation of the provincials was highly excited. Many of them were determined to be revenged for the wanton cruelties which had been committed. They had followed the retreating party between the bridge and the village, and fired single-handed from the high ground, or from behind such shelter as came in their way; and thus began a mode of warfare which cost many a one his life.

The King's troops retreated in the same order as they entered town, the infantry on the hill and the grenadiers in the road, but with flanking parties more numerous and father from the main body. On arriving at Merriam's Corner they were attacked by the provincials with a company from Reading under the command of the late Governor Brooks. Several of the British were killed, and several wounded, among the latter was Ensign Lester. None of the provincials were injured. From this time the road was literally lined with provincials, whose accurate aim generally produced the desired effect. Guns were fired from every house, barn, wall or covert. After they had waylaid the enemy and fired upon them from one position, they fell back from the road, ran forward, and came up again to perform a similar manoeuvre. The Sudbury Company attacked them near Hardy's hill on the south; and below the Brooks Tavern, on the old road north of the school-house, a severe battle was fought. Some were killed in the woods, and others in or near Mr. Hartwell's barn, close by. It was here that Captain Jonathan Wilson of Bedford, Nathaniel Wyman of Billerica and Daniel Thompson of Woburn were killed. Eight of the British, who fell here were left on the ground, were buried in the Lincoln burying-ground the next day, one of whom, from his dress, was supposed to have been an officer. Several were killed near where Viles's tavern now [1835] is; and at Fisk's hill, a little below, Lieut. Colonel Smith was wounded in his leg, in a severe engagement. At the house at the bottom of this hill a rencontre between James Hayward of Concord and a British soldier took place. Hayward, on going round the house for a draught of water, perceived his antagonist coming through the house on the same errand. The Briton drew up his gun, remarking, it is said, "You are a dead man"; "And so are you," answered Hayward. Both fired and both fell; the Briton dead and Hayward mortally wounded. He died the next day. All the way the enemy were compelled to pass through ranks of men they had injured, and who were armed and eager to avenge the blood of their slaughtered fellow citizens.²⁷

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27. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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April 18, Tuesday/19, Wednesday, night: The army troops set out on their famous journey on this night, and the “midnight rides” of Charles Dawes and [Paul Revere](#) warning of Redcoats coming to destroy the munitions of the militias took place on this night — not on April 19th.

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Elbridge Gerry was attending a meeting of the council of safety at an inn in Menotomy (we know it as Arlington, between Cambridge and Lexington), and barely escaped the British troops marching on Lexington and [Concord](#).

This has been alleged to have become, at least in some circles, “the most famous night in American history.” All times shown below are merely approximate, since it would only be with the advent of railroading that the various towns along the route of march would synchronize their timekeeping:

- Afternoon: General Gage sent officers to patrol the road between [Boston](#) and [Concord](#). A Boston gunsmith named Jasper learned about the march from a British Sergeant. John Ballard, a stableman at the home of General Gage, Province House, heard a comment about trouble the next day.
- 6:30PM: Solomon Brown of Lexington had gone to the market in [Boston](#), and returned with information that he had passed a patrol of British soldiers. He made his report to the proprietor of Monroe Tavern, Sergeant William Monroe. A rider reported to John Hancock that a British patrol had been spotted in Menotomy (now Arlington). Hancock and Sam Adams were spending the night with the Reverend Jonas Clarke at the Hancock/Clarke House.
- 8:00PM: A British patrol rode through Lexington toward Lincoln. 40 minutemen assembled at Buckman Tavern.



- 8:30PM: The British patrol rode past the home of a Lincoln minuteman, Sergeant Samuel Hartwell. That patrol soon returned to Lexington.
- 9:00PM: Elijah Sanderson and Jonathan Loring of the Lexington minutemen volunteered to keep an eye on the British.



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- 10:00PM: Three colonial scouts from Lexington were captured by the British and would be held hostage for four hours. Dr. Joseph Warren knew that the British were on their way when they were just leaving their barracks. He sent word to [Paul Revere](#) and William Dawes, Jr. Revere was to take a northern route to spread the alarm to Sam Adams, John Hancock, Lexington, and [Concord](#) while William Dawes was to spread the alarm via a longer, more southern route to Lexington.
- 10:30PM: [Paul Revere](#) told Captain John Pulling, Jr. to signal by hanging lanthorns in the steeple of one or another Boston church (we don't actually know which one, perhaps the Congregational church of which Revere was a member, or the nearby Anglican church in the North End). Revere went to his boat in Boston Harbor and was rowed across the Charles River under the 64 cannon of the *Somerset* by two friends, Joshua Bentley and Thomas Richardson. The men were using a petticoat to muffle the rubbing of the oars. 700 British soldiers began their journey led by Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith of the 10th Regiment and Major John Pitcairn of the Marines. It was Robert Newman, the sexton, who climbed into the steeple and briefly hung the two lanthorns that signalled that the army was making its move by sea. (Its primary objective was to extinguish the simmering rebellion by arresting for treason its leaders, Sam Adams and John Hancock, and its secondary objective was to take charge of militia stores at [Concord](#).) Meanwhile Dawes was pretending to be a drunken sailor and talking his way past the guards at Boston Neck.
- 11:00PM: Dawes and [Revere](#) would meet near Menotomy and ride on toward Lexington. Revere arrived in Charleston and began his ride. We don't know whether he got paid for this activity in this particular context, but we do know that in other contexts he would bill the commonwealth for time in the saddle on revolutionary business. He would bill for five shillings per day, which in that period would have been a normal working man's salary, enough to well cover his meals and lodgings plus stabling and provender for his mount. The commonwealth, instead of paying him his requested five shillings per day, would pay four.
- 11:00PM: Colonel Conant, and others who had seen the lights in the steeple, met [Paul Revere](#) on the Charlestown side. Richard Devens of the Committee of Safety got a horse for Revere to ride. Revere raced off, riding on his way, he would later mention, past the spot "where Mark was hung in chains."





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- 11:30PM: While still in Charlestown, [Paul Revere](#) encountered two British soldiers. He rode away from them and took the Medford Road. On his way he woke up Captain Hall of the minutemen. He continued to Menotomy and warned almost every house along the way.
- Midnight: Sam Adams and John Hancock were in Lexington, staying at the home of the Reverend Jonas Clarke. [Revere](#) and Dawes arrived at the Hancock/Clarke house and warned these leaders that the Regulars were coming to take them into custody. They both would escape.
- 12:30AM: Dr. Samuel Prescott caught up with Dawes and [Revere](#) on their way to [Concord](#). On their way they encountered Nathaniel Baker. Baker, who lived in Lincoln, would sound the alarm on his way home and then the next morning join the Lincoln minutemen at the North Bridge. Revere, who was riding in front of Dawes and Prescott, would be arrested by British officers and held for an hour and a half with Dawes escaping back toward Lexington, and only Dr. Prescott actually would get through to Concord. Dawes passed British guards by pretending to be a drunken sailor celebrating a successful day of training in [Boston](#). Dr. Prescott would pass the word to Abel Prescott, and others and a great chain of alarm riders then would spread the alarm to Natick, Framingham, Dover NH, Dedham, Roxbury, and other towns. The belfry bell was rung on Lexington common and 130 minutemen led by Captain John Parker assembled.
- 1:30AM: Captain Parker dismissed his troops. Those who lived far from the town stayed at Buckman Tavern. Dr. Samuel Prescott arrived at the home of Samuel Hartwell. He asked that warning be sent to Captain William Smith of the Lincoln minutemen. While the husband and his brothers dashed to muster, while Mary Hartwell (4) handed her 4-month-old Lucy Hartwell to a servant woman and ran through the night to Captain William Smith's house to pass on the alarm. She then took refuge at her father's home. The two Lincoln companies would be the first to reach [Concord](#) from the surrounding towns. [Paul Revere](#) alerted his captors to the fact that the populace within a 50-mile radius were already aware that the British were coming. Major Mitchell of the 5th British Regiment sent the prisoners back toward Lexington.
- 2:00AM: The sound of hoofbeats woke up Josiah Nelson, a Lincoln minuteman. It was Nelson's job to warn Bedford that the British were coming. When Nelson asked these British officers with prisoners what was going on, an officer hit Nelson in the head with a sword, making a long cut. Nelson was taken prisoner and then let go. He would spread the alarm to Bedford. The Reverend William Emerson, grandfather of Ralph Waldo Emerson, was the first in [Concord](#) to respond to Dr. Samuel Prescott's alarm. Three companies of minutemen and an alarm company met at Wrights Tavern in the Town Square. They began to hide supplies that had not already been sent away. The British soldiers would wait for as long as three hours for their provisions and this delay would give the Colonists valuable time. The British troops left Charlestown at 2:00AM. [Paul Revere](#) and the three captured scouts were released near Lexington. Their British captors returned to Menotomy. Revere went to the Hancock/Clarke House to help with the departure of John Hancock and Sam Adams. First they were taken to the home of Captain James Reed in Woburn MA and later to the home of Madame Jones, the widow of a clergyman. They were about to sit down to a meal when they were incorrectly warned that the British were coming so they moved to the home of Amos Wyman in Billerica.
- 3:00AM: Three members of the Committee of Safety from Marblehead, Colonel Jeremiah Lee, Colonel Azor Orne, and Elbridge Gerry were staying at the Black Horse Tavern in Menotomy after a committee session. When they heard troops, they stood in the dark in a field.

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- 4:00AM: General Gage had sent a message to Perry to leave from [Boston](#) with 1000 soldiers. Due to a delay in getting the order to him, that departure did not begin for five hours. Colonel James Bartlett of the [Concord](#) militia returned to the farmhouse to hide supplies from the British. Supplies were buried in holes in the fields.
- 4:30AM: Of the ten scouts that Captain John Parker had sent out, Thaddeus Bowman returned with news that the army was less than half a mile away. The drum was beat and 77 minutemen turned out on Lexington common. (Captain Parker was carrying the rifle which eventually would be inherited by the Reverend Theodore Parker, and would now be on display in the Massachusetts State House.) [Revere](#) and a clerk went toward Buckman Tavern to remove some of John Hancock's papers and on their way to the tavern they saw the British troops marching into Lexington. Major John Pitcairn ordered his troops to form battle lines.



- 5:00AM: 300 hundred Regulars approached. Captain John Parker told his men:

"Let them pass by. But if they want a war, let it begin here."

Major John Pitcairn yelled at the minutemen to put their arms down. Because they were outnumbered, Parker told his men to leave. A shot was fired but no one knows which side fired it. Upon this shot, the army troops discharged a volley, and then another, and then charged with fixed bayonets. Later, the minutemen would say that the Regulars fired



without cause. The Regulars claimed someone fired at them first. Jonas Parker, the captain's cousin, was run through by a bayonet while reloading. Eight minutemen were killed and nine or ten wounded managed to escape capture. Jonathan Harrington, Jr. dragged himself home and died at the feet of his wife.

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The rest of the British came to the common and the army put up a shout of victory. Meanwhile, the Lincoln militia and Captain William Smith were arriving in [Concord](#). The Acton minutemen and the Groton minutemen²⁸ would soon also arrive. The Bedford militia would also arrive in time to meet the British. Reuben Brown, who had witnessed the scene in Lexington, would confirm the rumors of deaths in Lexington.



- 5:30AM: The British marched on [Concord](#).
- 6:30AM: Some 150 minutemen from the various companies were marching toward Lexington but when they saw the British regulars and realized that they were outnumbered 3 to 1, they turned around and went home.
- 7:00AM: As the regular army troops marched nearer and nearer to [Concord](#) their drums could be heard in the town, and the Reverend William Emerson, passing among the assembling militia, noticed an 18-year-old who was “panic-struck at the first sound of the British drums.” The Reverend clapped Harry Gould on the shoulder and cheered him with “Stand your ground, Harry! Your cause is just and God will bless you!” (After this battle, one participant would name his two sons “William” and “Emerson.”) Four companies of the troops went on a search and destroy mission while others began to loot the town. Three companies were assigned to guard the North Bridge and one company the South Bridge. The minutemen retreated above the North Bridge to Punkatasset Hill. The roads were filled with minutemen from Acton, Snow, Roxbury, and surrounding communities, heading toward Concord. In Concord center the British commander, Colonel Smith, ordered his troops to clear the cemetery ridge. They went across the ridge in a single line. The Regulars cut down the Liberty Pole and stopped in the middle of the town. Colonel Smith and Major John Pitcairn surveyed the situation from the cemetery ridge.

28. Amos Farnsworth of Groton was in Captain Farwell’s Company at Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill. He would be keeping a diary from this day until April 6, 1779 (with some long gaps).



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- 7:30AM: Colonel Smith sent seven companies to the North Bridge, where they split up into two groups. Captain Walter Laurie of the 43rd Regiment stayed to guard the bridge with three regiments while four regiments under the leadership of Captain Lawrence Parsons of the 10th Regiment went to James Barrett's farm (he was the colonel of this Middlesex regiment of the militia) in search of hidden military stores. Having returned from hiding supplies, Colonel Barrett ordered his men on Ripley Hill to move to the brow of Punkatasset Hill and wait for reinforcements. Of the five company commanders under the Colonel, one was his son-in-law, Captain George Minot, one was his brother-in-law, Captain Thomas Hubbard, and one was his nephew, Captain Thomas Barrett.
- 8:30AM: This move to Punkatasset Hill was completed just before the seven British companies led by Captains Laurie and Parsons got to the North Bridge. Barrett saw the British troops and rode ahead to warn the minutemen. Captain Laurie sent his troops across the bridge to the first rise of ground. The 43rd Oxfordshires remained to guard the bridge. Part of this company surrounded the well in front of the Elisha Jones House (Bullet Hole House) in order to refresh themselves with water from the well. They were unaware that there was a large quantity of food hidden there. During this time, British officers went into town where they ordered their grenadiers to continue their search for hidden stores and refreshed themselves at the taverns. 500 pounds of musket balls were found and thrown into the mill pond; later these would be dredged out. Although the grenadiers set fire to the Town House and Reuben Brown's harness shop, these fires would be put out.
- 9:00AM: Percy received orders to leave [Boston](#) with the 1st Brigade. The 400 minutemen and militia on Punkatasset Hill moved toward the North Bridge. They saw smoke coming from the town and decided to go into town. Barrett gave the order to march but he told his troops not to fire unless they were fired on first. This group was led by Lieutenant Colonel John Robinson of Westford and Major John Buttrick of [Concord](#) followed by Captain Isaac Davis's Acton minutemen, three companies of minutemen from Concord, the militias of Acton, Bedford, and Lincoln, and a column of volunteers. A pair of fife and drummers accompanied them. Captain Laurie's company, on their way back from



Barrett's farm, retreated to the bridge to join the other troops. Realizing that he was outnumbered, Laurie sent a message to Colonel Smith in Concord. Smith ordered out two or three companies of grenadiers. Smith's slowness in movement would prevent these troops from arriving in time to support Laurie. After moving to the town side of the Concord River, Captain Laurie ordered his men to remove planks from the bridge to prevent passage by colonists. Joseph Hosmer of Concord demanded to know: "Will



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you let them burn the town down?" Major John Buttrick demanded that the British stop pulling up the planking, and moved his men to the road at the far end of the bridge. Laurie attempted a tactical deployment termed "Street Firing" (to keep continual fire in a narrow passage, the soldiers line up in columns of four and after the men in the first two or three ranks fire from kneeling and standing positions, they are to move to the sides and to the rear and reload while the back ranks move forward). Laurie was set to hold the bridge. Isaac Davis, the Acton captain, was shot down in the first volley. David Hosmer took a bullet through the head. The Americans had not fired. Major John Buttrick of [Concord](#) bellowed out: "*Fire fellows, for God's sake, fire!*" A minuteman fired — a general exchange followed. The fight lasted two or three frantic minutes. The minutemen advanced. Two minutemen and two soldiers were killed, several soldiers were wounded, and the army withdrew to Concord Center. The minutemen came back across the bridge and brought the bodies of their fallen to Buttrick's home. Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of whose grandfathers had been watching, would later depict the scene:

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled
Here once the embattled farmer stood
and fired the shot heard around the world."

— Concord Bridge

10:00AM: The Regulars regroup in [Concord](#) and two hours later begin their march back to [Boston](#). Not far away, at Meriman's Corner, roughly a thousand minutemen awaited them. The Regulars were brought under heavy fire. Longfellow would summarize the remainder of the story:

"You know the rest, in books you have read
How the British Regulars fired and fled.
How the farmers gave them ball for ball
From behind each fence and farm yard wall
Chasing the Red Coats down the lane."

— The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere

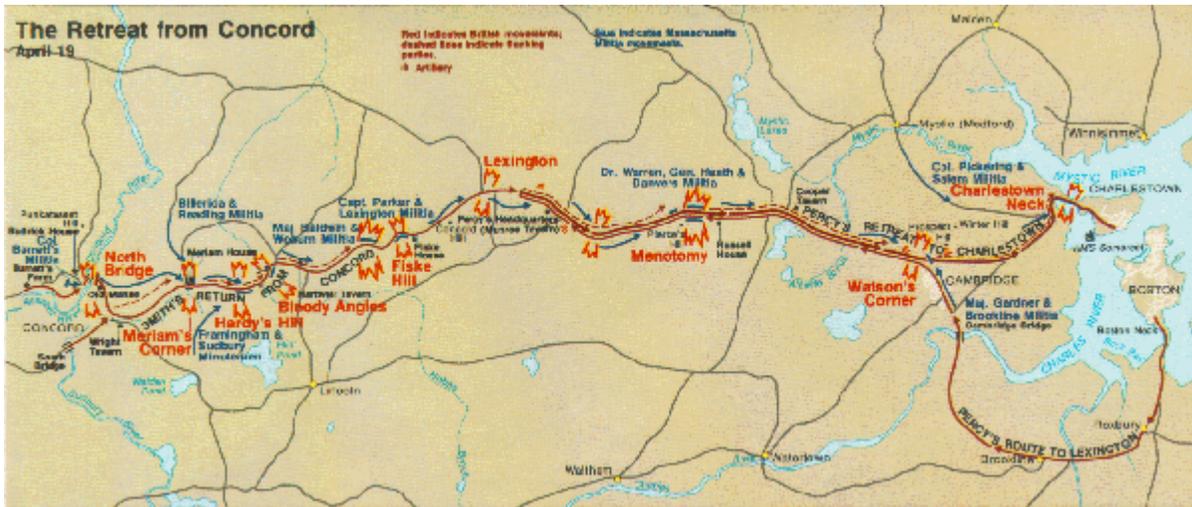
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Noon: After resting and reorganizing, the British began their march back to [Boston](#). They sent flankers on the ridge on the way to Merriam's Corner. When the Americans who fought at North Bridge heard that the British were moving back toward Boston, they crossed the river and met them at Merriam's Corner. The American ranks now numbered at 1100 as men from surrounding towns arrived.



- 1:00PM: The groups from Reading hid behind buildings and stone walls at the Merriam House while the British marched toward them. Up to this point, the conflict could have been controlled and war could have been avoided. However, when the grenadiers shot at the Reading troops at the Merriam House, the war definitely started. The battle was fought for the next few hours from Merriam's Corner in [Concord](#) all the way back to [Boston](#) in a traditionally structured manner. The colonists hid and attacked, which kept militia casualties low (49 militiamen were killed during the day, mostly by the army's flanking parties) while many of the exposed army soldiers on the roadway were shot down.
- 1:30PM: At a point where the regulars reached a curve in the road, militiamen in a wooded area killed eight and wounded many more; this curve would later be called the Bloody Angle. There were also militia losses at that location: Captain Wilson of Bedford, and two others.
- 2:00PM: Back in Lexington, the British re-encountered Captain Parker's minutemen, by this point readier for action. Parker's men waited on the high ground in the Fiske Hill area. As the British approached, a heavy volley of musket balls poured down on them. As the British troops broke ranks, Colonel Smith took a desperate move to rally his troops. He stopped and regrouped. This attempt failed. British ammunition was low, casualties were high, and the men were tired. Smith was now wounded; a number of his officers were also wounded. Confusion increased as they began to run from Fiske Hill to the village of Lexington. John Pitcairn lost his horse and with it his pistols, which he had tied onto it.
- 2:30PM: The British continued to flee through Lexington, unlike the ordered approach toward the common at sunrise where Parker had first confronted them. As the British ran on, more were killed and wounded. The British forces were a shamble when Percy's relief company arrived. After passing through Lexington, they reorganized again.



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- 3:00PM: Upon reaching Percy, the men were so exhausted that they lay down and rested. Percy fired the first cannon of the Revolution, damaging the meeting house on the green. The British wounded were taken to Monroe Tavern where their wounds were treated. John Raymond was making drinks for the British when he tried to escape and was killed.
- 3:30PM: The British continued their retreat toward East Lexington and Menotomy. British flankers protected the soldiers who entered and damaged homes along the way. William Heath, one of the five generals selected by the Provincial Congress, arrived at Lexington and was joined by Dr. Joseph Warren. They had gone to a meeting that morning about the battle in Lexington.
- 4:30PM: Upon coming down Pierce's Hill to a lower ground known as "Foot of the Rocks," the army soldiers were again brought under fire by the militia. By this point, over 1700 men from 35 companies had arrived from Watertown, Malden, Dedham, Needham, Lynn, Beverly, Danvers, Roxbury, Brookline and Menotomy itself. This was one of the bloodiest battles of the day. The militia fired from the streets, from cover, and also fought hand-to-hand. Dr. Eliphalet Downer encountered a solitary soldier. Realizing that the soldier was well trained in the use of the bayonet, the doctor used his musket as a club before killing him with a bayonet. General Percy had a button shot from his coat. Percy stopped not far from "Foot of the Rocks" and discharged his cannons, but no one was hit. The cannon balls blasted the roads, smashed into stone walls and made holes in houses. Jason Russell, a citizen of Menotomy, waited for the British in his home. A group of minutemen got to Russell's driveway when Earl Percy's men fired on them. The Americans went into the house followed by the Redcoats. The minutemen did not have bayonets and many were killed. Mr. Russell and eleven minutemen died there, and this would be the largest number of combatants to fall in one place on that day.
- 5:30PM: On the section of highway to the Cooper Tavern from the Jason Russell House, 20 militia and 20 soldiers were killed. At Cooper Tavern, the soldiers shot and killed innocent victims. The husband and wife tavern keepers escaped to the cellar. The battle reached a peak at Menotomy. More people were killed there on that day on both sides than anywhere else. At least 40 soldiers and 25 militiamen died there. The British burned homes here but they were too closely pursued by minutemen and others that the militia soon put out the fires.
- 6:00PM: With only an hour until the fall of darkness, the British still had miles to go. The troops went quickly and without incident. A mile beyond Menotomy River, a group of militiamen were awaiting the approach of the army but were caught off guard. Major Isaac Gardner of the Brookline militia, the highest ranking official to die that day, was killed there. Two volunteers from Cambridge, John Hicks and Moses Richardson, died there as well.
- 6:30PM: Gage took a direct route back to [Boston](#). Percy's column was met by an inexperienced militia group who killed several of his men. Once again Percy used his cannons. A few more musket shots were fired as General Percy's troops waited for the boats to bring them across the river. The army's losses totaled 73 killed, 174 wounded, 26 missing, a total of 273 casualties. The militia's losses totaled 49 killed, 41 wounded, and 5 missing, a total of 95 casualties.



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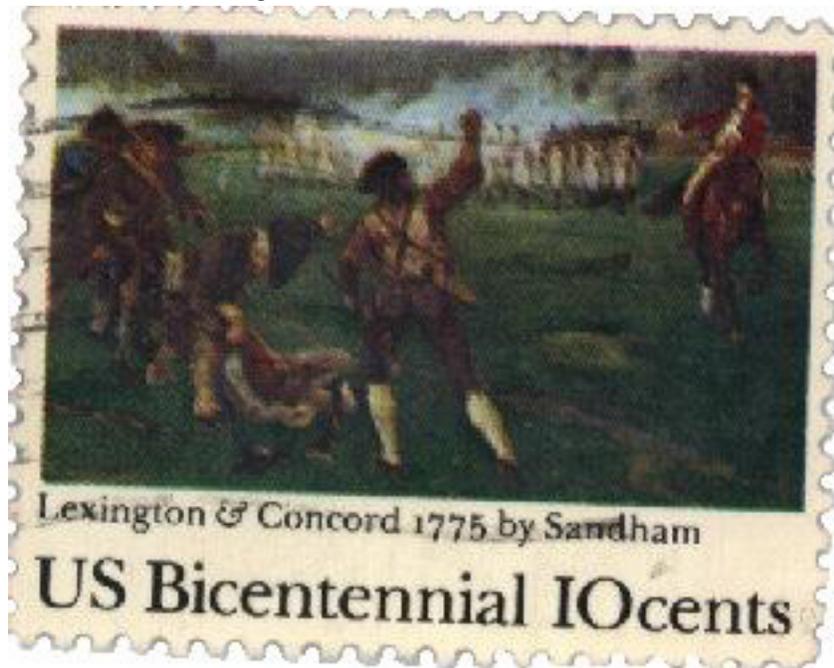
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7:00PM: An exhausted British rear guard crossed Charleston Neck. Some had not slept for two days. Some had marched for 40 miles in 21 hours. Most had been under fire for eight hours. They were badly shaken and gratefully rested on the heights above Charleston. They had lost a third of their troops killed or wounded or to sunstroke. There was also some alarm, that eight of the army men had stayed behind with the rebel militias and refused to return to [Boston](#).

Sam Adams remarked to John Hancock: "*What a glorious day.*" Hancock, however, deep in thought, at first presumed Adams to have been making a remark about the weather.

We don't have the names of the army casualties of this glorious day, only those of the militia and of bystanders. The numerical estimate of General Gage's intelligence officer was that about 25 of the soldiers had been killed and almost 150 wounded; the estimate by a soldier, John Pope, was that 90 soldiers had been killed and 181 wounded; the estimate by Ensign De Berniere was that 73 soldiers had been killed, 174 wounded, and 25 were missing in action; — and General Gage reported to his superior officer that 65 of his soldiers had been killed, 180 wounded, and 27 were missing in action.



Presumably what we would discover, if we had the names of the army casualties, would be that a significant number of them had been Americans who had enlisted in the army.

Here are the names of the militia casualties and the civilian casualties including an unarmed 14-year-old bystander (that's termed "collateral damage"):

| Town | Killed | Wounded | Missing |
|-------|--|--|---------|
| Acton | Isaac Davis James Hayward Abner Hosmer | Luther Blanchard (would die this year of wound) | |



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| | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|------------------------------|
| Bedford | Captain Jonathan Wilson | Job Lane | |
| Beverly | Reuben Kenyme | Nathaniel Cleves William Dodge III Samuel Woodbury | |
| Billerica | | Timothy Blanchard John Nichols | |
| Brookline | Isaac Gardner | | |
| Cambridge | John Hicks William Marcy Moses Richardson James Russell Jason Winship Jabez Wyman | Samuel Whittemore | Samuel Frost Seth Russell |
| Charlestown | Edward Barber James Miller | | |
| Chelmsford | | Oliver Barron Aaron Chamberlain | |
| Concord | | Nathan Barrett Jonas Brown Captain Charles Miles George Minot Abel Prescott, Jr. | |
| Danvers | Samuel Cook Benjamin Deland Ebenezer Golwait Henry Jacobs Perley Putnam George Southwick Jothan Webb | Nathan Putnam Dennis Wallace | Joseph Bell |
| Dedham | Elias Haven | Israel Everett | |
| Framingham | | Daniel Hemminway | |
| Lexington | John Brown Samuel Hadley Caleb Harrington Jonathan Harrington, Jr. Jonas Parker Jedidiah Munroe Robert Munroe Isaac Muzzy John Raymond Nathaniel Wyman | Francis Brown Joseph Comee Prince Estabrook Nathaniel Farmer Ebenezer Munroe, Jr. Jedidiah Munroe Solomon Pierce John Robbins John Tidd Thomas Winship | |



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| | | | |
|------------------|--|---|---------------|
| Lynn | William Flint Thomas Hadley Abednego Ramsdell Daniel Townsend | Joseph Felt Timothy Monroe | Josiah Breed |
| Medford | Henry Putnam William Holly | | |
| Needham | John Bacon Nathaniel Chamberlain Amos Mills Elisha Mills Jonathan Parker | Eleazer Kingsbury Xxxxx Tolman | |
| Newton | | Noah Wiswell | |
| Roxbury | | | Elijah Seaver |
| Salem | Benjamin Pierce | | |
| Stow | Daniel Conant | Daniel Conant | |
| Sudbury | Deacon Josiah Haynes Asahael Reed Thomas Bent | Joshua Haynes, Jr. | |
| Watertown | Joseph Coolidge | | |
| Woburn | Daniel Thompson Asahel Porter | Jacob Bacon Xxxxx Johnson George Reed | |



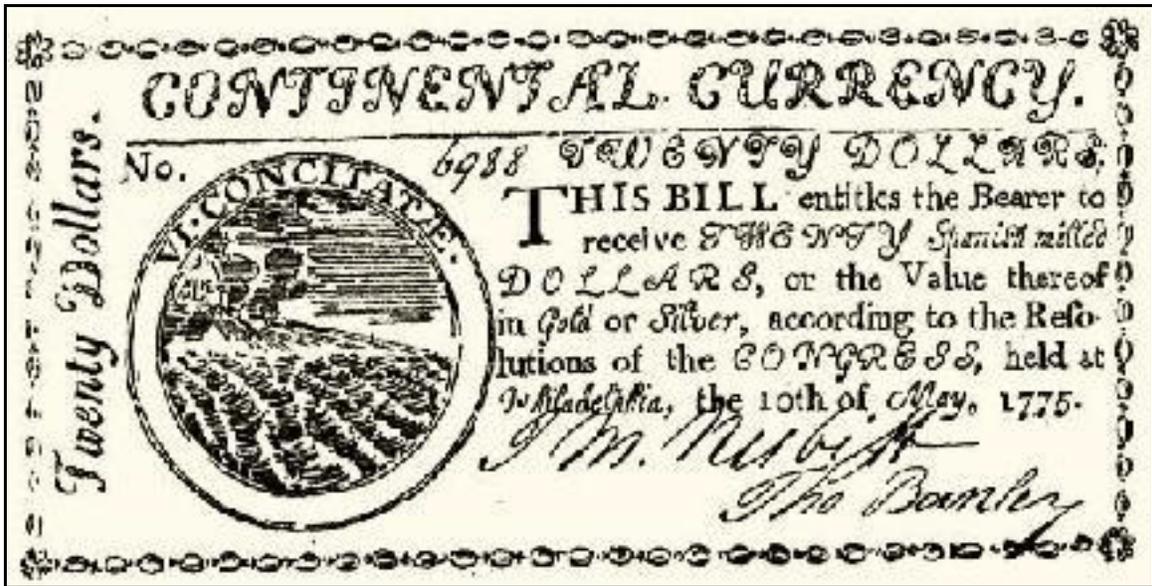
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April 19, Wednesday: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) would allege, in his campaign bio supporting General [Franklin Pierce](#) for President of the United States of America in the election of 1852, that on this famous date in our history Pierce's father had bravely done his duty to his nascent nation:

On the 19th of April, 1775, being then less than eighteen years of age, the stripling [[Benjamin Pierce](#)] was at the plough, when tidings reached him of the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord. He immediately loosened the ox chain, left the plough in the furrow, took his uncle's gun and equipments, and set forth towards the scene of action. From that day, for more than seven years, he never saw his native place. He enlisted in the army, was present at the battle of Bunker Hill, and after serving through the whole revolutionary war, and fighting his way upward from the lowest grade, returned, at last, a thorough soldier, and commander of a company. He was retained in the army as long as that body of veterans had a united existence; and, being finally disbanded, at West Point, in 1784, was left with no other reward, for nine years of toil and danger, than the nominal amount of his pay in the Continental currency – then so depreciated as to be almost worthless.



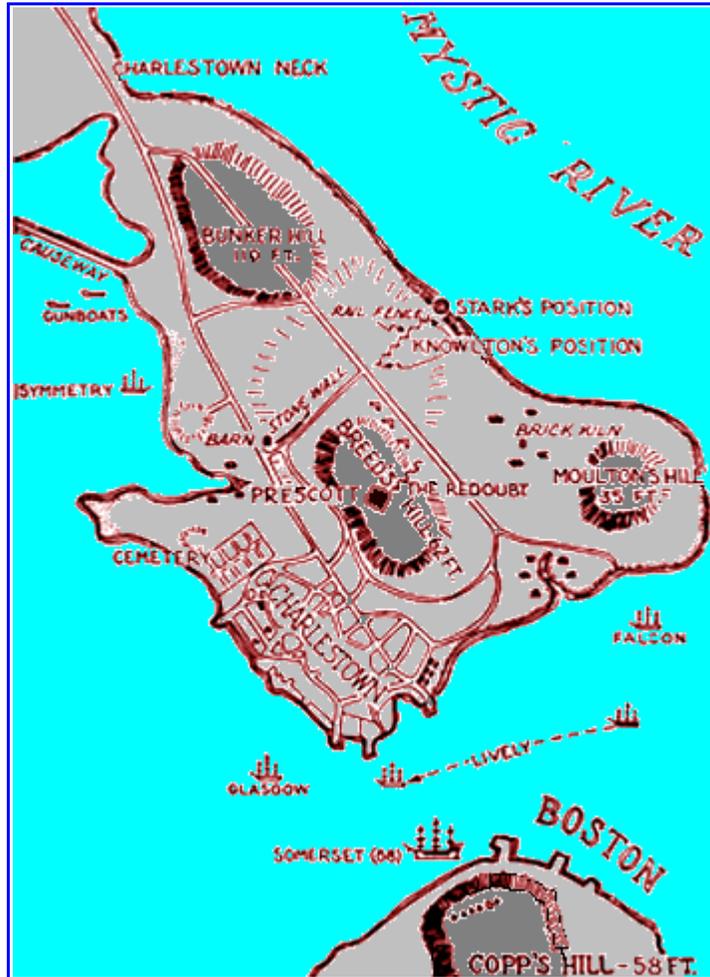
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The subtext of this would of course be something along the lines of “Anyone with a father like this of course deserves to be made our President.”



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April 14, 1852: ... Can we believe when beholding this landscape—with only a few buds visibly swollen—on the trees & the ground covered 8 inches deep with snow—that the grain was waving in the fields & the appletrees were in blossom Ap. 19th 1775. It may confirm this story however—what Grandmother said that she carried ripe cherries from Weston to her brother in Concord Jail the 17th of June the same year. It is probably true what E Wood senior says, that the grain was just beginning to wave, and the apple blossoms



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beginning to expand.



May 31, 1850 entry in [Thoreau](#)'s Journal: To-day May 31st a red and white cow being uneasy broke out of the steam mill pasture & crossed the bridge & broke into Elija Woods grounds— When he endeavored to drive her out by the bars she boldly took to the water wading first through the meadows full of ditches & swam across the river about forty rods wide at this time & landed in her own pasture again— She was a buffaloe crossing her Mississippi— This exploit conferred some dignity on the herd in my eyes—already dignified—& reflectedly on the river—which I looked on as a kind of Bosphorus.
I love to see the domestic animals reassert their native right's—any evidence that they have not lost their original wild habits & vigor.

There is a sweet wild world which lies along the strain of the wood thrush—the rich intervalles which border the stream of its song—more thoroughly genial to my nature than any other.

The blossoms of the tough & vivacious shrub oak are very handsome.

I visited a retired—now almost unused graveyard in Lincoln to-day where (5) British soldiers lie buried who fell on the 19th April '75. Edmund Wheeler—grandfather of William—who lived in the old house now pulled down near the present—went over the next day & carted them to this ground— A few years ago one [Felch](#) a Phrenologist by leave of the select men dug up—and took away two skulls The skeletons were very large—probably those of grenadiers. Wm Wheeler who was present—told me this— He said that he had heard old Mr. Child, who lived opposite—say that when one soldier was shot he leaped right up his full length out of the ranks & fell dead. & he Wm Wheeler—saw a bullet hole through & through one of the skulls.

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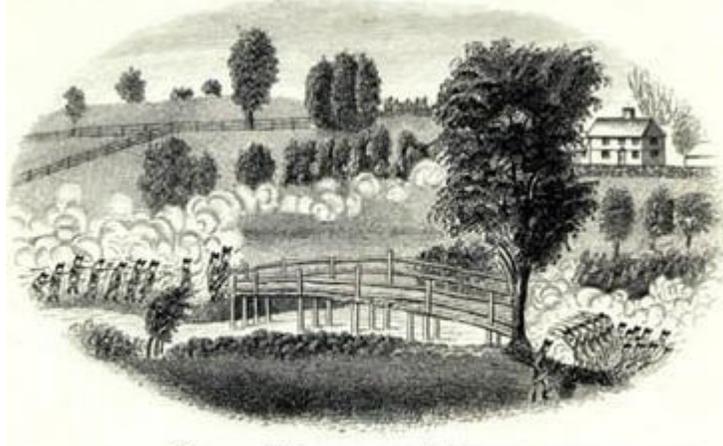
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When the firing stopped, two British soldiers were lying on the greensward, one dead and the other still living.



Ammi White “uplifted his axe, and dealt the wounded soldier a fierce and fatal blow upon the head.”

This one circumstance has borne more fruit for me, than all that history tells us of the fight.

— Nathaniel Hawthorne

Chicago Tribune, Friday, July 25, 1975 Section 3 11

DOONESBURY

IT WAS, AMY! BUT THE MINUTE-MEN WERE UP TO THE TASK! WE FOUGHT, THEN, AT CONCORD'S NORTH BRIDGE!

IT WAS FIERCELY FOUGHT, THEN, NATE?

7-25

THE BRITISH BROKE RANKS AND WITHDREW! WE GAVE PURSUIT! CROUCHING BEHIND STONE WALLS, WE CUT THEM DOWN AS THEY FLED!

WHAT?! BEHIND STONE WALLS?! BUT THAT'S.. .. THAT'S.. UNCONVENTIONAL!

IT WORKED, THOUGH!

OH, YOU FELLOWS ARE JUST AWFUL!

I KNOW— THE REDCOATS WERE FIT TO BE TIED!

© BT Underhill

When the British soldiers returned and saw the mangled head of their comrade, they assumed that the Americans had scalped him. They assumed, that is, that the American offense was the savage one of mutilation of a corpse, rather than merely the routine dispatch of an unarmed, badly wounded prisoner. The British abandoned their dead and wounded that day, and their dead were buried later by the citizens of [Concord](#) where the bodies lay. One wounded British soldier, Samuel Lee of the 10th Regiment, having been left behind by his retreating comrades, eventually became a Concord citizen. Later [Waldo Emerson](#) would declaim at this famed bridge that “Here once the embattled farmers stood / and fired the shot heard round the world” for the freedom

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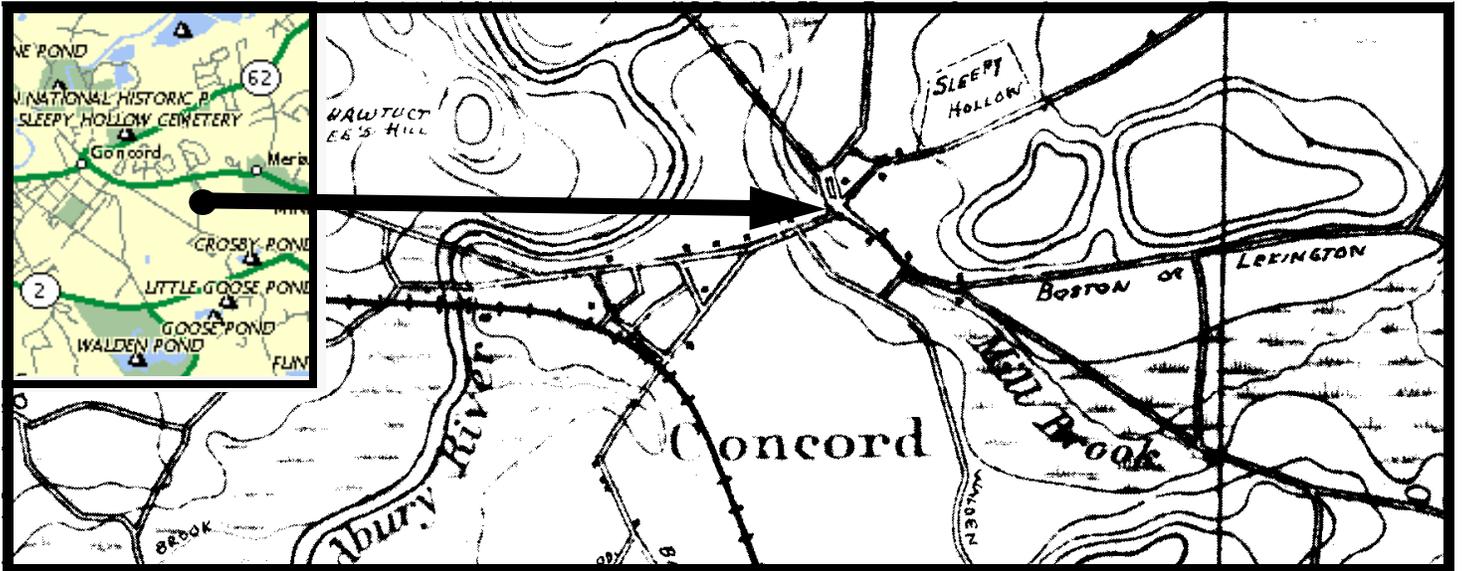
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of white people, and would sagely say nothing about the murder of a defenseless, critically wounded man with an axe. And then at an even later date [Thoreau](#) would be refused an audience in Concord, and would declare in Framingham that “The inhabitants of Concord are not prepared to stand by one of their own bridges” for the freedom of black people. (That was in 1854 in his speech “Slavery in Massachusetts,” but Thoreau was preparing this sentiment as early as 1851.)

The “Wright Tavern” public house of [Concord](#), established in 1747 by the militia captain Ephraim Jones and passed on to Thomas Munroe (formerly of Lexington), was passed in this year to Amos Wright (hence its name) and would become famous because of some jokes in rather poor taste about drinking the blood of the locals which the soldiers indulged in as they stopped by on that exceedingly hot day. It would eventually be willed by Judge Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and Reuben Rice to the “First Parish Society” of [Concord](#). You can inspect it in the background of the famous painting by Doolittle and Earle, of the redcoats standing in Concord Square — or if your whistle is dry you well might stop by and wet it:



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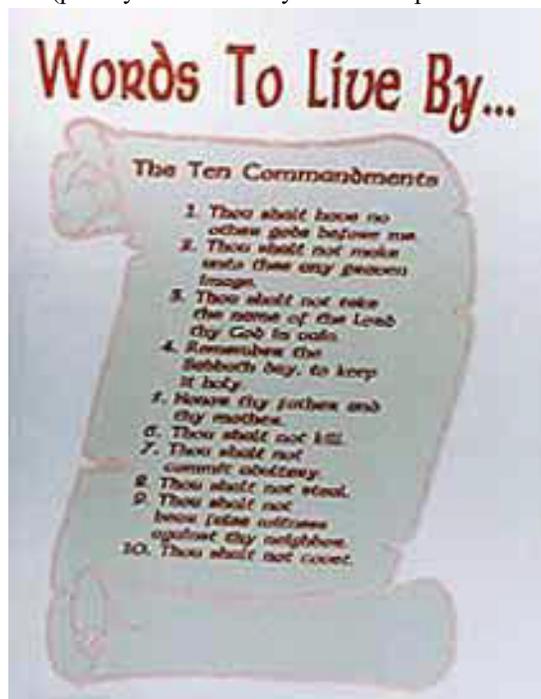
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April 19, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Lexington, and then people were trying to kill each other at [Concord](#).

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The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded of this day in his journal that: “Hostilities commenced at Concord & Lexington.” The day that would be remembered as “Patriots Day” because folks perceived was a one-day reprieve from the obtrusive Old Testament commandment “*Thou shalt not kill,*” and from the intrusive new New Testament commandment “*Love thine enemy.*”²⁹ For 24 hours, apparently, the operating rule would be not the Ten Commandments (portrayed here as they have been presented on a T-shirt), not the Golden Rule,



but a much more intriguing “*Thou shalt lay waste thine enemy.*” The Bedford Minutemen, for instance, bore with them a banner emblazoned with the motto of the Dukes of Kent, “*Conquer or die.*”

[next screen]

29. A POP ESSAY QUESTION. In terms of the above, define and provide synonyms for the term “patriot”:

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This all came about because the army that had been camped on Boston Common, early that morning, embarked to cross the Charles River estuary with muffled oarlocks at the point which is now the corner of Boylston and Charles streets (this part of the estuary long since filled in). The “two lantern” signal from the steeple of one or another Boston church (we don’t actually know which one, perhaps the Congregational church of which Revere was a member, or the nearby Anglican church in the North End) meant that the soldiers were crossing the Charles River (*Quinobequin*) and being marched through Cambridge, not that they were coming by sea, and the “one lantern” signal would have meant that the soldiers were being marching down [Boston Neck](#), through Roxbury. The two lanterns which were used had been made in the workshops of Paul Revere or Rivière.³⁰ General Thomas Gage had sent an army detail to dismantle the steeple of the Old West Church, to ensure that it could not be used for any such signaling.

SLAVERY



As the Army marched up the Charlestown road from the Boston ferry landing, it would have passed a specimen of local justice: an old set of chains with human bones inside them, dating to an incident of September 1755. This had been an African slave, Mark, who had been left to rot after throttling, disemboweling and beheading upon suspicion of having poisoned, or of having attempted to poison, his American owner, Captain John Codman. (Keep this cage in mind, when you are tempted to suspect that what these indignant colonials had



30. This [Huguenot](#) silversmith received the warning signal from the church steeple while still in Boston and only afterward departed from the city on his errand, rather than seeing the signal from the opposite shore as has commonly been fantasized.

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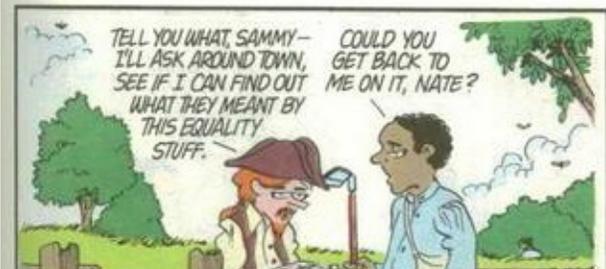
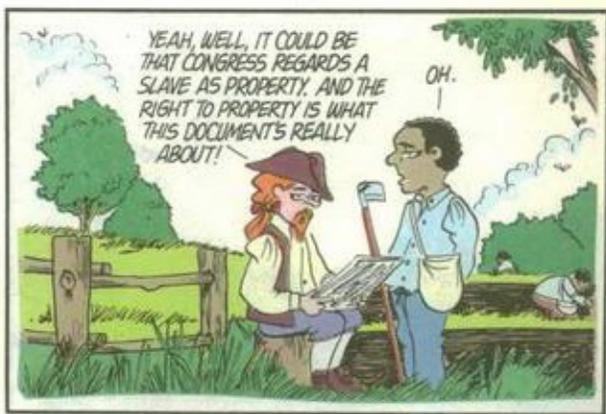
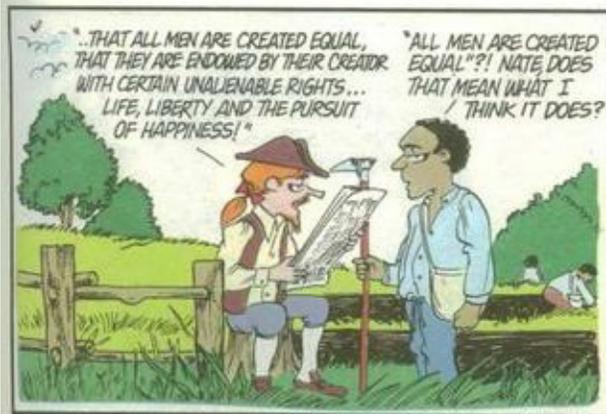
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WALDEN: I was witness to events of a less peaceful character. One day when I went out to my wood-pile, or rather my pile of stumps, I observed two large ants, the one red, the other much larger, nearly half an inch long, and black, fiercely contending with one another. Having once got hold they never let go, but struggled and wrestled and rolled on the chips incessantly. Looking farther, I was surprised to find that the chips were covered with such combatants, that it was not a *duellum*, but a *bellum*, a war between two races of ants, the red always pitted against the black, and frequently two reds ones to one black. The legions of these Myrmidons covered all the hills and vales in my wood-yard, and the ground was already strewn with the dead and dying, both red and black. It was the only battle which I have ever witnessed, the only battle-field I ever trod while the battle was raging; internecine war; the red republicans on the one hand, and the black imperialists on the other. On every side they were engaged in deadly combat, yet without any noise that I could hear, and human soldiers never fought so resolutely. I watched a couple that were fast locked in each other's embraces, in a little sunny valley amid the chips, now at noon-day prepared to fight till the sun went down, or life went out. The smaller red champion had fastened himself like a vice to his adversary's front, and through all the tumblings on that field never for an instant ceased to gnaw at one of his feelers near the root, having already caused the other to go by the board; while the stronger black one dashed him from side to side, and, as I saw on looking nearer, had already divested him of several of his members. They fought with more pertinacity than bull-dogs. Neither manifested the least disposition to retreat. It was evident that their battle-cry was Conquer or die.... I should not have wondered by this time to find that they had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and playing their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants. I was myself excited somewhat even as if they had been men. The more you think of it, the less the difference. And certainly there is not the fight recorded in Concord history, at least, if in the history of America, that will bear a moment's comparison with this, whether for the numbers engaged in it, or for the patriotism and heroism displayed. For numbers and for carnage it was an Austerlitz or Dresden. Concord Fight! Two killed on the patriots' side, and Luther Blanchard wounded! Why here every ant was a Buttrick, -"Fire! for God's sake fire!"- and thousands shared the fate of Davis and Hosmer. There was not one hireling there. I have no doubt that it was a principle they fought for, as much as our ancestors, and not to avoid a three-penny tax on their tea; and the results of this battle will be as important and memorable to those whom it concerns as those of the battle of Bunker Hill, at least.

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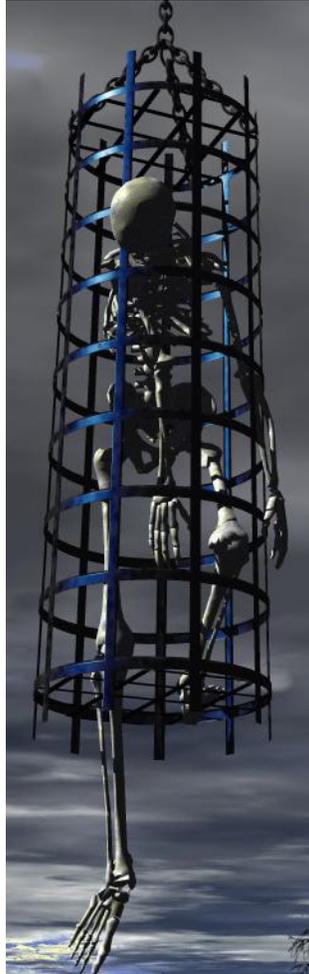
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decided to fight for was freedom and justice for all.)



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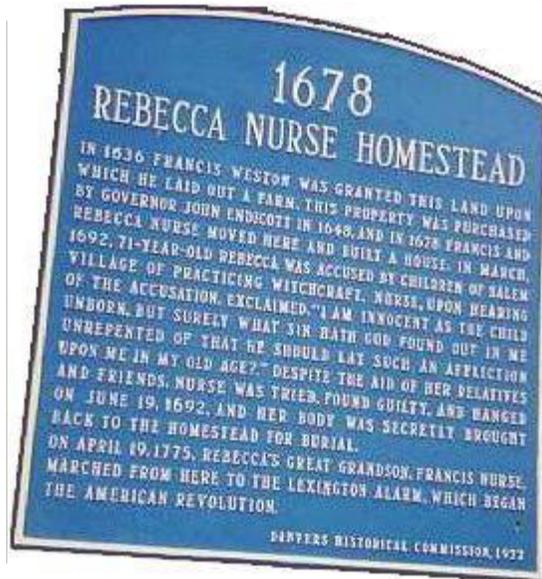
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One of the men who were marching to unite with the Lexington militia, had slept the previous night in this house:



He was Francis Nurse, a great grandson of Goodwife Rebecca Towne Nurse who had been [hanged](#) in Salem as a [witch](#) and then, when the witch fervor had died down, been reinstated postmortem into her church.



The Lexington militia had assembled too early, in response to the riders coming out of [Boston](#) such as Revere, and when the army column had not showed up by 2AM they decided to disperse and get some sleep. Shortly before daybreak there were some 70 of them on the Lexington green, and they spread out in two lines to face

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the oncoming troops. Major John Pitcairn of the Marines called out to the army troops that they were not to



fire but were to surround these militiamen and then take away their weapons, and Captain John Parker of the militia (ancestor of the Reverend Theodore Parker of Thoreau's day, carrying his Charleville musket) called



out to the militiamen that they were not to fire, but were to disperse. At that point there was a gunshot, origins unclear, and the army troops broke ranks and began to fire at the 27 militiamen. It would be pointless to inquire who fired, as in such a situation at the instant that it occurs nobody has any idea where the round came from or where it went and therefore everyone becomes terrified and presumes that he is being fired upon and proceeds to fire as rapidly as possible at anyone who appears to be holding a weapon. As Parker stated it, the result was that the army killed "eight of our party, with out receiving any provocation therefor from us."

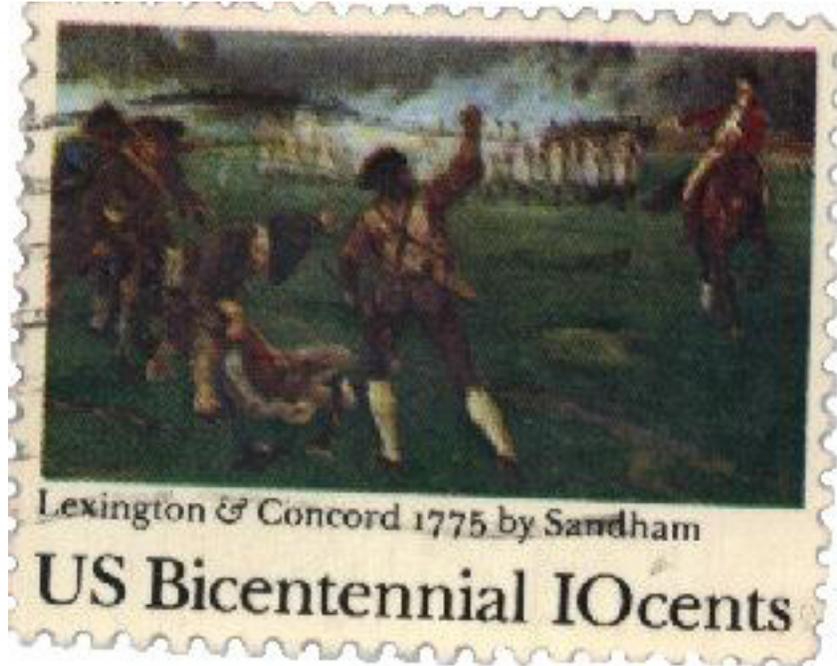
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After this killing, and presumably after the army had collected the militia's weapons,³¹ neighbors were



allowed to come forward to tend the wounded and remove the corpses, while the army got itself back into a column, fired off one massive victory volley to clear their weapons, and marched on toward [Concord](#). Major John Buttrick sent [Captain Reuben Brown](#) on horseback down Lexington Road toward Boston to report the firing in Lexington. Captain Brown would ride more than 100 miles to the coast and back, while the soldiers were looting his liveries and setting his barn on fire (neither the barn nor the house would be destroyed).

As the redcoat drums rumbled like thunder through the town's streets, a panic-stricken 18-year-old named Harry Gould was being consoled by the Reverend [William Emerson](#). In Concord, while destroying what few military stores they could get their hands on, the army also set afire the liberty pole in front of the courthouse. The scene would be re-imagined and painted by Amos Doolittle and then a famous lithograph would be made

31. Likewise, we do not refer here to the militia as “the Americans” and the army as “the British,” since that is a later conceptual framework and anyhow would have been false to the actual constitution of these bodies of armed men. There were in fact many Americans in the paid colonial army, and I know of at least one Brit who was assembled with the Minutemen militia — before the battle we know that he put aside his rifle for awhile and went down the hill to chat up various Redcoats. This was a struggle of a militia faction of British subjects in America, the separatist faction, versus an army faction of British subjects in America, the loyalist faction, similar to the struggle during the Iranian Revolution of 1979 between the Imperial Iranian Air Force cadets and warrant officers, adherents of the religious faction in Iranian politics, versus the Imperial Iranian Ground Forces brigades, controlled by officers adherent to the secular faction in Iranian politics. It is significant, then, using this more accurate terminology, that rather than attempt to seize “the militia’s” stores and withdraw with them to Boston, “the army” was attempting to destroy those military stores in place. This means that, going into this action, “the army” was already regarding its withdrawal to Boston to be the difficult part of the day’s military operation, because, had they seized and relocated these military stores, “the army” could have made use of them itself — the military may upon occasion become wanton in the destruction of civilian properties, just as it may upon occasion rape, but military stores are never destroyed in place without at least one damned good reason. The major military stores available to “the militia” were being stockpiled in Worcester rather than in [Concord](#), because it was more of a march from Boston for “the army” and was therefore safer. Had “the army” succeeded in its withdrawal from Concord, of course, it would have marched to Worcester to destroy the bulk of the stores in the possession of “the militia,” in order to force “the militia” to return once again to the political faction favored by the officers of “the army.”

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of this famous painting by Smith:



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Sparks from the liberty pole, however, ignited the courthouse roof, and while that fire was extinguished without great harm to the structure, the smoke from this fire caused the some 400 militiamen assembled in safety on the rise on the opposite side of the [Concord River](#) to presume that it was the army's intention to burn their dissident town to the ground. In a column of pairs they approached the [Old North Bridge](#), on the Concord side of which were three army companies. The army made some attempt to render the bridge impassible by removing planks, and then fired a volley which killed the militia Captain Isaac David and Abner Hosmer, in the front rank of the [Acton](#) minutemen as their drummer, whose face was half shot away.³² It was then that



Major John Buttrick called out “Fire, fellow soldiers, for God’s sake, fire.” Thus it came to be that here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard ’round the world.³³



Not counting those who were wounded but would survive, three redcoats of the Light Infantry Company, 4th Regiment fell in the responding volley, Thomas Smith, Patrick Gray, and James Hall. One went down

32. When Deacon Jonathan Hosmer inspected Private Abner Hosmer’s faceless corpse, he found a breastpin his son had received for his 21st birthday.

33. A footnote to [Waldo Emerson](#)’s famed line “Here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard ’round the world”:
A publication of the Boeing Corporation would eventually declare that with the employees of the Boeing Corporation on the job, making Minuteman ICBMs, it was quite a bit less likely that “some future poet” would be forced to “modify the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson” into “Here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot **reaching** ’round the world.”

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evidently with a bullet through the head and two would die of bodily wounds. Two would be buried by colonials where they had fallen next to the Bridge, and one would be buried in Concord center by the army (somewhere “in the ragged curb where that road wound around the side of the hill,” a gravesite now evidently disturbed during later centuries of construction activity). Through the affair [Acton](#)’s fifer, Luther Blanchard, and the drummer Francis Barker, were performing a lively Jacobin tune, “The White Cockade.”³⁴ According to the Reverend [William Emerson](#), the Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#)’s grandfather, who was watching from an upstairs window at the Old Manse as these people shot off muskets at each other out at the North Bridge, one or the other of the seriously wounded soldiers was then struck, as he attempted to rise, on the head with a hatchet.

[Ammi White](#) was a private in Captain David Brown’s company of militia. Captain Brown³⁵ had his home near the Old North Bridge and in 1770 had been paid by the town of Concord to care for the causeway and wall associated with that bridge. As the redcoats fell back from the firing, Colonel Barrett’s militia unit advanced a short distance. According to reconstructions of what happened, the gravely wounded British soldier, between the retreating and the advancing lines, was attempting to rise when he was chopped down with a small hatchet by militiaman White, “not under the feelings of humanity.” He “barbarously broke his skull,” he “uplifted his axe, and dealt the wounded soldier a fierce and fatal blow upon the head,” with Thomas Thorp of [Acton](#) nearby but unable or unwilling to intercede:

On the Return of the Troops from Concord, they were very much annoyed, and had several Men killed and wounded, by the Rebels firing from behind Walls, Ditches, Trees, and other Ambushes; but the Brigade under the Command of Lord Percy having joined them at Lexington, with two Pieces of Cannon, the Rebels were for a while dispersed; but, as soon as the Troops resumed their March, they began again to fire upon them from behind Stone Walls and Houses, and kept up in that Manner a scattering Fire during the Whole of their March of Fifteen Miles, by which Means several were killed and wounded; and such was the Cruelty and Barbarity of the Rebels, that they scalped and cut off the Ears of some of the wounded Men, who fell into their Hands.

This one circumstance has borne more fruit for me, than all that history tells us of the fight.

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)

The Reverend [William Emerson](#) acknowledged the fact of an ax blow and acknowledged also that the soldier languished for hours before expiring, but would insist that neither scalp nor ears were removed. When the redcoats returned from Barrett’s farm and were grossing out at the sight of the wound on the head of their fallen comrade, they told one another the story that the American militia had scalped him as if they were red savages

34. Major [Francis Faulkner](#) led a company, the “[Acton](#) Patriots.”

35. Captain David Brown of Concord (1732-1802) kept a diary of Bunker Hill action in 1775.



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(the usual story, things like this typically are done to innocent white people by vicious persons of color). Five soldiers would testify to having themselves seen the wounded man with the skin over his eyes cut and also the top part of his ears cut off. There was not only misunderstanding, there was considerable exaggeration: A rumor would begin to circulate that the dying soldier's eyes had been gouged out. Ensign Jeremy Lister later would write tendentiously and falsely that "4 men...killd who afterwards scalp'd their eyes goug'd their noses and ears cut of, such barbarity execut'd upon the Corps could scarcely be paralleled by the most uncivilised savages." The army would be forced to abandon its dead and wounded that hot day, with soldiers falling not only from bullets but also from sunstroke, and the citizens of Concord would need to dig a hole and inter two of the bodies where they lay (there being no particular reason for the extra labor of transporting these dead bodies anywhere else prior to interment), and one of the wounded soldiers, Samuel Lee of the 10th Regiment, left behind, eventually would become a Concord citizen. The commander of the Concord column, LTC Smith, reported to his superiors Lord Percy and General Gage that "after the bridge was quitted, they scalped and otherwise ill-treated one or two of the men who were either killed or severely wounded." General Gage would summarize this as: "... one scalped, his head much mangled and his ears cut off, though not quite dead ... a sight which struck the soldiers with horror." In Concord, stories would be generated that the person who had used the hatchet had been merely a wood-chopping chore boy of the Emersons, or had been Frank, the Emersons' slave (the usual story, blame everything on some nearby flunky or on some handy person of color) — but in fact there had been no such chore boy and black Frank's activities on that date had been well vouched for by members of the Emerson family.

Here is the story per D. Michael Ryan:

Various explanations for the cause of this deed were advanced. The culprit was "half-witted"; excused only by excitement and inexperience; startled by the soldier and acted out of fear; acting to end the soldier's suffering. Extreme claims noted that the victim was trying to drown himself in a water puddle and begged someone to kill him; had thrust at the American with his bayonet; or was an escaping prisoner. None of these theories have a basis in fact and had such mitigating circumstances existed, would certainly have been mentioned by the Reverend [William Emerson](#). While the British publicized the incident, Americans chose to ignore it possibly due to embarrassment, fear of reprisals, failure to appreciate its importance or a notion that it would blot a historic cause. Provincial authorities hesitated to confirm that the act had occurred but in response to a Boston story insured that the burial detail testified that "neither of those persons (2 dead soldiers buried at the bridge) were scalped nor their ears cut off." Concord historians Ripley [??] and Lemuel Shattuck ignored the incident completely while well into the 19th Century, British historians continued to write of the scalping and ear cutting episode. A long guarded secret was the name of the young culprit who tradition acknowledges as Ammi White.... The British troops returning to Boston would remember the "scalping" with fear, anger and a sense of revenge. This, together with civilian hostility in Boston and the tactics of the colonials along the retreat route, considered cowardly, would lead to army reprisals and atrocities (house burnings, killing of unarmed men, bayoneting of wounded and dead colonials, etc.) especially in the village of Menotomy. Lord Percy's relief column had been informed of the "scalping" and General Gage would later use the story to offset atrocity charges leveled against his troops.





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In a much later timeframe [Waldo Emerson](#) would declaim at this famed bridge that “Here once the embattled farmers stood / and fired the shot heard round the world” for the freedom of white people, and would sagely say nothing about the alleged offing of a defenseless, critically wounded man with a hatchet. And then at an even later date [Henry Thoreau](#) would be refused an audience in [Concord](#), and would declare in Framingham MA that “The inhabitants of Concord are not prepared to stand by one of their own bridges” for the freedom of black people. (That was in 1854 in his speech “Slavery in Massachusetts,” but Thoreau would be preparing this sentiment as early as 1851.)

After some two hours more in [Concord](#), the army began its disastrous withdrawal to Lexington, where its remnants were reinforced by the 1st Brigade under Sir Hugh Percy.

In his SACRED GROUND,³⁶ Edward Linenthal has presented an extended treatment of dissidence in the Concord context in effect with one hand tied behind his back. That is, he does this while accomplishing the feat of not once bringing in the name of [Thoreau](#). Picking up on the Emersonian description of the fallen farmer

36.  Linenthal, Edward Tabor. SACRED GROUND: AMERICANS AND THEIR BATTLEFIELDS. Urbana IL: U of Illinois P, 1991



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minutemen of April 19, 1775 as having acted “from the simplest instincts,”³⁷ Linenthal states that:



These instinctive warriors were ceremoniously perceived as men whose New England origins nurtured republican principles that protected them from the moral pollution of old-world warriors. Consequently, the minuteman became a powerful cultural model for generations of Americans at war and at peace: from Billy Yank and Johnny Reb in the Civil War to the doughboys of World War I and the GI's of World War II; from the right-wing Minutemen of the 1960s to a more recent transformation into the Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile. Patriotic rhetoric portrayed the minutemen as Christ-like saviors, and citizens of Lexington and [Concord](#) were proud that these new-world warriors drank from the wellsprings of liberty which, they believed, ran especially deep in their towns.... Beyond the ever-present threat of failing to measure up to the principles embodied by the minutemen, the specter of defilement appeared in other ways. Beginning in rancorous debate in the 1820s, a number of citizens of Lexington and Concord claimed that **their** town was the authentic birthplace of the nation. Each was accused of falsifying the national creation story by refusing to grant this sacred status to the other.... If the encounter on Lexington Green was not a battle but a massacre, were the martyred minutemen really the first models of how Americans die in war or just further examples of colonial victims? And if they were only victims, could that affect popular perception of the potency of their sacrifice?... On occasion, what some people perceived as defilement, others viewed as creative attempts to redefine the meaning of the events of April 19, 1775. Both the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Peoples Bicentennial Commission understood Lexington and Concord to be sacred ground when they held separate protests on the Battle Green and at the North Bridge in the mid-1970s. In their view, the purpose of protest was not desecration of a sacred spot, for they believed the **real** defilement had been perpetrated by a new class of American Tories who had severed the link between revolutionary war principles (especially the principle of dissent) and contemporary American life. Each group believed that its protest would spark the recovery of the American revolutionary tradition, which was viewed as crucial to the resuscitation of authentic American values that had fallen into disrepair because of public apathy.

OLD NORTH BRIDGE

The fifer boy of the Concord Minutemen was the son of Major John Buttrick, 15 years of age. The side drum he used would belong to the son of Colonel James Barrett, Nathan Barrett, until it would fall apart and the town would need to purchase a new one. One source alleges that a severe earthquake shook [Concord](#).³⁸ March and early April having been extraordinarily warm, the apple trees around Concord were in bloom by April 19th, and the soldiers being marched through Lexington toward Concord suffered heat prostration.

Later, when Lafayette would visit Concord as part of a triumphal tour, tiny [Mary Moody Emerson](#) would approach him to let him know that she had been “‘in arms’ at the Concord fight” — she having been a newborn during that period.

37. ■ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. A HISTORICAL DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF CONCORD, 12 SEPTEMBER 1835 ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN. Boston MA: W.B. Clarke, 1835.

38. Such an earthquake is not listed on the comprehensive scientific list of known New England earthquakes, which has no entries between August 15, 1772 and February 7, 1776. —Presumably some historian has misunderstood a casual comment on the order of “the earth certainly shook that day.”

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When word of approaching British troops was received, Captain Charles Miles had mustered his company near the Wright Tavern.³⁹ Included with the muster roll we can discover a handwritten note by Sergeant David Hartwell, "Concord, April 19th 1775, then the battel begune...."



On the high ground above North Bridge where the colonial force reformed, Captain Miles then joined the officers' conference. When it was decided to march into Town, the story is, the lead was initially offered to a Concord captain but this man said he "should rather not go." Since it was Captain Miles who was in command of the senior minute company, and would not be in the lead, it is speculated that he might have been the one to have said this. Captain Isaac Davis's [Acton](#) company then led the march to the Bridge and while the position of other units is uncertain, several accounts have placed Miles's company either second or third in line. Years later, the Reverend Ezra Ripley noted that when Captain Miles was asked his feelings when marching on the

39. The Wright Tavern is called that because Amos Wright was renting the building from its owner Samuel Swan and keeping tavern there when first the local militia gathered there and then Army officers Lt. Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn used it as their headquarters. In such a quarrel the businessman of course would sell drinks to all comers.

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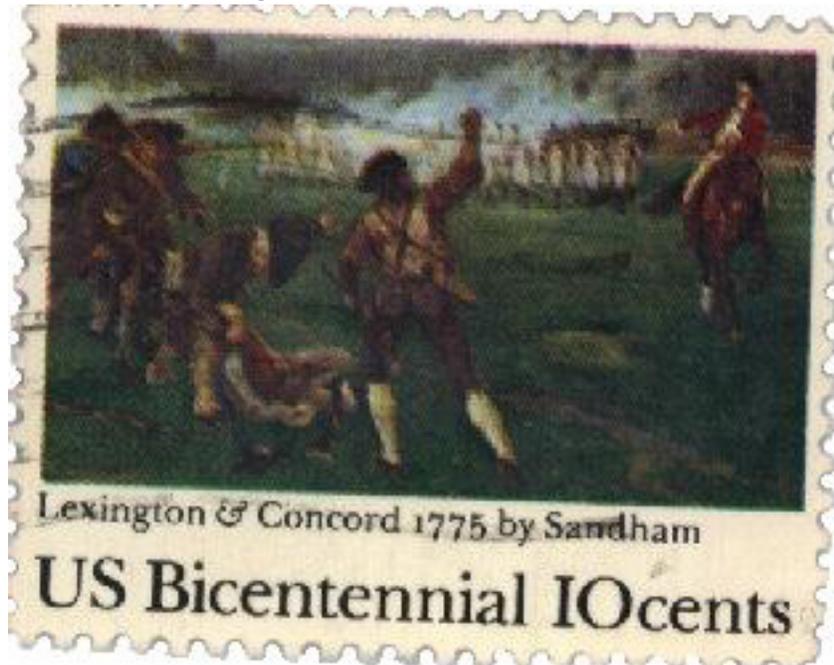
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Battle Bridge on April 19, 1775, he responded “that he went to the service of the day with the same seriousness and acknowledgement of God which he carried to church. During the fighting it was thought that this reluctant captain had been killed, but he had only been somewhat wounded and would be able to continue to direct his company during the chasing of the Regulars back to Charlestown.



We don't have the names of the army casualties of this glorious day, only those of the militia and of bystanders. The numerical estimate of General Gage's intelligence officer was that about 25 of the soldiers had been killed and almost 150 wounded; the estimate by a soldier, John Pope, was that 90 soldiers had been killed and 181 wounded; the estimate by Ensign De Berniere was that 73 soldiers had been killed, 174 wounded, and 25 were missing in action; — and General Gage reported to his superior officer that 65 of his soldiers had been killed, 180 wounded, and 27 were missing in action.



Presumably what we would discover, if we had the names of the army casualties, would be that a significant number of them had been Americans who had enlisted in the army.



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Here are the names of the militia casualties and the civilian casualties including an unarmed 14-year-old bystander (that's termed "collateral damage"):

| Town | Killed | Wounded | Missing |
|--------------------|--|--|------------------------------|
| Acton | Isaac Davis James Hayward Abner Hosmer | Luther Blanchard (would die this year of wound) | |
| Bedford | Captain Jonathan Wilson | Job Lane | |
| Beverly | Reuben Kenyme | Nathaniel Cleves William Dodge III Samuel Woodbury | |
| Billerica | | Timothy Blanchard John Nichols | |
| Brookline | Isaac Gardner | | |
| Cambridge | John Hicks William Marcy Moses Richardson James Russell Jason Winship Jabez Wyman | Samuel Whittemore | Samuel Frost Seth Russell |
| Charlestown | Edward Barber James Miller | | |
| Chelmsford | | Oliver Barron Aaron Chamberlain | |
| Concord | | Nathan Barrett Jonas Brown Captain Charles Miles George Minot Abel Prescott, Jr. | |
| Danvers | Samuel Cook Benjamin Deland Ebenezer Golwait Henry Jacobs Perley Putnam George Southwick Jothan Webb | Nathan Putnam Dennis Wallace | Joseph Bell |
| Dedham | Elias Haven | Israel Everett | |
| Framingham | | Daniel Hemminway | |



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| | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---------------|
| Lexington | John Brown Samuel Hadley Caleb Harrington Jonathan Harrington, Jr. Jonas Parker Jedidiah Munroe Robert Munroe Isaac Muzzy John Raymond Nathaniel Wyman | Francis Brown Joseph Comee Prince Estabrook Nathaniel Farmer Ebenezer Munroe, Jr. Jedidiah Munroe Solomon Pierce John Robbins John Tidd Thomas Winship | |
| Lynn | William Flint Thomas Hadley Abednego Ramsdell Daniel Townsend | Joseph Felt Timothy Monroe | Josiah Breed |
| Medford | Henry Putnam William Holly | | |
| Needham | John Bacon Nathaniel Chamberlain Amos Mills Elisha Mills Jonathan Parker | Eleazer Kingsbury Xxxxx Tolman | |
| Newton | | Noah Wiswell | |
| Roxbury | | | Elijah Seaver |
| Salem | Benjamin Pierce | | |
| Stow | Daniel Conant | Daniel Conant | |
| Sudbury | Deacon Josiah Haynes Asahael Reed Thomas Bent | Joshua Haynes, Jr. | |
| Watertown | Joseph Coolidge | | |
| Woburn | Daniel Thompson Asahel Porter | Jacob Bacon Xxxxx Johnson George Reed | |



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Here is an example of what we don't know. When we somewhat belatedly erected this grave marker, in the Year of Our Lord 2000, we presumed that the slain army soldier was a Brit although he may very well have been simply one of the Americans who had enlisted not in what was at that time our militia but in what was at that time our army:



Dr. Charles Russell, son of the Hon. James Russell, born in Charlestown, graduated at Harvard College, 1757, and inherited his uncle Chambers's estate in Lincoln, where he resided as a physician. He married Miss Elizabeth Vassall of Cambridge, and from his father-in-law he contracted opinions opposed to the measures of the people in the revolution, and left Lincoln on the 19th of April, 1775, and went to Martinique, in the West-Indies, where he died.... Dr. Joseph Adams was also unfriendly to the revolution, and went to England, where he died.⁴⁰

40. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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When [Timothy Dwight](#) would write of his 1795 travels, while speaking of his passing through [Concord](#) he would give a small amount of attention to the bucolic details of the place:



Concord was purchased of the Indians and incorporated in 1635. Three persons only are known to have been killed within the limits of this township by the savages, although it was the first settlement made in New England so far from the shore. From Boston it is distant nineteen miles, from Williams' in Marlboro, fifteen.

The soil of this township is various. The higher grounds have loam mixed with gravel. The plains are sandy, light but warm, and friendly to rye and maize, of which considerable quantities are carried to market. Pastures are visibly few and indifferent. Along the river, which is named from this town and runs through the middle of it, lie extensive and rich meadows. Hemp and flax grow here luxuriantly. Two acres are said to have yielded in one instance one thousand pounds of flax. Few fruits are seen except apples, and these plainly do not abound as in most other parts of the country.

The face of this township is generally a plain. A hill of no great height ascends at a small distance from the river on the eastern side and pursues a course northward, parallel with that of the river. Between this hill and the river lies the principal street. Another containing a considerable number of houses abuts upon it, perpendicularly from the western side.

The houses in Concord are generally well built, and with the outbuildings and fences make a good appearance. The public buildings are the church, courthouse, and jail, all of them neat.

But then he would devote a good deal of his attention to this locale's belligerent status as the site of this notorious squabble.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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Concord will be long remembered as having been, partially, the scene of the first military action in the Revolutionary War, and the object of an expedition, the first in that chain of events which terminated in the separation of the British colonies from their mother country. A traveler on this spot, particularly an American traveler, will irresistibly recall to his mind an event of this magnitude, and cannot fail of being deeply affected by a comparison of so small a beginning with so mighty an issue. In other circumstances, the expedition to Concord and the contest which ensued would have been merely little tales of wonder and woe, chiefly recited by the parents of the neighborhood to their circles at the fireside, commanding a momentary attention of childhood, and calling forth the tear of sorrow from the eyes of those who were intimately connected with the sufferers. Now, the same events preface the history of a nation and the beginning of an empire, and are themes of disquisition and astonishment to the civilized world. From the plains of Concord will henceforth be dated a change in human affairs, an alteration in the balance of human power, and a new direction to the course of human improvement. Man, from the events which have occurred here, will in some respects assume a new character, and experience in some respects a new destiny.

General Gage, to whom was committed one of the most unfortunate trusts ever allotted to an individual, having obtained information that a considerable quantity of arms and military stores was by order of the Provincial Congress deposited in this town,¹ sent Lieut. Col. Smith and Major Pitcairn at the head of eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, with orders to march to Concord and destroy the deposit. The troops were accordingly embarked from the common in Boston, and landed on the opposite shore in Cambridge at a place called Phipps's farm. Thence they marched by the shortest route to this town.

1. The whole amount of the warlike stores in the province of Massachusetts as they appear on a return, April 14, 1775, is contained in the following list.

| | |
|------------------|---------|
| Firearms | 21,549 |
| Pounds of powder | 17,441 |
| Pounds of ball | 22,191 |
| No. of flints | 144,699 |
| No. of bayonets | 10,103 |
| No. of pouches | 11,979 |

The whole of the town stocks

| | |
|------------------|---------|
| Firearms | 68 |
| Pounds of powder | 357 1/2 |
| Pounds of ball | 66,78 |
| No. of flints | 100,531 |

Duke's county and Nantucket were not included in this list.



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April 19, Wednesday: Benjamin Wellington was one of the Lexington militiaman, but was captured by the army while they were still marching toward Lexington, before the gunfire on the town common. He went on to serve at the battle of Saratoga.

As a contingent of minutemen passed through Braintree on their way to the Lexington/Concord battle, they were amused by an 8-year-old who came out of a house and performed the manual of arms before them using a musket taller than himself. This boy was [John Quincy Adams](#).

Pompy or Pomp Blackman of Braintree and Prince Estabrook were two local black minutemen who took part in the Battle of Lexington and Concord. Estabrook, a slave of Benjamin Wellington, was wounded on Lexington common.⁴¹ By his service in the revolution he would receive his manumission.

A more general list of participants of color would include the Peter Salem who had been the slave of the Belknaps in Framingham but had been manumitted expressly that he might enlist in the militia, Cato Stedman, Cuff Whittemore, Lemuel Haynes, Cato Wood of Arlington, Prince of Brookline, Caesar Ferritt, and Samuel Craft.

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April 19, Wednesday: The inscription on the memorial to [John Jack](#) in the hill on the Old Hill Burying Ground near [Concord](#)'s Milldam was copied by a British officer, and would appear in an English magazine.⁴²

**“GOD WILLS US FREE; — MAN WILLS US SLAVES.
I WILL AS GOD WILLS; GOD’S WILL BE DONE.
HERE LIES THE BODY OF
JOHN JACK,
A NATIVE OF AFRICA, WHO DIED
MARCH, 1773, AGED ABOUT SIXTY YEARS.
THOUGH BORN IN A LAND OF SLAVERY,
HE WAS BORN FREE.
THOUGH HE LIVED IN A LAND OF LIBERTY,
HE LIVED A SLAVE;
TILL BY HIS HONEST THOUGH STOLEN LABOURS,
HE ACQUIRED THE SOURCE OF SLAVERY,
WHICH GAVE HIM HIS FREEDOM:
THOUGH NOT LONG BEFORE
DEATH, THE GRAND TYRANT,
GAVE HIM HIS FINAL EMANCIPATION,
AND PUT HIM ON A FOOTING WITH KINGS.
THOUGH A SLAVE TO VICE,
HE PRACTICED THOSE VIRTUES,
WITHOUT WHICH KINGS ARE BUT SLAVES.”**

So, it would appear, regardless of what our naysayers might choose to believe, it appears that we did teach the Brits something or other about American freedom on this day — taught something by a Concord Tory!

41. Another source informs me that Prince Estabrook had been owned by the third Joseph Estabrook of Concord, and had been inherited by his son Joseph Estabrook.

42. According to Concord account, the British officers had selected this spot in a grove of young locust trees “as a point of observation from which they could watch the movements of the Americans and indicate by signals to their own soldiery sent in different directions, the plan of operations which circumstances might require them to pursue.”



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General Gage's principal advisers were of two classes, both very unhappily fitted to give him useful advice. One class was composed of Britons, utterly unacquainted with the state of the country, unwarrantably relying on their own prowess, and foolishly presuming on the supposed pusillanimity of the colonists. The other class was composed of colonists who had embarked their all in British measures, were generally deceived themselves, and were strongly prompted by every motive to deceive him. When the expedition to Concord was planned, it is probable that neither General Gage, nor his advisers, expected the least attempt at resistance. This opinion was bandied through the whole party in Boston. At the same time were continually circulated fulsome panegyrics on the bravery of the British troops. Silly jests and contemptible sneers were also reiterated concerning the dastardly character of the colonists. All these were spread, felt, and remembered. The expedition to Concord refuted them all.

Concord, as has been observed, lies almost equally on both sides of the river to which it gives its name. The surface of the township is generally level and low, and the river remarkably sluggish. From these facts a traveler would naturally conclude that Concord must be unhealthy. The following statement will however prove this conclusion to be unsound.

In the year 1790, the township contained 1,590 inhabitants. Of these, seventy-five were seventy years of age, or upward.

From the year 1779 to 1791 inclusive, a period of thirteen years, 222 persons died. The greatest number in a single year was twenty-five, the least ten. The average number was seventeen. Of these, fifty-nine were more than seventy, thirty others more than eighty, and eight more than ninety, amounting in the whole to ninety-seven (out of 222) who passed the limit of seventy years. It is presumed, a more remarkable instance of health and longevity cannot be produced. Almost 7/17 of the whole number deceased have during this period reached the boundary of human life. It is scarcely to be imagined that even here a similar list will be furnished a second time. Yet the Rev. Mr. Ripley, minister of Concord, who kept this register, informed me that the state of health during this period did not, so far as he had observed, differ very materially from what was common.¹

1. Ezra Ripley (1751-1841), Harvard 1776, became pastor of the First Church in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1778. There he founded what was perhaps the first temperance society in the country. He was the stepfather of Ralph Waldo Emerson.



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An expedition of this nature had for some time been expected. Certain intelligence of it had been obtained the preceding afternoon by Dr. Warren, who afterwards fell in the battle of Breed's Hill,¹ and was forwarded by him with the utmost celerity to the intervening towns, particularly to Lexington, where were at that time Mr. Hancock and Mr. Adams, both afterwards governors of Massachusetts.² As these gentlemen were supposed to be the principal objects of the expedition, the expresses who carried the intelligence (Col. Paul Revere and Mr. William Dawes) were peculiarly directed to them.³ They reached Lexington, which is four miles from Concord, in such season that Messrs. Hancock and Adams made their escape.⁴ Here, however, the expresses were stopped by the British as they were advancing toward Concord; but Dr. Prescott, a young gentleman to whom they had communicated their message, escaped and alarmed the inhabitants of Concord.⁵

The British troops reached Lexington at five o'clock in the morning. Here they found about seventy militia and forty unarmed spectators by the side of the church. Major Pitcairn rode up to them and cried out with vehemence, "Disperse you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse." As this command was not immediately obeyed, he discharged a pistol and ordered his soldiers to fire upon the inhabitants. The soldiers fired, and the people instantly fled. The soldiers, however, continued to fire at individuals. This at length provoked a return, and several were killed on both sides. Still the troops continued their march toward Concord, where they arrived early in the morning. For the purpose of defense, the inhabitants had drawn themselves up in a kind of order; but, upon discovering the number of the enemy withdrew over the North Bridge, half a mile below the church, where they waited for reinforcements. The soldiers then broke open and scattered about sixty barrels of flour, disabled two twenty-four pounders, destroyed the carriages of about twenty cannon, and threw five hundred pounds of ball into the river and neighboring wells. The principal part of the stores, however, was not discovered.

1. Joseph Warren (1741-1755), Harvard 1759, an excellent physician in Boston, became deeply involved in Revolutionary politics. Early in 1775, he gave up his profession to enter the army. He became president *pro tempore* of the Provincial Congress and was elected a major general four days before his death.

2. John Hancock (1737-1793), Harvard 1754, adopted by his rich uncle Thomas, joined his successful mercantile firm. The famous Revolutionary patriot was treasurer of Harvard College, 1773-1777, president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and first governor of Massachusetts in the new republic, 1780-1785. His successor was Samuel Adams (1722-1803), Harvard 1740, better remembered for his incendiary role as one of the "Sons of Liberty" in the Revolution. As lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1789, acting governor in 1793, and elected governor, 1794-1798, this turbulent man showed little understanding of the problems of the state or of the nation.

3. See Colonel Revere's letters to the corresponding secretary of the Mass. Hist. Society....

4. Revolutionary patriot Paul Revere (1735-1818), a silversmith, was the official courier for the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly as well as an effective political cartoonist and the acknowledged leader of Boston's artisans. William Dawes (1745-1799) was one of the two men chosen to spread the alarm if the British troops should move to raid the military stores deposited in Concord.

5. Samuel Prescott (1751-c. 1777) completed the famous midnight ride after Paul Revere was captured, but died later in a prison in Halifax.



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The salubrity of Concord violates the most received medical theories concerning such diseases as are supposed to be generated by stagnant waters. I know of no stream which approaches nearer to a state of stagnation than Concord River. Yet diseases of this class are seldom, or never, found here. The cause I shall not pretend to assign.

Within these thirteen years the baptisms in Concord amounted to 395,. Three fourths only of those who were born are supposed to have been baptized. The number of births, therefore, was about 527.

Concord contains a single congregation. The whole number of inhabitants in 1790, as has been observed, was 1,590. In 1800, it contained 227 dwelling houses, and 1,679 inhabitants; and in 1810, 1,633.

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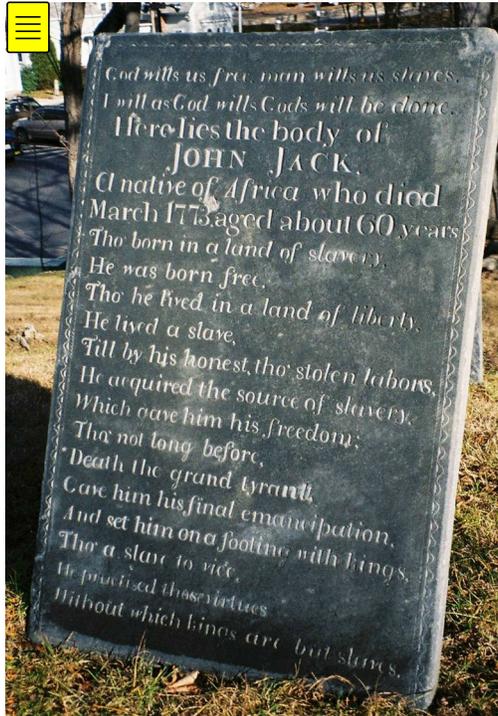
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Professor Elise Lemire's mom, Virginia Lemire, took a photo in Sleepy Hollow recently, getting the lettering of John Jack's memorial stone to stand out admirably by rubbing it with snow (see blowup on following screen).





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There has been some derogatory talk about the accuracy of American riflefire. During the march back to Boston, the militia is said to have discharged some 75,000 rounds at the men of the army and to have hit them only approximately 274 times, which gives a “batting average” of approximately .365 for the day.

[A batting average of 365 would be, in baseball, a quite good batting average, but note, there is a decimal point in front of this particular “.365” number, indicating that it differs by a full three orders of magnitude from that fine batting average. If you ask me, that’s some shootin’ — it takes some doin’, to accomplish that many misses without someone looking over your shoulder and accusing you of missing on purpose!]

Another way to say this is that on that scorcher of an afternoon a militiaman Jonathan managed to rest his rifle on a stone wall and discharge it at a clump of army Johns walking down a road in the distance in the open in red jackets, without actually hurting anyone, a sum total of 74, 726 times.

We know that the tune to “Yankee Doodle,” which appears to date back to medieval times, had during the French and Indian campaigns been provided, by a British army surgeon, with lyrics in disparagement of American militias. On the march out to Concord in the morning this tune had been fified to the regular army redcoats, and, while the army was on its panicked afternoon trip back to the safety of Boston, it is said that the colonial militia were singing those derogatory words⁴³ back to them as they fired into the massed ranks from behind their stone fences.

What would be [Henry Thoreau](#)’s reaction to living on this blood-stained ground sacred to human liberty? He would enter in his Journal on July 21, 1851:

4 Brother Ephraim fold his Cow
And bought him a Com-miffion,
And then he went to Canada
To Fight for the Nation;
But when Ephraim he came home
He prov’d an arrant Coward,
He wou’d n’t fight the Frenchmen there
For fear of being devour’d.

Sheep’s Head and Vinegar
Butter Milk and Tanfy,
Bofton is a Yankee town
Sing Hey Doodle Dandy:
Firft we’ll take a Pinch of Snuff
And then a drink of Water,
And then we’ll fay How do you do
And that’s a Yanky’s Supper.

Aminadab is juft come Home
His Eyes all greaf’d with Bacon,
And all the news that he cou’d tell
Is Cape Breton is taken:
Stand up Jonathan
Figure in by Neighbour,
Vathen ftand a little off
And make the Room fome wider.

Chriftmas is a coming Boys
We’ll go to Mother Chafes,
And there we’ll get a Sugar Dram,
Sweeten’d with Melaffes:
Heigh ho for our Cape Cod,
Heigh ho Nantafket,
Do not let the Bofton wags,
Feel your Oyfter Bafket.

Punk in Pye is very good
And fo is Apple Lantern,
Had you been whipp’d as oft as I
You’d not have been fo wanton:
Uncle is a Yankee Man
’Ifaith he pays us all off,
And he has got a Fiddle
As big as Daddy’s Hogs Trough.

Seth’s Mother went to Lynn
To buy a pair of Breeches,
The firft time Vathen put them on
He tore out all the Stitches;
Dolly Fufhel let a Fart,
Jenny Jones fhe found it,
Ambrofe carried it to Mill
Where Doctor Warren ground it.

Our Jemima’s loft her Mare
And can’t tell where to find her,
But fhe’ll come trotting by and by
And bring her tail behind her
Two and two may go to Bed;
Two and two together,
And if there is not room enough,
Lie one a top o’t’ther.



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After this work was completed, the troops advanced to the bridge in order to disperse the Americans. Major Buttrick, of Concord, who commanded the militia, being ignorant of the tragedy at Lexington, had directed his men not to begin the fire.¹ As he advanced with his party, the light infantry began to pull up the bridge; and, as he approached, fired, and killed two Americans one of them a Captain Davis, of Acton, in the neighborhood.² The fire was instantly returned, and the troops were compelled to retreat. Several of them were killed, several wounded, and a few taken prisoners.

The party was pursued; and, after they had rejoined the main body, the whole retired with the utmost expedition. On their way to Lexington they were continually harassed by an irregular and not ill-directed fire from the buildings and walls on their route. Every moment increased the number of their assailants and their own fatigue, distress, and danger. Upon the first intelligence that the Americans had betaken themselves to arms, General Gage sent a second detachment to the relief of Lieutenant Colonel Smith under the command of Lord Percy.³ It amounted to nine hundred men and marched from Boston with two fieldpieces, their music playing the tune of Yankee Doodle to insult the Americans. As they were passing through Roxbury, a young man who was making himself merry on the occasion being asked, as is said, by his lordship, why he laughed so heartily, replied "To think how you will dance by and by to Chevy Chase."

This detachment joined their friends at Lexington, where the whole body rested for a short time, and with their fieldpieces kept the Americans at a distance. The neighboring country was now in arms, and moving both to attack the enemy and to intercept their retreat. The troops, therefore speedily recommenced their march. From both sides of the road issued a continual fire, directed often by excellent marksmen, and particularly dangerous to the officers. Major Pitcairn thought it prudent to quit his horse and lose himself among the soldiery. Everywhere the retreating army was pursued and flanked. Their enemies descended from every new hill and poured through every new valley. Perplexed by a mode of fighting to which they were strangers, and from which neither their valor, nor their discipline furnished any security; exhausted by fatigue, and without a hope of succor; the troops wisely withdrew from impending destruction with the utmost celerity.

1. John Buttrick (1715-1791) was a leader of the Concord militia in action on April 19, 1775.

2. Isaac Davis (1745-1775), who led the Acton minute men against the British on the Concord bridge, was killed in the first volley.

3. Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland (1742-1817), apparently disapproved of the war with the American colonies although he entered military service against them.



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In their retreat, however, they set fire to several houses, plundered whatever pleased their fancy or gratified their avarice, and killed several unarmed persons: particularly two old men, whose hoary locks pleaded for compassion in vain. Bunker Hill, which they reached about sunset, was the first place of safety and repose in their march. The next day they returned to Boston.

In this expedition the British had sixty-five killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners: two hundred and seventy-three. Among the wounded were fifteen officers, one of them Lieutenant Colonel Smith. Of the Americans, fifty were killed, thirty-four wounded, and four missing: eighty-eight. Several gentlemen of reputation fell in this conflict, and were regarded as martyrs in the cause of freedom and their country.

Such was the issue of this memorable day, and such the commencement of the Revolutionary War in the United States.

Whatever opinions may be adopted concerning the controversy between the British government and the colonies by those who come after us, every man of sober, candid reflection must confess that very gross and very unfortunate errors existed in the measures adopted, both in Great Britain and America, toward the colonies. In both countries information was drawn and received almost solely from those who espoused the system of the reigning administration. It hardly needs to be observed that deception and mischief were the necessary consequence. An opinion also was boldly advanced, sedulously adopted, and extensively diffused that the Americans were mere blusterers and poltroons. In the British Parliament, Colonel Grant declared, with equal folly and insolence, that at the head of five hundred, or perhaps (as numerals are easily misprinted) of five thousand men, he would undertake to march from one end of the British settlements to the other, in spite of all American opposition.¹ This declaration would almost of itself have converted a nation of real cowards into soldiers. Why it should be believed that the descendants of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen were cowards, especially by their brethren descended from the same ancestors, I shall not take upon me to explain. The difficulties and hazards attendant upon a war conducted at the distance of three thousand miles from the source of control and supplies were certainly not realized by the British cabinet. As little did they realize the disposition or the circumstances of the Americans.

1. Probably Dwight refers to James Grant (1720-1806), member of Parliament at different times, a military man who went to America with reinforcements under Howe and became a general.

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Excepting the omnipresent butcher with his calf cart –followed by a distracted & anxious cow– Be it known that in Concord where the first forcible resistance to British aggression was mad[e] in the year 1775 they chop up the young calves & give them to the hens to make them lay –it being considered the cheapest & most profitable food for them– & they sell the milk to Boston.

And, of course, [Thoreau](#) would make a reference to this battle in [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#), comparing it caustically with a battle he had observed between some red *Camponotus ants* and some black *Monomorium* ants during the administration of President James Knox Polk, five years before the passage of [Daniel Webster](#)'s fugitive-slave bill. Even the son of Deacon Jonathan Hosmer, Abner the 21-year-old drummer for the Acton Minutemen whose face was half shot away in the first volley, figures in that battle between the ants who dismember each other to the strains of military music (text from [WALDEN](#) on following page, with added **boldface** to show the relevant sections).



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WALDEN: I was witness to events of a less peaceful character. One day when I went out to my wood-pile, or rather my pile of stumps, I observed two large ants, the one red, the other much larger, nearly half an inch long, and black, fiercely contending with one another. Having once got hold they never let go, but struggled and wrestled and rolled on the chips incessantly. Looking farther, I was surprised to find that the chips were covered with such combatants, that it was not a *duellum*, but a *bellum*, a war between two races of ants, the red always pitted against the black, and frequently two reds ones to one black. The legions of these Myrmidons covered all the hills and vales in my wood-yard, and the ground was already strewn with the dead and dying, both red and black. It was the only battle which I have ever witnessed, the only battle-field I ever trod while the battle was raging; internecine war; the red republicans on the one hand, and the black imperialists on the other. On every side they were engaged in deadly combat, yet without any noise that I could hear, and human soldiers never fought so resolutely. I watched a couple that were fast locked in each other's embraces, in a little sunny valley amid the chips, now at noon-day prepared to fight till the sun went down, or life went out. The smaller red champion had fastened himself like a vice to his adversary's front, and through all the tumblings on that field never for an instant ceased to gnaw at one of his feelers near the root, having already caused the other to go by the board; while the stronger black one dashed him from side to side, and, as I saw on looking nearer, had already divested him of several of his members. They fought with more pertinacity than bull-dogs. Neither manifested the least disposition to retreat. It was evident that their battle-cry was Conquer or die. In the mean while there came along a single red ant on the hillside of this valley, evidently full of excitement, who either had despatched his foe, or had not yet taken part in the battle; probably the latter, for he had lost none of his limbs; whose mother had charged him to return with his shield or upon it. Or perchance he was some Achilles, who had nourished his wrath apart, and had now come to avenge or rescue his Patroclus. He saw this unequal combat from afar, -for the blacks were nearly twice the size of the red,- he drew near with rapid pace till he stood on his guard within half an inch of the combatants; then, watching his opportunity, he sprang upon the black warrior, and commenced his operations near the root of his right fore-leg, leaving the foe to select among his own members; and so there were three united for life, as if a new kind of attraction had been invented which put all other locks and cements to shame. I should not have wondered by this time to find that they had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and playing their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants. I was myself excited somewhat even as if they had been men. The more you think of it, the less the difference. And certainly there is not the fight recorded in Concord history, at least, if in the history of America, that will bear a moment's comparison with this, whether for the numbers engaged in it, or for the patriotism and heroism displayed. For numbers and for carnage it was an Austerlitz or Dresden. Concord Fight! Two killed on the patriots' side, and Luther Blanchard wounded! Why here every ant was a Buttrick, -"Fire! for God's sake fire!"- and thousands shared the fate of Davis and Hosmer.



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WALDEN: ... There was not one hireling there. I have no doubt that it was a principle they fought for, as much as our ancestors, and not to avoid a three-penny tax on their tea; and the results of this battle will be as important and memorable to those whom it concerns as those of the battle of Bunker Hill, at least.

I took up the chip on which the three I have particularly described were struggling, carried it into my house, and placed it under a tumbler on my window-sill, in order to see the issue. Holding a microscope to the first-mentioned red ant, I saw that, though he was assiduously gnawing at the near foreleg of his enemy, having severed his remaining feeler, his breast was all torn away, exposing what vitals he had there to the jaws of the black warrior, whose breast-plate was apparently too thick for him to pierce; and the dark carbuncles of the sufferer's eyes shone with ferocity such as war only could excite. They struggled half an hour longer under the tumbler, and when I looked again the black soldier had severed the heads of his foes from their bodies, and the still living heads were hanging on either side of him like ghastly trophies at his saddlebow, still apparently as firmly fastened as ever, and he was endeavoring with feeble struggles, being without feelers and with only the remnant of a leg, and I know not how many other wounds, to divest himself of them; which at length, after half an hour more, he accomplished. I raised the glass, and he went off over the window-sill in that crippled state. Whether he finally survived that combat, and spent the remainder of his days in some Hotel des Invalides, I do not know; but I thought that his industry would not be worth much thereafter. I never learned which party was victorious, nor the cause of the war; but I felt for the rest of that day as if I had had my feelings excited and harrowed by witnessing the struggle, the ferocity and carnage, of a human battle before my door.

Kirby and Spence tell us that the battles of ants have long been celebrated and the date of them recorded, though they say that Huber is the only modern author who appears to have witnessed them. "Æneas Sylvius," say they, "after giving a very circumstantial account of one contested with great obstinacy by a great and small species on the trunk of a pear tree," adds that "This action was fought in the pontificate of Eugenius the Fourth, in the presence of Nicholas Pistoriensis, an eminent lawyer, who related the whole history of the battle with the greatest fidelity." A similar engagement between great and small ants is recorded by Olaus Magnus, in which the small ones, being victorious, are said to have buried the bodies of their own soldiers, but left those of their giant enemies a prey to the birds. This event happened previous to the expulsion of the tyrant Christiern the Second from Sweden." The battle which I witnessed took place in the Presidency of Polk, five years before the passage of Webster's Fugitive-Slave Bill.

ANTS

KIRBY AND SPENCE



After April 19, 1851 entry in [Thoreau's JOURNAL](#): In '75 2 or 300s of the inhabitants of Concord

HDT

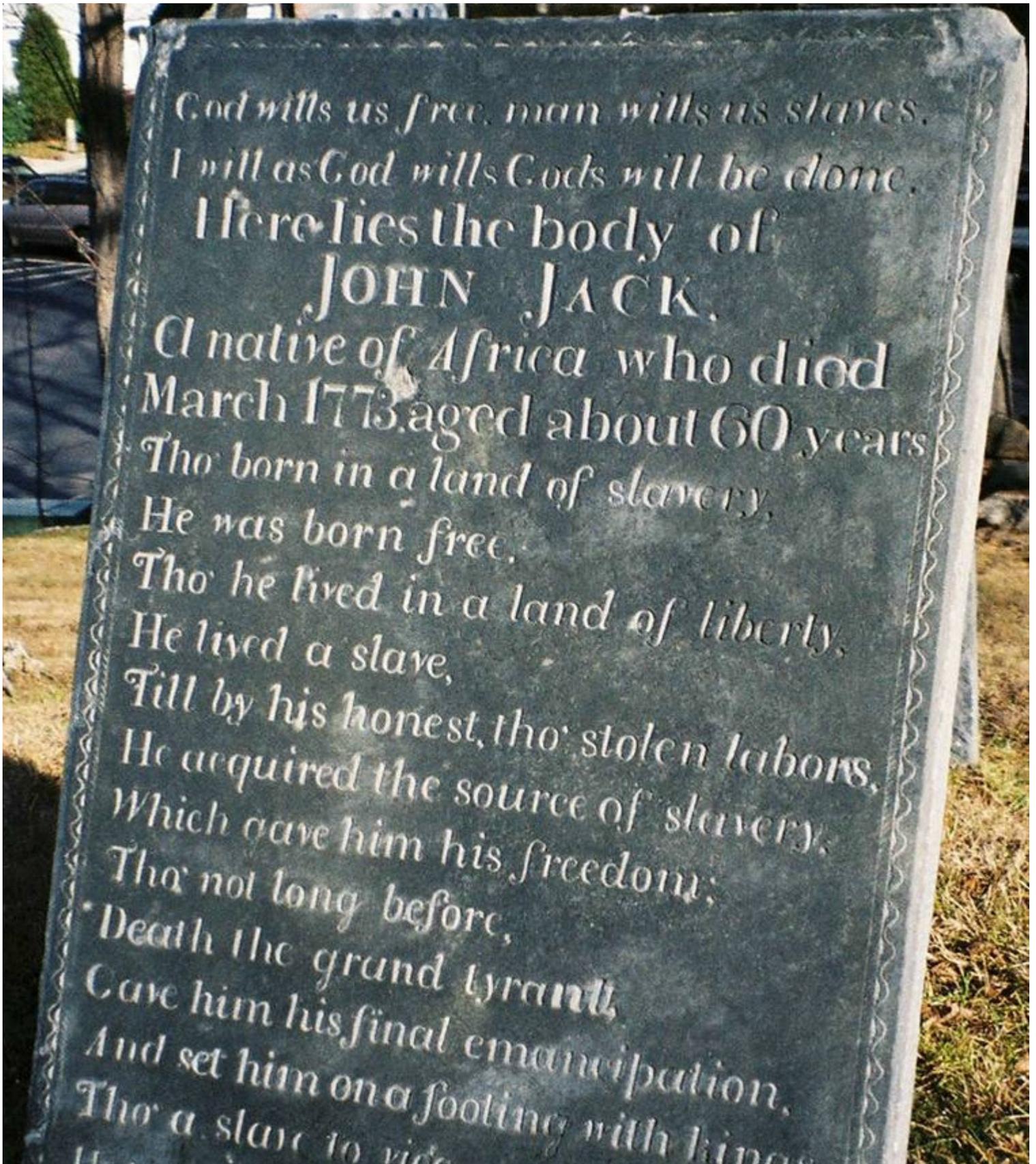
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assembled at one of the bridges with arms in their hands to assert the right of 3 millions to tax themselves, & have a voice in governing themselves— About a week ago the authorities of Boston, having the sympathy of many of the inhabitants of Concord assembled in the grey of the dawn, assisted by a still larger armed force — to send back a perfectly innocent man —and one whom they knew to be innocent into a slavery as complete as the world ever knew Of course it makes not the least difference I wish you to consider this who the man was — whether he was Jesus christ or another —for in as much as ye did it unto the least of these his brethen ye did it unto him Do you think *he* would have stayed here in *liberty* and let the black man go into slavery in his stead? They sent him back I say to live in slavery with other 3 millions mark that —whom the same slave power or slavish power north & south —holds in that condition. 3 millions who do not, like the first mentioned, assert the right to govern themselvs but simply to run away & stay away from their prison-house.

Just a week afterward those inhabitants of this town who especially sympathize with the authorities of Boston in this their deed caused the bells to be rung & the cannons to be fired to celebrate the courage & the love of liberty of those men who assembled at the bridge. As if *those* 3 millions had fought for the right to be free themselves —but to hold in slavery 3 million others

Why gentlemen even consistency though it is much abused is sometimes a virtue.

Politics makes strange bedfellows: After the confrontation at [Concord](#)'s North Bridge, Dr. [John Cuming](#), a local slavemaster and revolutionary activist, treated wounded British soldiers in the home of local Royalist sympathizer Daniel Bliss — who was a Royalist at least in part because he abhorred human [enslavement](#) as it was practiced in America.

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At some point during this eventful day Major John Pitcairn visited the home of Squire Duncan Ingraham's stepson and upon "seeing one of Mr. Ingraham's negroes standing by the large pear tree in the rear of the house, with his hand behind him, commenced on him, as he did on the rebels at Lexington Common a few hours previously, by pointing a pistol at his head, and, in a loud tone of voice, ordering him to give up his arms; but as the unfortunate bondsman replied to order by holding up both his hands over his head, and saying 'Dem is all the arms I have, massa,' the serious consequence of the Lexington order was not repeated in Mr. Ingraham's backyard."

April 20, Thursday: In [Warwick, Rhode Island](#), Zerviah Sanger Chapman recorded in her diary that "We had ye doleful news of ye fight between ye Regulars & Americans."

An express was sent from Lexington in the morning, to General Gage to inform him of what had happened there; and about 9 o'clock a brigade of about 1,100 men marched out under the command of the Right Honorable Hugh Earl Percy,⁴⁴ a brigadier-general; consisting of the marines, the Welch Fusiliers, the 4th, 47th, and 38th regiments and two field-pieces. This reinforcement arrived at Lexington about 2 o'clock, placed the field pieces on the high ground below Monroe's tavern, and checked for about half an hour the eager pursuit of the provincials. During this time they burnt the house, barn and other out-buildings of Deacon Joseph Loring, the house, barn and shop of Mrs. Lydia Mulliken, and the house and shop of Mr. Joshua Bond. by the aid of this reinforcement they were able to effect their retreat to Charlestown, though not without sustaining continual losses on the way. They arrived about 7 o'clock,

44. "Providence, May 10, 1777. On Monday, General Percy, the hero of Lexington (weary of the American war, *though covered with laurels*, sailed from Newport for England in a ship mounting 14 *guns only*. The command has devolved on General Prescott." — *Boston Gazette*. [This was not Colonel William Prescott of the Bunker Hill fight but a British general stationed at Newport, Rhode Island.]



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having, during a day unusually hot for the season, marched upwards of 36 miles, and endured almost incredible suffering. All the provisions they had had were obtained by purchase or plunder from the people; their provision-wagons having been taken by the Americans. Some of them "were so much exhausted with fatigue, that they were obliged to lie down on the ground their tongues hanging out of their mouths like dogs after the chase."⁴⁵ Our militia and minute-men pursued them to Charlestown Neck, many of whom remained there during the night; others returned home. The damage to private property by fire, robbery and destruction, was estimated at £274 16s. 7d. in Concord; £1761 1s. 5d. in Lexington; and £1202 8s. 7d. in Cambridge.⁴⁶ Of the provincials 49 were killed, 36 wounded, and 5 missing. Captain Charles Miles, Captain Nathan Barrett, Jonas Brown, and Abel Prescott, jr., of Concord, were wounded. Captain Isaac Davis, Abner Hosmer, and James Hayward, of Acton, were killed, and Luther Blanchard wounded. Captain Jonathan Wilson, of Bedford, was killed and Job Lane wounded. Of the British, 73 were killed; 172 wounded, and 26 missing; among whom were 18 officers, 10 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 240 rank and file. Among the wounded were Lieutenant Colonels Francis Smith and Benjamin Bernard. Lieutenant Edward Hall was wounded at the North Bridge and taken prisoner on the retreat. He died the next day, and his remains were delivered up to General Gage. Lieutenant Edward Thornton Gould was also wounded at the bridge, and taken prisoner on the retreat. He was confined and treated with kindness at Medford till May 28th, when he was exchanged for Josiah Breed, of Lynn. He had a fortune of £1900 per annum, and is said to have offered £2000 for his ransom. Lieutenant Isaac Potter, of the marines, was taken prisoner, and confined some time at Reuben Brown's. Colonel Barrett was directed, April 22d, to give him liberty to walk round the house, but to keep a constant guard of three men, day and night, to prevent his being insulted or making his escape. Eight of the wounded received medical attendance from Dr. Cuming, at the house then standing near Captain Stacy's. One of them, John Bateman, died and was buried on the hill, and none of them were known to return to the British. Samuel Lee was taken prisoner early in the morning, between Lexington and Concord, and afterwards lived in Concord till his death. He always stated that he was the first prisoner taken on that day. Fourteen prisoners were confined in the jail in Concord during the year, and a number of others were permitted to go out to work. Fifteen were ordered to Worcester, April 26th. Sergeant Cooper, one of the party who went to Colonel Barrett's, married a woman who lived with Dr. Cuming. Such is an imperfect sketch of the occurrences of the 19th of April, 1775, "the greatest of that age." "Concord," says the late President Dwight, "will be long remembered as having been,

45. Holmes's Annals, vol. ii. page 206.

46. Files of the Provincial Congress. Another paper in the Secretary's office, dated 1782, gives the amount of loss to Lexington £2576 2s. 1d., currency; — real estate £615 10s., and personal £1960 12s. 1d. And the Selectmen say in this paper, "As it is almost eight years since the 19th of April, 1775, some considerable part of the loss and damage sustained by the town cannot be ascertained at this time."



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partially, the scene of the first military action in the [Revolutionary War](#), and the object of an expedition, the first in that chain of events, which terminated in the separation of the British colonies from their mother country. A traveller on this spot, particularly an American Traveler, will insensibly call to his mind an event of this magnitude, and cannot fail of being deeply affected by a comparison of so small a beginning with so mighty an issue. In other circumstances, the expedition to Concord, and the interest which ensued, would have been merely little tales of wonder and of woe, chiefly recited by the parents of the neighborhood to their circles at the fireside; commanding a momentary attention of childhood; and calling forth the tear of sorrow from the eyes of those who were intimately connected to the sufferers. Now the same events preface the history of a nation and the beginning of an empire, and are themes of disquisition and astonishment to the civilized world. From the plains of Concord will henceforth be dated a change in human affairs, an alteration in the balance of human power, and a new direction to the course of human improvement. Man, from the events which have occurred here, will, in some respects, assume a new character, and experience, in some respects, a new destiny."⁴⁷

April 23, Sunday: The army in [Boston](#) was surrounded by a militia which had marched from all over New England. A soldier commented in his diary:

The country is up in arms ... we are absolutely infested with many thousand men, some so daring they came very near our outposts on the only entrance to town. The have cut off supplies

47. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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and provisions from the country.

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The events just described spread terror over the minds of some, indignation over others, and gloom over all; and predisposed them to new alarms. The death of several fellow citizens, in defence of their rights against British soldiers, was indeed a novel sight of fearful interest. The next day, April 20th, 1775, a messenger brought a report into town by way of Lincoln, that the regulars were again on their march to [Concord](#). For a while this was believed, and the most active preparations were made for their reception, by removing the women and children from the village and concealing them in remote parts of the town [Concord], and in the woods, the men parading under arms, determined to defend themselves or perish. After a few hours the report was contradicted, and the inhabitants returned to their homes.

Meantime the patriot-soldiers were continually marching to Concord from remote towns. On the 21st, 700 of them went into the meeting-house where prayers were offered up by the Rev. Mr. Emerson [the Reverend [William Emerson](#)], and an address made by the Rev. Mr. Webster of Salem. In the afternoon Mr. Emerson and several others went to Cambridge. Great commotion prevailed. The next day the town [Concord] was again alarmed. The minute companies paraded and marched to Cambridge; but finding no enemy, they returned. The Provincial Congress met here [Concord] on the 22d and orders were given to raise an army forthwith. These occurrences brought out the friends and opposers of liberty. Two or three individuals in town were yet inclined to toryism. It was not strange it should be so. It was a tremendous



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step to take up arms against the mother country; and, to say the least, the issue of the contest was doubtful. Men honestly differed in opinion as to the propriety of the measures of England, and others as to the proper course to be taken to obtain redress. Some had sworn allegiance to the King and were afraid they should break their oath. While entertaining such opinions they did not enter warmly into the popular cause. They were, however, sure to receive the unwelcome notice of the people. One individual, who had been a Selectman, was heard to say, "For myself I think I shall be neutral in these times;" and his name was immediately taken from the jury-box. The government was dictated by the force of public opinion. the town [Concord] assumed, in some respects, the authority of an individual community, - an independent republic. Its committee of correspondence met daily, and acted in a legislative, executive and judicial capacity. All suspicious persons were brought before it for trial, and, if found guilty were condemned. The people supported them in their decisions. The following is a copy of one of these sentences, and most remarkably shows the peculiar spirit of those times.

"We the subscribers, committee of correspondence for the town of [Concord](#), having taken into consideration the conduct of Dr. Lee of said town of late, are fully of the opinion, that he be confined to the farm his family now lives upon; and that, if he should presume to go beyond the bounds and should be killed, his blood be upon his own head. And we recommend to the inhabitants of the town, that, upon his conducting well for the future, and keeping his bounds, they by no means molest, insult or disturb him, in carrying on his common affairs on said farm.

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| Jonas Heywood | |
| Ephraim Wood, Jr. | |
| James Barrett, Jr. } | <i>Committee of</i> |
| Joseph Hosmer | <i>Correspondence.</i> |
| Samuel Whitney | |

"*Concord, April 26, 1775.*"

Dr. Lee was not set at liberty until June 4, 1776. His house was fired at several times by soldiers who passed through town; and so strong was the feeling against all tories, that he would probably had been killed, had he gone beyond his bounds. All his privileges were, however, restored to him. Dr. Lee's son, Jonas Lee, was a warm friend of liberty and for his son's sake many were restrained from committing outrages upon him. The estate of one individual only in [Concord](#), that of Daniel Bliss, Esq., was confiscated and sold by the government.⁴⁸

48. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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April 27: In [Boston](#), 2,300 citizens handed in their weapons to the regular army which, with the Neck fortified, was occupying the town.

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May 1, Monday: The cattle, the “hey,” and a servant of Colonel Elisha Jones were “attached” by the American revolutionaries on account of his being a known loyalist.

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The Committee of Safety ordered the students and faculty removed from [Harvard College](#), as the buildings and facilities were needed for use as headquarters, barracks, and hospitals by the citizen army that was being formed in Cambridge. [Concord](#), because of its protected inland location, was suggested as a suitable site for Harvard College in exile.

Whilst [Boston](#) was occupied with the British troops, in 1775, the poor endured great sufferings. In January and February 70 pounds in money, 225 bushels of grain, and a quantity of meat and wood were, at difference times contributed by [Concord](#) for their relief. May 1st, the provincial Congress ordered that they should be supported by the country towns; 66 were assigned to Concord, 32 to Acton, 29 to Bedford, and 29 to Lincoln. It appears, however, that 21 families containing 82 persons were supported here [Concord]. Eighty pounds was paid for them between May 13th and October.⁴⁹

49. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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The material on the following screen is by D. Michael Ryan, who functions as company historian for the present-day "Concord Minute Men" re-enactors and is an 18th Century historic interpreter with the National Park Service, in addition to being the Associate Dean of Students at Boston College:

Historically, Concord has been renowned for its events, people, ideas and literature. However, the fact that venerable Harvard College once existed for a year (1775-1776) within this town is little remembered. Harvard and Concord were not strangers. Town founders Peter Bulkeley and Simon Willard had sons graduate from the College. Citizens pledged monies to support the school's beginnings and insure a source of ministers, lawyers and teachers. Local boys attended Harvard and annually selectmen visited the campus recruiting students (needing tuition money) to instruct at its schools. Many of the local ministers were Harvard graduates and these town-gown relations insured that during a period of educational and intellectual depression (late 17th/early 18th Century), Concord remained enlightened and updated. Following the 1775 fights at Lexington and Concord, an army formed in Cambridge needing buildings for headquarters, barracks and hospitals. On 1 May, the Committee of Safety ordered the students and faculty removed from Harvard College. The fledgling army's needs increased with the battle of Bunker's Hill and the July arrival of Gen. Washington as commander-in-chief. Tradition holds that at this time, Rev. [William Emerson](#) (alumnus) while visiting the troops and school, offered the support of Concord as a site at which the College could resettle. Harvard officials accepted. Students (about 143) and faculty (about 10) were requested to gather in Concord on 4 October. Harvard settled into its new home. President Samuel Langdon resided at Dr. Timothy Minott's house (site later of Middlesex Hotel; now a park at town square); Professor Sewell at James Jones' (Bullet Hole House); Professor Wigglesworth at Bates/Anderson's (near present intersection of Old Bedford Rd./Bedford St.); Dr. and Mrs. John Winthrop at the Whitneys' ([The Wayside](#)) or possibly at Capt. Stones' (west of Hildreth Corner on Barrett's Mill Rd. #222?). The College library was located in the Humphrey Barrett house (Monument Rd., halfway between the Manse and town square), while science apparatus remained with Dr. Winthrop. Students lodged some at taverns much to the faculty's dismay and some at private homes (unheated, unfurnished back rooms). Dr. Joseph Lee hosted 12 students (area near 38 Willard Rd.) including son Samuel '76. While it is certain that the core of the College was in Concord center, traditions located it at other sites. Due to the number of students at the Lee home, the Willard Farm area was thought to be the school's focal point. As the road near Annursnack Hill off Barrett's Mill Rd. contained cellars of former houses which might have hosted students, was used by students to walk local girls ("lover's lane") and was named College Road, it was believed to be the College's central location. However, recitations were held at the court house, meeting house and empty grammar school all in Concord center. Travel (1-5 miles) to these locations and the homes of faculty for instruction presented hardships especially in winter. Benefits and problems



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of hosting Harvard were shared by Concord. The state-of-the-art, unique College Clock was moved to town for public use as was the school's fire engine. Harvard boys courted local girls, wore their academic gowns to church and spent money. They also broke the windows of the meeting house and other buildings with snowballs. Of 26 Freshmen, the average age was 15 thus leading to maturity difficulties. Student illnesses, especially smallpox, were also of concern to the citizens. However, honor came to Concord in the form of Harvard conferring its first Doctor of Laws degree on Gen. Washington in April 1776. Once the British evacuated Boston (March 1776) and the American army vacated Cambridge, impatient students pressed for a return to campus. In June, Harvard College adjourned home and held its annual exercises for the 43 Seniors. Grateful College officials forwarded a letter of appreciation to the Concord people which included an apology for any "incivilities...of behavior...attributed to the inadvertence of youth." The broken windows were paid for and a sum of 10 Pounds voted to the town.



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While some of Concord's Class of '76 went on to greatness elsewhere (a governor, 2 state Chief Supreme Court Justices and Harvard's first professor of chemistry and materia medica), others returned to serve their host town. Dr. Isaac Hurd would be a physician; Jonathan Fay, an attorney; and in 1778 [Dr. Ezra Ripley](#) would return to be First Parish minister and marry Rev. Emerson's widow Phoebe. The Concord-Harvard connection continued. Alumnus and prominent Concordian John Cuming would leave money to the College to fund a professor in physics (beginnings of Harvard Medical School). Graduates, friends and townsmen Ralph Waldo Emerson (school's Hall of Philosophy named for him) and Henry David Thoreau would bring fame to themselves, Concord and Harvard. Daniel Chester French, Concordian and creator of the Minute Man statue, would sculpture the famous statue of John Harvard. Thus, once upon a year, Concord and Harvard College were one. The history, traditions and destinies of these noted institutions did and continue to enrich and educate our citizens and nation.⁵⁰

May 5, Friday: People were trying to kill each other on the island of [Martha's Vineyard](#).

The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal that his relative Jonas Jones had been taken under arrest by the local revolutionary Committee of Correspondence as a loyalist to the crown: "*Company at my house after Jonas Jones — went to headquarters with him.*"

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May 20, Saturday: The Mecklenburgh Resolves were adopted in Charlotte. This was in effect the initial [declaration of independence](#) from the authority of the British parliament (that is, the first such that had real teeth, rather than being just a lot of mouth). The Resolves suspended Royal officials from office in [North Carolina](#), established a militia, and provided that all public income was to flow only to the revolutionary Resolves Committee.

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

50. In creating the above fulsome account, D. Michael Ryan relied upon the following source materials, themselves already very adequately fulsome:

[Harvard College in Concord](#), Special Collections, Concord Free Public Library

HISTORY OF CONCORD, MASS. by Lemuel Shattuck 1835

"The Sojourn of Harvard College in Concord" by Percy W. Brown, [Harvard Graduate Magazine](#) 1919

CONCORD: AMERICAN TOWN by Townsend Scudder 1947

CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM by Ruth R. Wheeler 1967

THE MEETING HOUSE ON THE GREEN by John Whittmore Teele 1985

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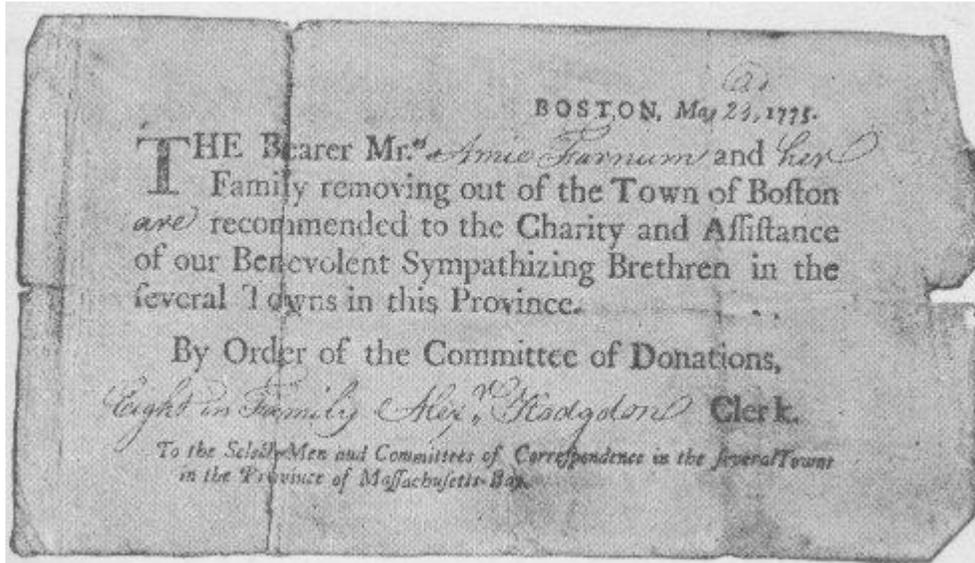
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May 23: The evacuation of [Boston](#) was underway:



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June 10, Saturday: Robert Treat Paine opinioned that it would not be insuperably difficult for the revolutionaries to obtain their own supplies of gunpowder, of local manufacture, if only they would put their shoulder to the problem:

Philadelphia, June 10th, 1775.

My very dear Sir,

I cannot express to you the surprise and uneasiness I received on hearing the congress express respecting the want of gunpowder; it was always a matter that lay heavy on any mind; but the observation I made of your attention to it, find your alertness and perseverance in everything you undertake, and your repeatedly expressing it as your opinion that we had probably enough for this summer's campaign, made me quite easy. I rely upon it that measures are taken in your parts of the continent to supply this defect. The design of your express will be zealously attended to, I think. I have seen one of the powder mills here, where they make excellent powder, but have worked up all the nitre; one of our members is concerned in a powder mill at New-York, and has a man at work making nitre. I have taken pains to inquire into the methods Dr. Franklin has seen salt-petre works at Hanover and Paris; and it strikes me to be as unnecessary, after a certain time, to send abroad for gunpowder, as for bread; provided people will make use of common understanding and industry; but for the present we must import from abroad. Major Foster told me, at Hartford, he suspected he had some land that would yield nitre; pray converse with him about it. Dr. Franklin's account is much the same as is mentioned in one of the first of the American magazines; the sweeping of the streets, and rubbish of old buildings, are made into mortar, and built into walls, exposed to the air, and once in about two months scraped and lixiviated, and evaporated; when I can describe the method more minutely I will write you; meanwhile, give me leave to condole with you the loss of Colonel Lee. Pray remember me to Colonel Orne, and all other our worthy friends. Pray take care of your important health, that you may be able to stand stiff as a pillar in our new government.

I must now subscribe, with great respect and affection,
Your humble servant,
R.T. Paine.

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June 17-March 17: People would be trying to kill each other during a siege of Boston.

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June 17, Saturday: The 2d Georgia Provincial Congress was held at Tondee's Tavern in Savannah.

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Thoreau's grandmother [Mistress Mary Jones Dunbar](#) carried ripe cherries from Weston to her brother in the



[Concord](#) jail. Which means a number of things: that she had a brother, that he was in jail, and that cherries were ripe that year as of June 17th:



After May 26, 1849: Col. Elisha Jones was the owner & inhabitant of an estate in Weston Mass before the Revolution. He was a man of standing & influence among his neighbors. He was a tory. He had 14 sons & 1 daughter viz Nathan Daniel Ephraim, Israel Elias Josiah Simeon –Elisha Stephen –Charles Edward Silas – Philemon, Jonas –& –Mary 8th child.– Simeon was confined in Concord jail 4 months & a fortnight His sister Mary brought every meal he had from Weston– He was afraid he might be poisend else– 17th June '75 she brought over ripe cherries in her chaise– There was a Hicks & one more imprisoned with him. They secreted knives furnished them with their food sawed the grates off & escaped to Weston. Hid in the cider mill. Mary heard they were in the mill put on her riding hood –was frightend –somebody had told her that they had seen 3 blackbirds hid that day somewhere –met cicero did'nt know her. took old Baldwin's the sheriff's horse who toke him up from lower part of Weston & went to Portland pawned him for 2 bushels of potatoes –wrote back to Baldwin where he'd find his horse by paying charges. All but 3 of the tories went abroad to England –Canada –& New-Brunswick Nova Scotia and Maine– 4 settled in one town Sissiboo now called Weymouth– One at Goldsborough on Frenchmans Bay.– Nathan the oldest son went to Goldsborough.



April 14, 1852: ... Can we believe when beholding this landscape—with only a few buds visibly swollen—on the trees & the ground covered 8 inches deep with snow—that the grain was waving in the fields & the appletrees were in blossom Ap. 19th 1775. It may confirm this story however—what Grandmother said that



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she carried ripe cherries from Weston to her brother in Concord Jail the 17th of June the same year.



It is probably true what E Wood senior says, that the grain was just beginning to wave, and the apple blossoms beginning to expand.

[THOREAU GENEALOGY](#)

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After the jailbreak, it would be Colonel Elisha Jones's slave Black Cicero who would find the fugitives hiding in the family's cider mill.

At some point during this year Colonel Elisha Jones of Weston MA had to take refuge from the revolutionaries in Boston, and while there General Gage appointed him the army's Forage Commissioner.



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People were trying to kill each other on Breed's Hill above Charlestown.⁵¹



On this day to be remembered as “Bunker Hill Day” on account of a fight that took place in John Breed’s cowpasture⁵² across from the city of [Boston](#), the Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded in his journal: “prevented from going to Salem [where he was minister, although the family was living with his rich father-in-law in

51. Sergeant Nathan Stow (April 27, 1746-1810) of Concord kept an orderly book from May 18th to July 6th of this year. He was at Bunker Hill.

52. Because Bunker Hill was the Committee of Public Safety’s pick as the place to defend, the name of the battle followed that choice, but here are some bits of information that you might want to know. There were three hills on the Charlestown Peninsula. The lowest was 35-foot Moulton’s hill on the east, and there was 65-foot Breed’s Hill in the south center, and 110-foot Bunker Hill on the north. There was no military bunker atop Bunker Hill; these hills had been named after the farmers Breed and Bunker who pastured their cattle there. The Committee of Public Safety ordered Bunker Hill defended by about 1,000 men, but after Prescott and the other officers arrived they decided that Breeds Hill would be a better position and would serve as a buffer for Bunker Hill. Prescott held Breed’s Hill and Stark manned the stone and rail fence blocking the British ability to flank the hill.

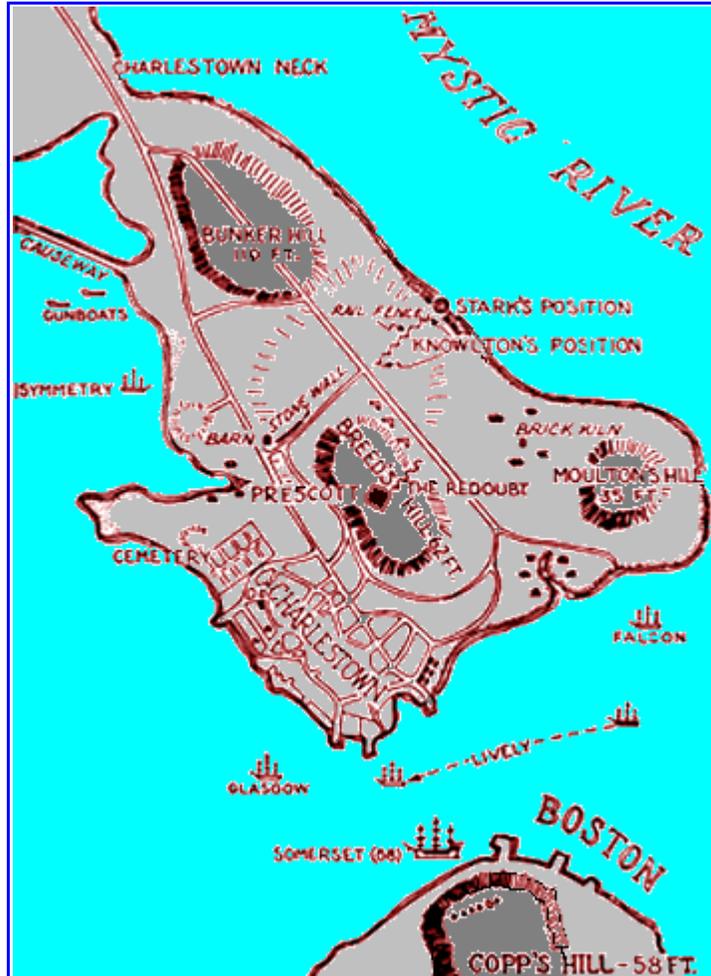
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Weston] by y^e battle at Charlestown.”



The army was taking possession of the terrain at the cost of 226 regular soldiers giving their lives for their country and 1,054 regular soldiers being wounded in the service of their King.⁵³ Letters from army officers described their militia opponents camped at Cambridge as “a praying, ranting, hypocritical mob of levellers.” They saw the old English civil war reignited in the colonies, and that was a war between a Puritan/reform view of reality and the old aristo/catholic view. The hottest revolutionary, Samuel Adams, had been one of the converts as a young man during the great evangelical Awakening of 1741, and he had never lost the vision of the American colonies as the new Israel which must one day depart from Egypt and built Zion in the new world. Declaring the new nation’s goal to be a “Christian Sparta,” he had stirred the deepest fears and hopes of the simpler folks of New England against the British fathers in the name of the “liberty in which Christ hath made us free.” –One of the beginnings of our American democracy, therefore, was in this frank leveller notion, that even a peasant can experience grace.

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53. And life went on: a few days after Bunker Hill the Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded that he had “Fixed my sythes [sic] for mowing.”



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Seth Pomeroy of [Northampton](#) served as a general during this battle.

Barzillai Lew was serving as a fifer, for Captain John Ford. Afterward, when he would return to Chelmsford MA, he would enlist with Joseph Bradley Varnum's militia from Dracut MA.





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When news of the fighting in [Concord](#) reached King George III in his palace at Kew, which it did quickly courtesy of the fast schooner *Quero*, Georgibus made the following note:

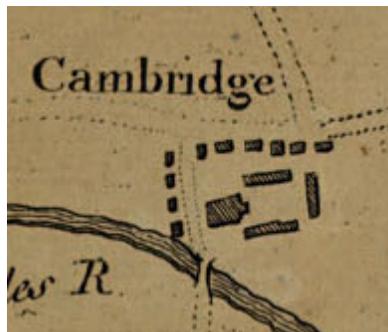
It is not improbable but some detachment sent by Lieutenant General Gage may not have been strong enough to disperse the Provincials assembled at Concord.

But then, after four more hours, he made another note:⁵⁴

The die is cast.



During the siege of [Boston](#) by the Colonial forces which followed the battles of Lexington and [Concord](#), some 5,000 refugees, urged by the British forces under General Gage, were driven from Boston into the surrounding towns and became dependent upon the hospitality of the local inhabitants. General Gage was trying to ease the problem of supplying the city and his forces in it. By June, although there were shortages of fresh items such as milk, there was “a sufficiency of bread and salt provisions” for these refugees. By August 1st, only 6,753 of Boston’s 16,000 citizens remained in town, and in their place Boston was headquarters for a British army of 13,000. The Colonial forces were drawn up around the city and General Washington had his headquarters at Craigie House, across the Charles River in Cambridge. During this period the “dank but classic walls” of Hollis Hall at [Harvard College](#), and the room that would be [David Henry Thoreau](#)’s room, were being used as barracks for colonial troops.



54. Since the regular army had assaulted a position held by American irregulars and had not succeeded in running off these irregulars until, by exhausting their supply of ammunition, they had obtained a good excuse to run off, this of course had been a great victory for the oppressed. Don't you agree that "Bunker Hill" has more of a ring to it than "John Breed's Cow-pasture"?

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July: In [Concord](#), the Reverend [William Emerson](#) preached on the text of ISAIAH 19:20

*“...for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors,
and he shall send them a savior, and a great one,
and he shall deliver them.”*



According to this reverend, if any Minuteman should desire to regard his commanding officer in the field as his Savior, he was welcome to do so. If any successful CO desired to channel for God, this minister of the Lord's gospel was at his beck and call.⁵⁵

WALDO'S RELATIVES

In July, 1775, the town [[Concord](#)] was required to furnish "37 pairs of shirts, breeches, and stockings, and 75 coats." In January, 1776, Concord provided 20 blankets, Bedford 12, Acton 10, and Lincoln 14. In November, 1777, and at several other times, the town [[Concord](#)] voted to provide for the families of those engaged in the continental army. 1,210 pounds was paid for this purpose before September 1779.⁵⁶

55. Emerson, Amelia Forbes., ed. DIARIES AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM EMERSON (1743-1776), MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN CONCORD / CHAPLAIN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. (New printing 1972). During the "French and Indian" war [Colonel Washington](#) had characterized the chaplains desired for his troops not in terms of religion but in terms of their usefulness to his command: "gentlemen of sober, serious and religious deportment, who would improve morale and discourage gambling, swearing, and drunkenness." In this respect the Reverend [Emerson](#) of [Concord](#) was a very ordinary and unexceptionable fellow belligerent who was manifesting quite the conventional, and convenient, "God is on our side" confusion between might and righteousness.

It would come as a considerable shock and disappointment to this reverend when his Concord friend [John Cuming](#), who had been appointed the Brigadier General in charge of a regiment of reinforcements for the Canadian expedition, would decline the adventure. "Col. Cum'g resig'd his com!!!! His wife utterly ag. his going."

56. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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July 3, Monday: [William Bartram](#) crossed the Ocmulgee River.

In Cambridge, General [George Washington](#) reviewed his soldiers — and presumably he had enough sense not to stand in his wool uniform in the July sun:⁵⁷



[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 18, Tuesday: Josiah Martin, the royal governor of [North Carolina](#), took refuge aboard HMS *Cruzier* in the Cape Fear River.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[Boston](#) held its annual town meeting in the relative safety of inland [Concord](#):

The citizens of [Boston](#), called by a notice published in the newspapers, held their town meeting in [Concord](#), July 18, 1775, when they elected a representative, and transacted other town business. At this time that town was occupied by the British troops, and many of its inhabitants removed to Concord. The Provincial Congress ordered that the probate records, "supposed to be at Mr. Danforth's and Dr. Kneeland's houses, and the other records of the county at Mr. Foxcroft's, should be



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removed to Dr. Minot's in Concord."⁵⁸

57. We may take note that the initial written mention of such a spot of shade does not appear until the 1830s, and that would be more than half a century after the fact. There is reason therefore to suppose that the elm in question, one which would not be toppled until October 1923, may be approximately as authentic as Concord's famous "whipping elm."





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July 20, Thursday: [William Bartram](#) crossed Pintlala Creek near the present-day town of Pintlala.

There had been a Colonial Fast declared for this day by the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, and the Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) did or said something in Salem or Weston, Massachusetts that the revolutionaries found offensive. He was forced to issue an explanation that amounted to an apology:

Having been acquainted by the Gentlemen, the Committee of Correspondence in Weston, with some uneasiness arising in the minds of the people, from the conduct of myself and family upon Fast day, the 20th of last July; and having a desire to live in good fellowship with every friend of American liberty, I beg leave publicly to declare that the part I bore in those transactions that gave offence was dictated solely by the principles of religion and humanity, with no design of displeasing any one: and that I am sorry it was, in the eyes of **one** of my countrymen attended with any disgusting circumstances.... As it has been suspected that I despised the Day, and the authority that appointed it, I must, in justice to myself, and from the love of truth, affirm, that I very highly respect and revere that authority; and, were it not from the appearance of boasting, could add, that I believe no person observed it with greater sincerity than

/s/ ASA DUNBAR.

WESTON, September 8, 1775.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 1, Friday: Job Williams took a party of British soldiers and chopped down the "Tree of Liberty" (?) on Boston Common. One of the soldiers, while standing on the trunk chopping off a limb, fell dead! (Had God struck him down for this insolence toward a symbol of American freedom?)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



December 28, 1858: ... Father says that he and his sisters (except Elizabeth) were born in Richmond Street, Boston, between Salem and Hanover Streets, on the spot where a bethel now stands, on the left hand going from Hanover Street. They had milk of a neighbor, who used to drive his cows to and from the Common every day.

58. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

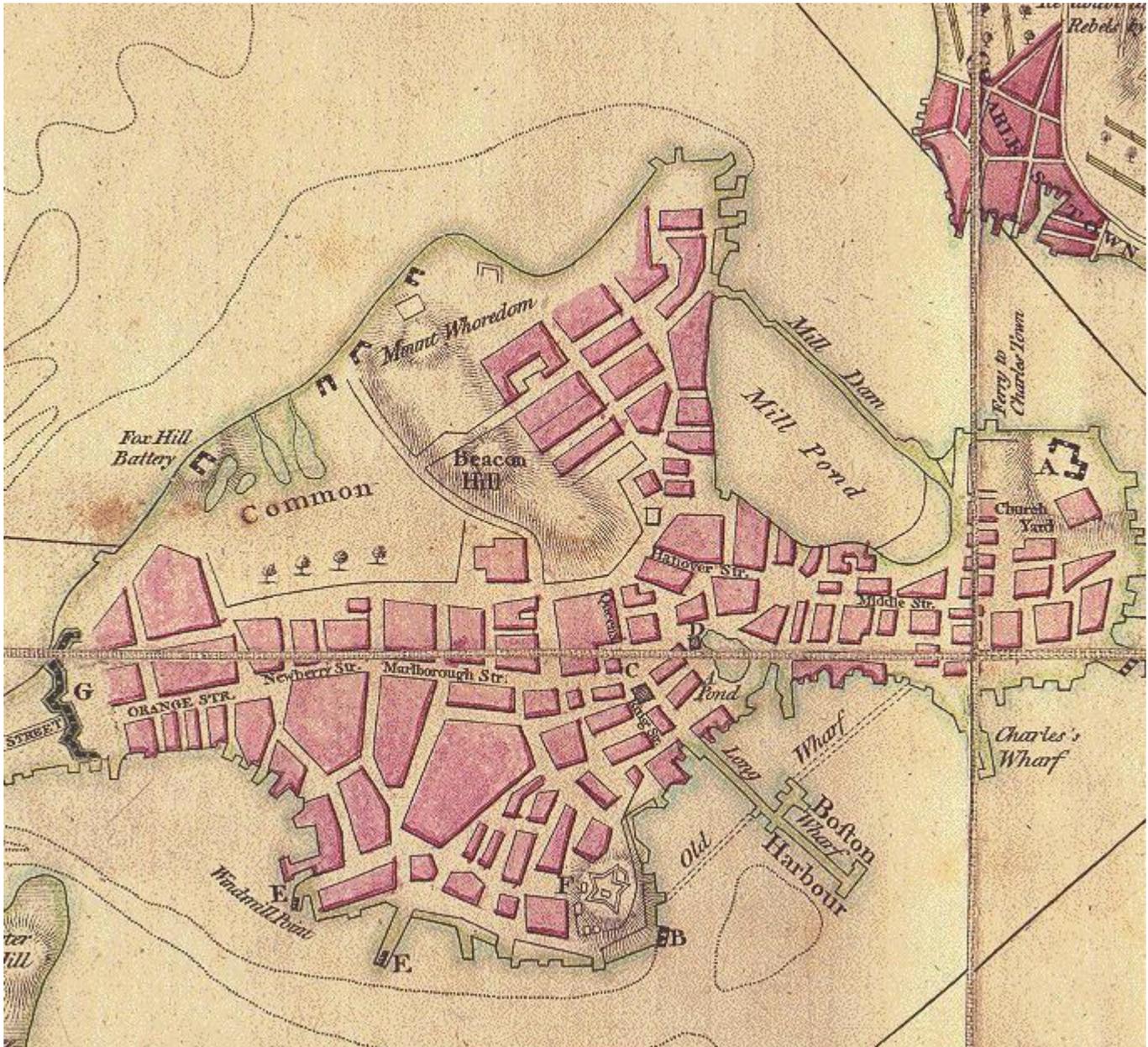
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This map from the Bodleian Library was created by R. William in 1775:



The three hills of Trimountaine were Beacon Hill in the center next to the Common, marked on this map both as "Beacon Hill" and as "Mount Whoredom," Copp's Hill, on the left facing Charlestown, marked on this map as "A" and showing a battery of cannon mounted on its top, and Fort Hill, at the bottom, marked on this map as "F."

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September 12, Tuesday: Late in the summer of 1775, the shortage of powder among General [Washington](#)'s troops besieging Boston had been so severe that they had no longer been able to fire their cannon. Had the British gone on the attack, the riflemen would not have had enough powder to resist them.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Therefore on this day the sloop [Katy](#) departed [Narragansett Bay](#) in an effort to assist the Continental Army by capturing some powder from the British magazine on the island of Bermuda. (By the time the ship would arrive, this powder would already have been captured and would already be enroute to Philadelphia. In November, however, [John Brown](#) would manage to bring ashore in Rhode Island a shipment of high-grade pistol powder obtained in Suriname –he would offer this to General Washington at 6 s per pound delivered to Cambridge, a rate that the general would describe as “most exorbitant” because in October the powder had been obtainable for 4 s per pound– and would dispatch [Elkanah Watson](#) with a guard of six men to convey the war material securely overland in a covered wagon.)

ELKANAH WATSON

YOUR GARDEN-VARIETY ACADEMIC HISTORIAN INVITES YOU TO CLIMB ABOARD A HOVERING TIME MACHINE TO SKIM IN METATIME BACK ACROSS THE GEOLOGY OF OUR PAST TIMESLICES, WHILE OFFERING UP A GARDEN VARIETY OF COGENT ASSESSMENTS OF OUR PROGRESSION. WHAT A LOAD OF CRAP! YOU SHOULD REFUSE THIS HELICOPTERISH OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL PAST, FOR IN THE REAL WORLD THINGS HAPPEN ONLY AS THEY HAPPEN. WHAT THIS SORT WRITES AMOUNTS, LIKE MERE “SCIENCE FICTION,” MERELY TO “HISTORY FICTION”: IT’S NOT WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.

October 26, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Hampton, Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Phillis Wheatley](#) wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to General [George Washington](#) at his headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts:

Sir.

I have taken the freedom to address your Excellency in the enclosed poem, and entreat your acceptance, though I am not



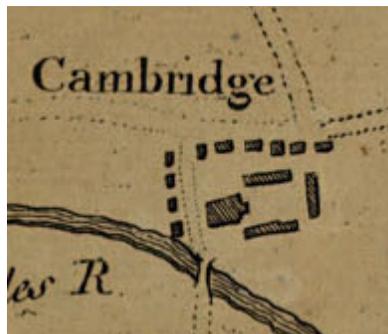
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insensible of its inaccuracies. Your being appointed by the Grand Continental Congress to be Generalissimo of the Armies of North America, together with the fame of your virtues, excite sensations not easy to suppress. Your generosity, therefore, I presume, will pardon the attempt. Wishing your Excellency all possible success in the great cause you are so generously engaged in, I am, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

Phillis Wheatley



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November: Late in the summer of 1775, the shortage of powder among General [Washington](#)'s troops besieging Boston had been so severe that they had no longer been able to fire their cannon. Had the British gone on the attack, the riflemen would not have had enough powder to resist them. Therefore the sloop [Katy](#) had been sent off in an abortive attempt to capture some powder from a British magazine on the island of Bermuda, although by the time the ship arrived, this powder had already been captured and was already on its way to Philadelphia. In this month, however, [John Brown](#) managed to bring ashore in [Rhode Island](#) a shipment of high-grade pistol powder obtained in Suriname, and, despite the fact that in October the powder had been selling at 4s per pound, he offered it to General Washington in Cambridge at 6s per pound—a rate the general described as “most exorbitant”—and dispatched Elkanah Watson with a guard of six men to convey the war material securely overland in a covered wagon.

ELKANAH WATSON



The war was still not declared, but already John had sold a ship  to the new Rhode Island navy, and a cargo of gunpowder at a premium price. Practically overnight, John had become what is called in modern parlance a defense contractor.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN



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SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.
 IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY
 RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE “LOOKED UPON FROM
 THE BIRD’S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY,” ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER,
 NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —
 BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.

Winter: Two British army deserters were brought before [General George Washington](#) at his headquarters and asserted that General William Howe was sending infected people out of the city “with design of spreading the Smallpox.” A few days later, when the small pox broke out among civilian Americans fleeing the city in apparent confirmation of this tale, the CinC decided that he “must now give some Credit” to the hypothesis that the British, in order to reduce their disaffected American cousins again to subjugation, were prepared to resort even to [germ warfare](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

SMALL POX

Winter 1775/1776: The British pulled down the wooden meeting house of the 2nd Church in North Square, [Newport, Rhode Island](#) for fuel (later this congregation would unite with the New Brick).

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They weren’t so warm that winter in the environs of [Boston](#),

In the winter of 1775, and 1776, the town [[Concord](#)] carried to Cambridge, for the use of the [American] Army, 210 cords of wood, 5 tons of hay, and some other articles for which it paid 150 pounds.⁵⁹

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

59. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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December 13, Wednesday: Nathaniel Baker and Elizabeth Taylor of [Concord](#) filed their intention to marry (the ceremony would take place during February 1776).

The portrait painter Ralph Earl and the silversmith Amos Doolittle advertised for sale copies of a series of four engraved prints, in the New Haven newspaper at a price of six shillings the set, uncolored, "or eight shillings colored." The engravings were of successive stages of the fighting in Lexington and [Concord](#) on April 19th, and were offered as "from original paintings taken on the spot."



Note that these works of art bore no resemblance to what Brumidi would place on a wall of our nation's capitol, [Washington DC](#):





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[Friends Moses Brown](#) and David Buffum rode from [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) to Roxbury, where they met three other Quakers of their Smithfield monthly meeting and spent the night. Among them they were carrying gold coins and other currencies amounting to what today would be more than \$4,000, money intended for poor relief. The next morning they would ride on into Cambridge to seek the permission of the siege commander, General [George Washington](#), to cross military lines and enter the besieged city of [Boston](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 14, Thursday: [Friends Moses Brown](#), David Buffum, and others of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends rode from Roxbury to Cambridge, carrying with them poor relief for Quakers inside the besieged city of [Boston](#) in the form of gold coins and other currencies amounting to what today would be more than \$4,000. In Cambridge they sought out the headquarters of the American siege commander, General [George Washington](#), for a pass to cross the military lines and visit British General William Howe. The American commander indicated that first they would need to pitch their scheme to his logistics aide, Brigadier General [Nathanael Greene](#) (a birthright Quaker with a club foot who had renounced the faith and asked to be [disowned](#), having become fascinated by the efficacy and necessity of warfare, who had been directly promoted from private to brigadier general by Washington during the previous June).



Brigadier General Greene invited the Quakers to have supper with him, and listened to their plan. He wound up giving their plan the green light, telling them that so long as they “meddled not in the dispute,” they would be able to expect “protection from both sides.”

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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December 15, Friday: [Friends Moses Brown](#), David Buffum, and others of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends were escorted by the besieging Americans up to the British lines of defense around the city. There, British General William Howe refused to allow them to enter. The sheriff of [Boston](#) came to the fortifications to meet with them, and accepted a promissory note in the amount of £100, agreeing to deliver the relief funds to various needy Quakers inside the city.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 31, Sunday: An American expedition under Colonel Benedict Arnold and Brigadier General Richard Montgomery had marched into the province of Québec with the aim of bringing it into the American struggle. It would turn out that [French-Canadian Catholics](#) had not forgotten the [anti-Catholicism](#) of New England's Protestants or their reaction to the Quebec Act. The American forces were defeated during a snowstorm battle to capture the fortress of Québec and Captain Thomas Theodore Bliss (May 21, 1745-September 1, 1802) along with a number of other [Concord](#) militiamen would be held for the remainder of the [Revolutionary War](#).



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1776

THE NEW-ENGLAND [ALMANACK](#), OR, LADY'S AND GENTLEMAN'S DIARY FOR 1776. By [Benjamin West](#), A.M. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): John Carter.

It contains a list of the Public offices of Rhode Island and an account of the Post service.

WEST'S [ALMANACK](#), FOR THE YEAR 1776. By [Benjamin West](#). [Providence](#): John Carter.

This was issued as a sheet almanac. The only known copy, now in the New York Public Library, has been cut up into twelve leaves and bound as a book. These leaves are printed on one side only. The title at the top and the notes about eclipses at the bottom of the original broadside, now continue across eight pages (four successive leaves). There is a photostat copy at the American Antiquarian Society.

AN [ALMANACK](#) AND EPHEMERIS FOR 1776. By John Anderson, Philom. [Newport, Rhode Island](#): Solomon Southwick.

(Same) Second edition.

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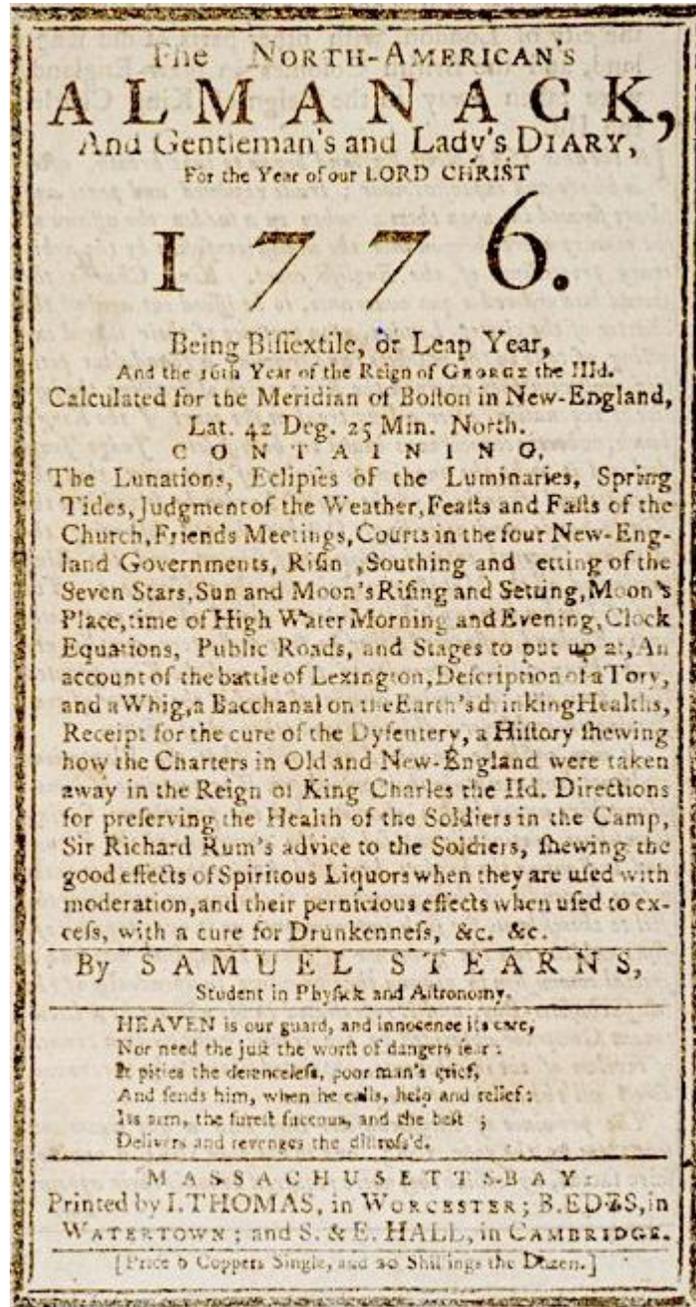
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In a rare-books catalog we find Samuel Stearns's THE NORTH AMERICAN'S ALMANACK, AND GENTLEMAN'S AND LADY'S DIARY, FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD CHRIST 1776, With 12 Page Account of the Beginning of the [Revolutionary War](#) in Massachusetts:



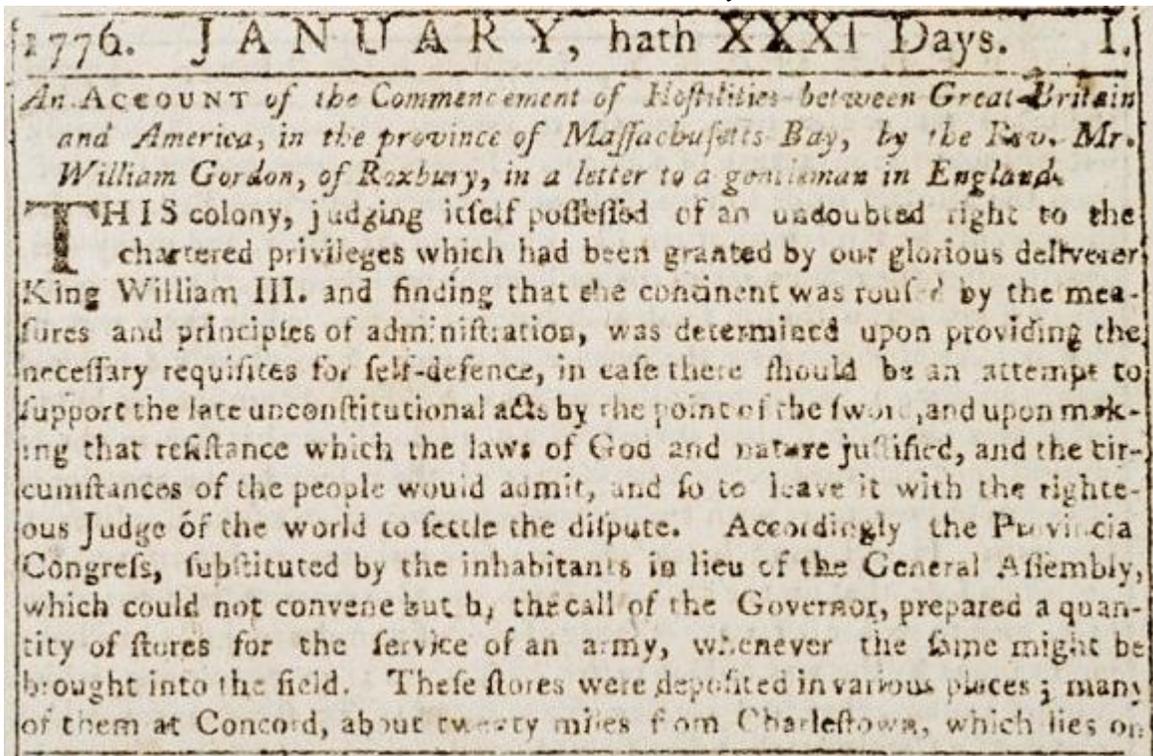
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This was printed by I. Thomas in Worcester, B. Edes in Watertown, and S.&E. Hall in Cambridge, and bears an asking price of "6 Coppers." Besides the usual monthly calendars, this publication offered a 2-page history of the charters of the British colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, a list of the Governors of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut, from the first settlements up to the time they surrendered their charters, and the Reverend William Gordon of Roxbury's "An Account of the Commencement of Hostilities between Great Britain and America, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay."





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NOTE: [William Bartram](#) ascribed the lunar eclipse of this year to the year 1773, a fact which, even if we had no other such warnings in regard to his accounts of his travels, would have forced us to beware of a too-literal acceptance of them as reported.⁶⁰

| Date | Time UT (hr:mn) | Type | Node | Saros | Gamma | Magnitude | | Duration (min) | | Moon Position | | Contacts UT (hr:mn) | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------|------|-------|--------|-----------|--------|----------------|-----|---------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Greatest | | | | | Pen. | Umb. | Par | Tot | RA | Decl. | U1 | U2 | U3 | U4 |
| 1772 Oct 11 | 17:14 | Total | D | 123 | 0.093 | 2.76 | 1.647 | 236 | 104 | 1.16 | 7.5 | 15:16 | 16:22 | 18:06 | 19:12 |
| 1773 Apr 07 | 8:43 | Partial | A | 128 | 0.648 | 1.673 | 0.697 | 164 | | 13.11 | -6.4 | 7:21 | | | 10:05 |
| 1773 Sep 30 | 17:53 | Partial | D | 133 | -0.623 | 1.773 | 0.688 | 182 | | 0.49 | 2.6 | 16:22 | | | 19:24 |
| 1774 Feb 26 | 10:59 | Penumbral | A | 100 | -1.357 | 0.412 | -0.645 | | | 10.62 | 7.3 | | | | |
| 1774 Sep 20 | 0:57 | Penumbral | D | 143 | -1.312 | 0.479 | -0.547 | | | 23.85 | -2.4 | | | | |
| 1774 Mar 27 | 23:19 | Penumbral | A | 138 | 1.396 | 0.321 | -0.697 | | | 12.48 | -1.6 | | | | |
| 1774 Aug 21 | 15:06 | Penumbral | D | 105 | 1.327 | 0.434 | -0.558 | | | 22.02 | -10.7 | | | | |
| 1775 Feb 15 | 15:11 | Partial | A | 110 | -0.699 | 1.646 | 0.535 | 166 | | 9.93 | 12 | 13:48 | | | 16:34 |
| 1775 Aug 11 | 7:15 | Partial | D | 115 | 0.576 | 1.798 | 0.835 | 176 | | 21.38 | -14.8 | 5:47 | | | 8:43 |
| 1776 Jul 31 | 0:02 | Total | D | 125 | -0.156 | 2.575 | 1.597 | 212 | 96 | 20.71 | -18.4 | 22:16 | 23:14 | 0:50 | 1:48 |
| 1776 Feb 04 | 14:29 | Total | A | 120 | -0.013 | 2.911 | 1.789 | 236 | 106 | 9.19 | 16.2 | 12:31 | 13:36 | 15:22 | 16:27 |
| 1777 Jan 23 | 16:24 | Partial | A | 130 | 0.672 | 1.681 | 0.6 | 168 | | 8.44 | 19.9 | 15:00 | | | 17:48 |

60. [William Bartram](#) tells us he is alone when he is not alone, and tells us he is unarmed when in fact he is packing a rifle. He isn't even to be trusted in regard to names, alleging for instance that his father [John Bartram](#) and his martyred-by-the-Indians grandfather had the same name, [John Bartram](#), when in fact **he himself had been named after this grandfather, [William Bartram](#)!** — Was he stoned when he wrote this? — Go figure.

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During the [Revolutionary War](#), Flushing, Paumanok Long Island was occupied by the British. Local [Quakers](#) would not participate in the war effort and a number of them suffered the confiscation of property as punishment. Flushing Meeting spoke out against members who aided the British or accepted military service. Consequently, the Friends meetinghouse was seized by the army and used for various purposes including a hospital, stable, and storage. It is believed that the army burned the original benches and picket fence as their



firewood, since this was in short supply. With this meetinghouse unavailable, [New York Yearly Meeting](#) moved its gatherings to Westbury, never to return. Monthly meetings in New York and other areas were

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formed, and Flushing Meeting became merely a local monthly meeting (which it remains today).



The American colonies were in revolt, and loyalties were divided. With all the pressures, divided loyalties were to be found even within the [Religious Society of Friends](#). As an example of how [Quaker disownment](#) was used as a tool in this incendiary situation, here is a disownment that was announced in this year at the Fairfax, [Maryland](#) monthly meeting:

"W.R. who by birth had a right of membership in our Religious Society but through levity and a disregard to that principle which would preserve if adhered to, he hath been seduced and drawn away with the Spirit of the Times so far as to enlist and join in the active part of war, leaving his place of abode to that end, and having given us no opportunity to treat with him on this sorrowful occasion, we, agreeable to our antient practice, think it requisite to deny him the right of membership among us, which is hereby confirmed by our monthly meeting and he so to stand until by due contrition he condemns his conduct which we can but desire on his behalf."

As an example of an acknowledgment of disownment due to warlike activity, here is a statement that was duly received and placed on file in this year by that same meeting:

"Whereas I the subscriber have several times stood Centry in a military manner and having considered the same, I see it to be wrong, for which misconduct I am sorry, and hope to be more careful for the future, desiring that Friends would accept this my acknowledgment and continue me under their care as my future conduct shall render me worthy. J.L."⁶¹



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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On Paumanok Long Island, Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was standing steadfast and refusing to participate in the American Revolution or

*“use any coercive force
or compulsion
by any means whatever;
not being overcome
by evil,
but overcoming
evil
with the good.”*

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

He well knew that any suggestion that we attempt to kill the Devil with a gun or a sword could have been a suggestion sponsored only by the Devil himself. Instead he chose to make his contribution to the cause of American liberty by paying visits to [Quaker](#) slavemasters on *Paumanok* “Long Island,” entreating them to strike a direct blow for human freedom by [manumitting](#) their black [slaves](#).

As you can see, even [Quakers](#) have such cannon:



This cries out for explanation but first you need to think about it because there are several levels at which explanation must be attempted.

British [tobacco](#) taxes were a major factor in exciting the “Tobacco Coast” (the Chesapeake), where the Revolutionary War would occasionally be referred to as “The Tobacco War.” The American slavemaster planters of tobacco had found themselves perpetually in debt to British merchants and, by this point, owed millions of pounds to the mercantile houses of England. The British tobacco taxes were a further grievance. Their slave-grown tobacco would help finance this revolutionary war, by serving as collateral for loans from France — so yes, Virginia, black [slaves](#) indeed did make a contribution to the American Revolution!

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

Boston's Huguenot refugee families had been outmarrying with Boston families of English origin, and so many of them had become Anglicans that the "French Church" Congregation of Boston, which had never had a structure of its own, was no longer even bothering to schedule meetings for worship.



QUESTION:

What did Henry David Thoreau have in common with Paul Revere?

Most Huguenot exiles fought on the colonial side in the revolution, although some, such as the DeLanceys of New-York (the *de Lanci* family from *Isle de France*), sided with the British and then had to flee to Canada with their American property confiscated. There were a number of Huguenots prominent in the Continental Congress and in the Revolutionary Army, such as Henry Laurens of South Carolina (the biggest name in slave trading in Charleston), John Jay of New York, Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, Alexander Hamilton of the West Indies, Gouverneur Morris of New Rochelle, Francis "Swamp Fox" Marion of Georgetown, South Carolina, Paul Revere of Boston, Andrew Pickens of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, etc. A comment that has been made on this is that "their sacrifices for freedom of religious worship kindled in them the love of liberty and they shared the aspirations of the English colonists for just treatment."⁶²

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62. Summerall, Charles Pelot. "Huguenot Descendants in the Revolutionary War." Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, 37, 1932, page 25.

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The Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#)'s A DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS, SHOWING IT TO



BE THE DUTY AND INTEREST OF THE AMERICAN STATES TO EMANCIPATE ALL THEIR AFRICAN SLAVES. The Calvinist minister of the 1st Congregational Church at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), a white guy, had [manumitted](#) his one black slave, and hoped for a future of benevolence, in which as a consequence of the Revolution, the practice of human enslavement in America would be discontinued, and the black people would go back to Africa where they belonged, because America should only be for us white people. Fair's fair, so if we fail to condemn [slavery](#) here, then "The Africans have a good right to make slaves of us and our children.... And the Turks have a good right to all the Christian slaves they have among them; and to make as many more slaves of us and our children, as shall be in their power."

[ANTISLAVERY](#)

Discretion being the better part of valor, while [Aquidneck Island](#) was occupied by the British military, the



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Reverend would abandon his 1st Congregational Church there and preach instead at Newburyport in Massachusetts and at Canterbury and Stamford in Connecticut (he would not return to Newport until 1780).

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This reverend's training school for black missionaries to Africa would fall apart due to the disruption of the revolutionary fighting.

During Winter 1775/1776, acting on behalf of the Rhode Island legislature, militia General William West had been ferreting out loyalists. For the duration of the American Revolution, Newport sent its Loyalists, including Joseph Wanton (son of the deposed royal governor) and Thomas Vernon (the Comte de Rochambeau would use Vernon House, on Clarke Street in Newport, as his headquarters), to rusticate for the duration pleasantly and harmlessly in [Glocester](#) on the farm of Stephen Keach.



Stone-Ender in Chepachet

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

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Benjamin Thompson did some intelligence work for General Gage of the army at the start of the revolution, as a double agent at the rank of major reporting in letters written in invisible “sympathetic ink” made from an infusion of nutgalls, and had to flee to London when revolutionaries began to suspect him of being a military spy, leaving behind wife Sarah Walker Thompson and daughter Sarah Thompson (1774-1852).⁶³



63. In England he would become a government clerk and rise to under-secretary of state. He would be sent back to the colonies as a lieutenant colonel and would earn here a reputation for ferocity which would have been remembered as mere severity had he been on the winning side. Among his less illegitimate exploits, he would defeat a group led by Francis Marion, the “swamp fox,” at Wambaw Creek near Charleston SC. While in charge of a regiment in Huntington NY on *Paumanok* Long Island, however, he would allow his soldiers to live off the locals, stealing cattle and tearing up farm fences for firewood. He would raze the Huntington church and converted the tombstones of the colonials into slabs upon which to bake his bread. — the man knew how to rule. At the triumph of the American revolutionaries, he would of course be forced again into exile.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



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Boston's [Huguenot](#) refugee families had been outmarrying with Boston families of English origin, and so many of them had become Anglicans that the "French Church" Congregation of Boston, which had never had a structure of its own, was no longer even bothering to schedule meetings for worship.



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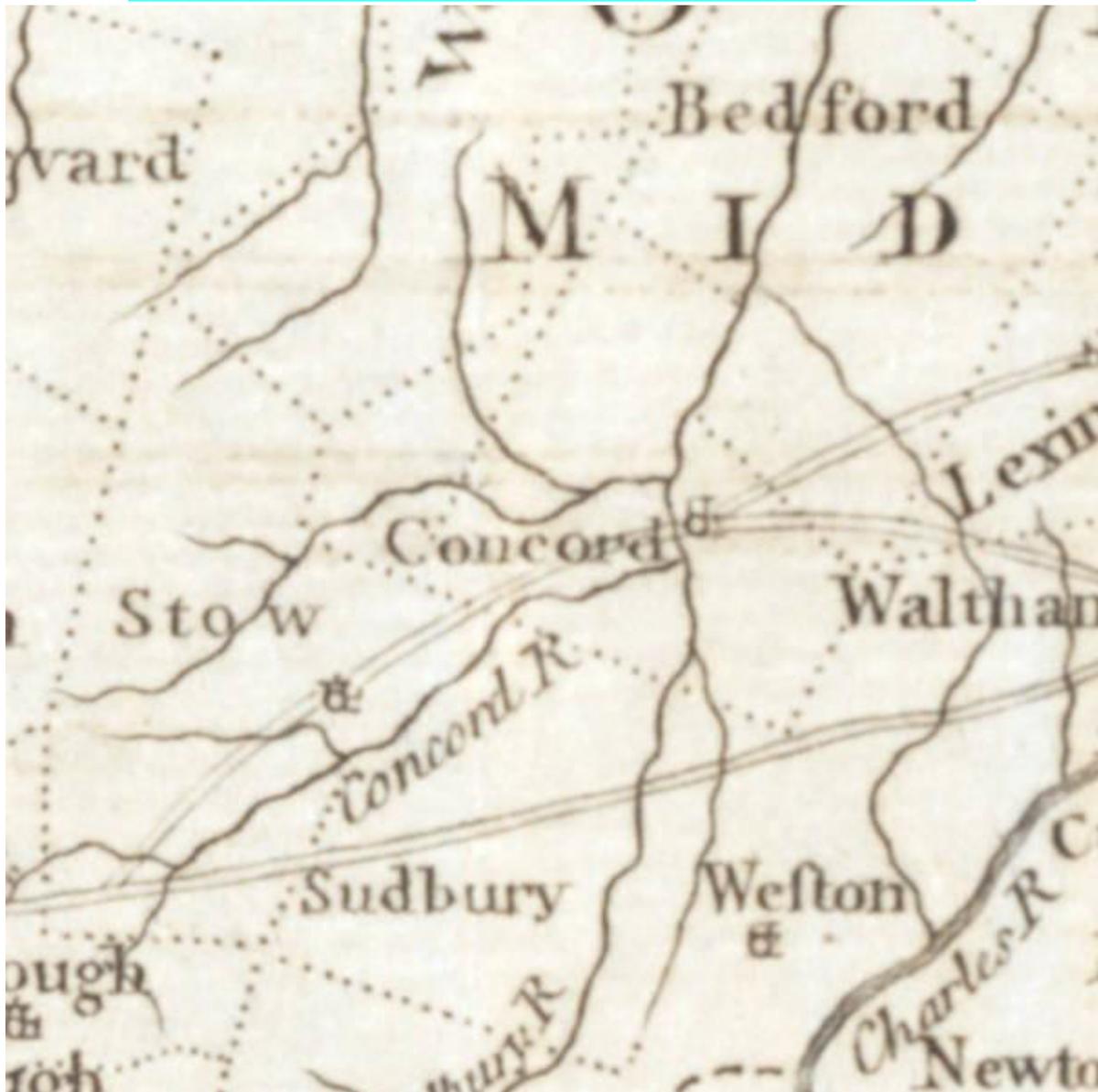
1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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The Reverend Elisha Rich, pastor of a Church of Christ in Chelmsford, preached vindicating “the free bought man’s liberty” in specific regard to “the civil war between Great-Britain and the American-Colonies, in the year 1775,”⁶⁵ and then saw this sermon into publication in neighboring [Concord](#) as:

Rich, Elisha, 1740-1804? A SERMON ON ECCLESIASTICAL LIBERTY, PREACHED AFTER THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN GREAT-BRITAIN AND THE AMERICAN-COLONIES, IN THE YEAR 1775, IN WHICH THE FREE BOUGHT MAN’S LIBERTY IS VINDICATED. TO WHICH IS ADDED, A FEW LINES IN METRE, SUITABLE TO EACH HEAD. / By E. Rich, Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of a church of Christ in Chelmsford. Concord MA: Printed by Nathaniel Coverly, for the author., M,DCCLXXVI. [1776]





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Perhaps in this context, a context in which freedom and liberty are spoken of, but are spoken of only in regard to the “free bought man” rather than in regard to the slave, it would be wise to consider a more modern and consistent analysis of such a curious frame of mind:



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SLAVERY, PROPAGANDA, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by Patricia Bradley

August 1998

University Press of Mississippi

Revolutionary patriots used spin tactics to avoid slavery issue

From Boston, Massachusetts, the spin doctors of the American Revolution fired the nation's fervor for liberty and at the same time made sure the abolition of slavery stayed off the agenda of what patriots were fighting to gain.

In *SLAVERY, PROPAGANDA, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (UP of Mississippi), author Patricia Bradley uses the *BOSTON GAZETTE* —the most important newspaper of the Revolution— as her touchstone. In its pages she finds wilful exclusions of information and determined misrepresentations of the facts in many crucial news stories of the day. Taken together, these failings show a concerted effort to force abolition from the Revolutionary public's consciousness.

Says Bradley, "Given the level of sophistication of revolutionary propaganda as a whole, this was not an accidental accumulation, but can only be considered as part of the overall campaign."

By comparing coverage in the publications of the patriot press with those of the moderate colonial press, this book finds that the patriots carried out this campaign of distorting news reports on blacks and slaves even in the face of a vigorous antislavery movement.

In Boston, *THE GAZETTE* misinformed its readers about the notable Somerset decision that led to abolition in Great Britain. Bradley notes also that *THE GAZETTE* excluded antislavery essays, even from patriots who supported abolition. No petitions written by Boston slaves were published, nor were any writings by the black poet Phillis Wheatley. *THE GAZETTE* also manipulated the racial identity of Crispus Attucks, a black man and the first casualty in the Revolution. When using the word slavery, *THE GAZETTE* took care to focus not upon abolition but upon Great Britain's "enslavement" of its American Colonies.

By the time the Revolution began, white attitudes toward blacks were firmly fixed, and these persisted long after American independence had been achieved. In Boston notions of virtue and vigilance were shown to be negatively embodied in black colonists. These "devil's imps" were long represented in blackface in Boston's annual Pope Day parade. Over time, the patriot press fixed abolition as a British ideal rather than an American aspiration in the minds of Revolutionaries, and this, Bradley says, had long-reaching consequences. "The failure of the revolutionaries to address the issue of black Americans in a new nation served to leave intact an underworld of beliefs that could only shape the course of the Republic."



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In Philadelphia a drama was published by Styner and Cist, titled "The FALL OF BRITISH TYRANNY, OR AMERICAN LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT" and subtitled "A tragi-Comedy of Five Acts, as lately planned at the Royal Theatrum Pandemonium at St. James's. The principal place of action, in America." The drama contained the following constructive Scene IV, "In Boston, while the Regulars were flying from Lexington":

LORD BOSTON, surrounded by his Guards and a few Officers.

Lord Boston. If Colonel Smith succeeds in his embassy, and I think there's no doubt of it, I shall have the pleasure this evening, I expect, of having my friends Hancock and Adams's good company; I'll make each of them a present of a pair of handsome iron ruffles, and Major Provost shall provide a suitable entertainment for them in his apartment.

Officer. Sure they'll not be so unpolite as to refuse your excellency's kind invitation.

Lord Boston. Should they, Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn have my orders to make use of all their rhetoric and the persuasive eloquence of British thunder.

Enters a messenger in haste. I bring your excellency unwelcome tidings -

Lord Boston. For Heaven's sake! from what quarter?

Messenger. From Lexington plains.

Lord Boston. 'Tis impossible!

Messenger. Too true, sir.

Lord Boston. Say - what is it? Speak what you know.

Messenger. Colonel Smith is defeated and fast retreating.

Lord Boston. Good God! what does he say? Mercy on me!

Messenger. They're flying before the enemy.

Lord Boston. Britons turn their backs before the Rebels! the Rebels put Britons to flight! Said you not so?

Messenger. They are routed, sir; they are flying this instant; the provincials are numerous, and hourly gaining strength; they have nearly surrounded our troops. A re-enforcement, sir, a timely succor, may save the shattered remnant. Speedily! speedily, sir! or they're irretrievably lost.

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January 1, day: British soldiers in Boston send copies of the King's speech of October 26 across to the colonial lines. The copies just recently arrived in the city. The King's words fill the Americans with resolve and dash any hope of accommodation with the British. General Washington orders that the men surrounding Boston now be called the Continental Army.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"On the white rocks which guard her coast," an ode by William Boyce to words of Whitehead, was performed for the initial time.

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January 5, Friday: The Continental Congress ordered Commander in Chief of the Fleet of the United Colonies [Esek Hopkins](#) to destroy a fleet that had been created in Chesapeake Bay the previous autumn by the Loyalist Governor Dunmore of Virginia. It further ordered that upon the completion of this task, the American navy was to clear the [Carolina](#) coast and then the [Rhode Island](#) coast of loyalist shipping.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

When [New Hampshire](#) adopted a revolutionary constitution at Exeter, it was the 1st colony to do so.

READ THE FULL TEXT

January 9, day: The expedition of Colonel Henry Knox departs the eastern shore of the Hudson River at Albany and begins the trek carrying 58 mortars and cannon over the Berkshires in the middle of winter.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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January 10, day: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote out his 50-page pamphlet COMMON SENSE (it would not see publication in Philadelphia until February 14th). On this same date an absolutist speech by the British monarch was, by chance, being distributed in the colony. Those Americans who opposed independence from Britain were monarchists, and monarchists were like Jews. Although the British soldiers should be treated decently, as prisoners of war, and incarcerated for the duration, when these traitorous Jew-like Americans were captured and identified they should lose not only their property but also their heads. Paine's anti-Semitism was not limited to Jews, whom God had marked out for punishment, but extended also to Muslims, that is, the followers of "Mahomet." Not to leave anybody out, he also hated Catholics, under the rubric Papists. In fact he condemned virtually every group other than his own sort of patriotic full-blooded American warrior. He believed that we ought to have a truly permanent peace, and he believed that the way to obtain perpetual peace later was through maximal belligerence now. It should come as no surprise that this pamphlet would sell half a million copies within only a few months, for Paine truly had a genius for zeroing in on the lowest common denominator for an audience and then giving this audience precisely what they were eager to receive.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Paine espoused the idea of informing the common citizenry in general. Within a few months his pamphlet would sell 100,000 copies throughout the colonies. To insure that the populace was adequately informed for responsible participation in political affairs, the American revolutionaries would be concurring on the necessity not only for a free press but also for a national post office. –This would make them in favor, also, as the idea worked out all of its implications, of establishing some vehicle for publicly funded formal education.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

January 24, day: Colonel Henry Knox reached Cambridge with 43 cannon and 16 mortars, having carried them overland from Fort Ticonderoga.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

February 11, day: The Royal Governor of Georgia escaped to a British warship.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

February 27, day: News of the British Parliament's Declaratory Acts of last December reached Philadelphia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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March 1, Friday: [Esek Hopkins](#)'s fleet arrived at Abaco in the Bahamas and began to prepare for a raid on New Providence, Bahamas to seize some military stores.

[Concord](#) planned for ten days of military duty at Dorchester Heights near [Boston](#) of 145 of its soldiers.

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS⁶⁶

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|------------------|-----|----------|----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| January 20, 1776 | 36 | 2 months | Cambridge | £1 ⁴ / ₅ | £63 ⁴ / ₅ |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|-----------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|
| <p>January 20, 1776. Middlesex was ordered to raise a regiment of 571 men; Concord 26, Bedford 6, Acton 13, Lincoln 8. Concord, however, furnished 36. John Robinson was Colonel; John Buttrick, Lieutenant-Colonel; Samuel McCobb, Major; Joseph Thaxter, Chaplain; Nathan Stow, Quarter-master; Jabez Brown, Adjutant. The Captains' names were, John Ford, Simon Edgel, Josiah Warren, Asahel Wheeler, Benjamin Edgel, Job Shattuck, and John Lamont. Silan Mann was a lieutenant there under Wheeler.</p> <p>A new organization of the militia was made in February, 1776, and Concord, Lexington, Weston, Acton and Lincoln were assigned to the 3d Regiment. Oliver Prescott was then chosen Brigadier-General, Eleazer Brooks, Colonel of this regiment, Francis Faulkner, Lieutenant-Colonel; Nathan Barrett, 1st Major; Samuel Lamson, 2d Major; and Joseph Adams, Surgeon.</p> <p>The following were the officers of the several companies: Company 1, of Concord; Captain George Minott, 1st Lieutenant Edward Wright, 2d Lieutenant Emerson Cogswell. Company 2, of Weston; Captain Jonathan Fiske, 1st Lieutenant Matthew Hobbs, 2d Lieutenant Josiah Severns. Company 3, of Lexington; Captain John Bridge, 1st Lieutenant William Munroe, 2d Lieutenant Ebenezer White. Company 4, of Concord; Captain Thomas Hubbard, 1st Lieutenant Ephraim Wheeler, 2d Lieutenant Amos Hosmer. Company 5, of Acton; Captain Simon Hunt, 1st Lieutenant John Heald, Jr., 2d Lieutenant Benjamin Brabrook. Company 6, of Lincoln; Captain Samuel Farrar, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Hoar, 2d Lieutenant James Parks. Company 7, of Concord; Captain Thomas Barrett, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Heald, 2d Lieutenant Asa Green.</p> <p>Col. James Barrett was appointed to raise men in this county December 2d, 1775; and was muster-master from December 28th, 1776, till his death. Capt. Joseph Hosmer succeeded him in 1780.</p> <p>The Concord Light Infantry was organized soon after, (of which Joseph Hosmer was Captain; Samuel Jones, Lieutenant; and Samuel Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant); and attached to this regiment.</p> | | | | | |
| March 1, 1776 | 145 | 10 days | Dorchester Heights | | |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment of nearly all the militia, to take possession of Dorchester Heights just before the British evacuated Boston. The officers of the 3d Regiment abovementioned were generally there. An attack on Boston was anticipated, and a considerable quantity of lint and bandages was sent from Concord to the hospital.</p> | | | | | |
| April 9, 1776 | 31 | 9 months | Near Boston | | 55 ⁴ / ₅ |
| <p>This [the above] was an enlisted company for the purpose of fortifying and defending Boston and its vicinity. Officers: — Josiah Whitney, of Harvard, Colonel; Ephraim Jackson, of Newton, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Miller, Major. For the Middlesex Company, — Abishai Brown, Captain; Abraham Andrews, 1st Lieutenant; Silas Proctor, 2d Lieutenant; Jeremiah Williams and, Edward Heywood, all of Concord, were Sergeants. They were stationed at Hull. This company assisted in taking Col. Campbell, about three hundred Highlanders, and several provision ships. They left Concord June 1st, and were discharged December 1st. Thaddeus Blood, Esq., is the only person now living [1835] in Concord who belonged to this company.</p> | | | | | |

66. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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March 2, Saturday: The Continental Congress appointed Silas Deane as a secret envoy to France, to assess whether that country would be likely to support the colonies in a fight for independence.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 3, Sunday: Colonial naval forces captured New Providence (Nassau), Bahamas and carried off its military stores.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

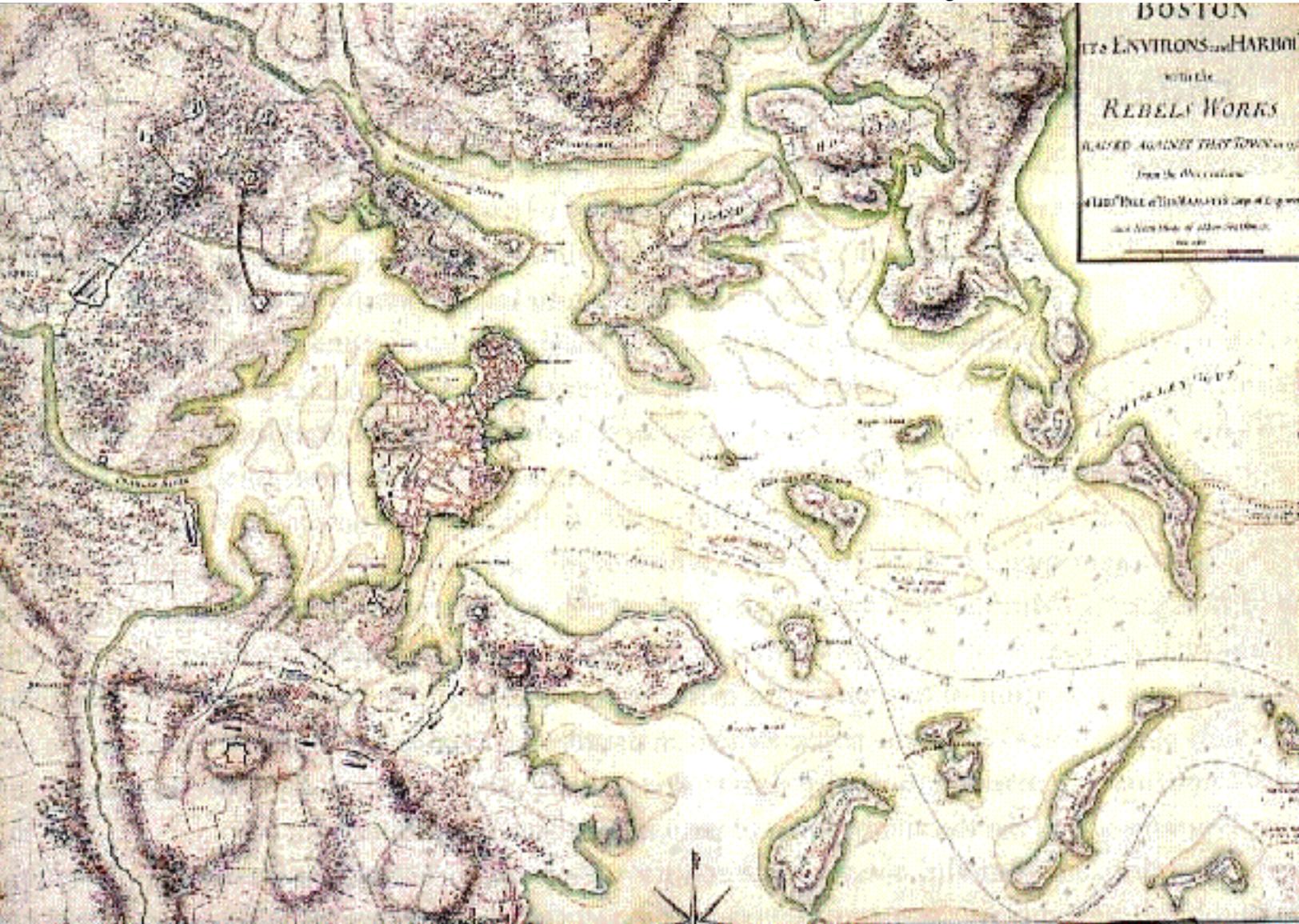
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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March 4, Monday: Fort Nassau surrendered and gave the Americans the keys to Fort Montagne. [Esek Hopkins](#) then brought his ships into the harbor to load the captured munitions.

People were trying to kill each other at Yamcrow Bluff in South Carolina.

Amos Baker, a private in the militia company of Captain John Hartwell in the regiment led by Colonel Eleazer Brooks, marched with the unit from Lincoln to fortify Dorchester Heights overlooking [Boston](#).



The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded the above in his journal:

“y^e militia went to Roxbury.”



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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During the night of March 4/5, 3,000 colonial troops occupied the Dorchester Heights overlooking Boston, setting up fortifications and gun emplacements with cannon and mortars from Fort Ticonderoga.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 5, Tuesday: British troops in Boston begin operations to assault the colonial positions on the Dorchester Heights. A furious storm comes up and the plan has to be postponed.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Zemire und Azor, a komische Oper by Christian Gottlob Neefe to words of von Thummel after Marmontel, was performed for the initial time, in Leipzig.

March 6, Wednesday: With a fierce winter storm still raging in Boston, British commander General William Howe calls off the attack on Dorchester and orders the evacuation of Boston.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 9, Saturday: Amos Baker was discharged from the Lincoln militia company of Captain John Hartwell in the regiment led by Colonel Eleazer Brooks, which had been fortifying Dorchester Heights, when it became evident that the British army under General Howe, rather than attacking, was in the process of abandoning the port of [Boston](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Wealth of Nations, by Adam Smith.

SCOTLAND

March 14, Thursday: The Continental Congress voted to disarm Tories — Americans opposed to the revolution.

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March 17, Sunday: Empress Ekaterina II granted a monopoly to Prince Urusov to operate a theater in Moscow. This was the beginning of the Bolshoi Theater.

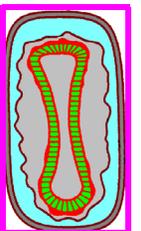
A rondo, duet and aria buffa by Luigi Cherubini were performed for the 1st time, at the Accademia degli Ingegneri, Florence.

Colonial naval forces ended their occupation of the Bahamas. The munitions of Fort Montagne loaded aboard his ships, Commander in Chief of the Fleet of the United Colonies [Esek Hopkins](#) headed back toward New England.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



During an outbreak of the [small pox](#), the regular army under General Howe (6,000 British troops) suddenly evacuated [Boston](#). When the revolutionary troops would march in, they would find only 2,719 Bostonians still there. The remainder had either previously fled to them on the mainland during the town's occupation by the





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regular army — or had fled (1,000 loyalists) with the army.



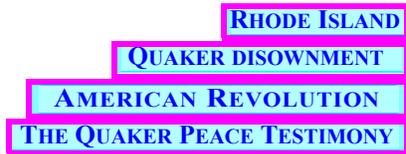
For instance, the [Concord](#) antislavery Tory, Daniel Bliss, who had under threat removed his family from Concord to Boston, on this day evacuated with General Thomas Gage’s army to Halifax.



Distinguish between the Reverend Daniel Bliss (1714-1764) of [Concord](#), the father, and his son Daniel Bliss, Junior (1739-1805) the lawyer of [Concord](#) and then of Frederickton, New Brunswick.



28th, 5th Month: The committee appointed by the Preparative Meeting of [Newport](#) to deal with Friend Job Townsend, 2nd having reported no success in dealing with him as an armed member of the local revolutionary militia, the [Quakers disowned](#) him “to be any longer a member of our Society.”



March 20, day: British engineers blew up Castle William in Boston harbor.



March 25, day: Rebel militia attacked a community of escaped slaves on Tybee Island at the mouth of the Savannah River, Georgia, killing as many as they can find. The whites feared that the British would use the former slaves against them, as they had pledged to do.

New reached Philadelphia of the British evacuation of Boston.



March 27, day: The British fleet carrying troops and loyalists from Boston set sail for Halifax, Nova Scotia.



April 6, day: The Continental Congress opened all ports in the 13 colonies to ships of all nations except Great Britain.





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April 9: [Concord](#) budgeted for ten days of the services near [Boston](#) of 31 local soldiers at £55⁴/₅ each.

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|---|-----|----------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| January 20, 1776 | 36 | 2 months | Cambridge | £1 ⁴ / ₅ | £63 ⁴ / ₅ |
| <p>January 20, 1776. Middlesex was ordered to raise a regiment of 571 men; Concord 26, Bedford 6, Acton 13, Lincoln 8. Concord, however, furnished 36. John Robinson was Colonel; John Buttrick, Lieutenant-Colonel; Samuel McCobb, Major; Joseph Thaxter, Chaplain; Nathan Stow, Quarter-master; Jabez Brown, Adjutant. The Captains' names were, John Ford, Simon Edgel, Josiah Warren, Asahel Wheeler, Benjamin Edgel, Job Shattuck, and John Lamont. Silan Mann was a lieutenant there under Wheeler.</p> <p>A new organization of the militia was made in February, 1776, and Concord, Lexington, Weston, Acton and Lincoln were assigned to the 3d Regiment. Oliver Prescott was then chosen Brigadier-General, Eleazer Brooks, Colonel of this regiment, Francis Faulkner, Lieutenant-Colonel; Nathan Barrett, 1st Major; Samuel Lamson, 2d Major; and Joseph Adams, Surgeon.</p> <p>The following were the officers of the several companies: Company 1, of Concord; Captain George Minott, 1st Lieutenant Edward Wright, 2d Lieutenant Emerson Cogswell. Company 2, of Weston; Captain Jonathan Fiske, 1st Lieutenant Matthew Hobbs, 2d Lieutenant Josiah Severns. Company 3, of Lexington; Captain John Bridge, 1st Lieutenant William Munroe, 2d Lieutenant Ebenezer White. Company 4, of Concord; Captain Thomas Hubbard, 1st Lieutenant Ephraim Wheeler, 2d Lieutenant Amos Hosmer. Company 5, of Acton; Captain Simon Hunt, 1st Lieutenant John Heald, Jr., 2d Lieutenant Benjamin Brabrook. Company 6, of Lincoln; Captain Samuel Farrar, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Hoar, 2d Lieutenant James Parks. Company 7, of Concord; Captain Thomas Barrett, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Heald, 2d Lieutenant Asa Green.</p> <p>Col. James Barrett was appointed to raise men in this county December 2d, 1775; and was muster-master from December 28th, 1776, till his death. Capt. Joseph Hosmer succeeded him in 1780.</p> <p>The Concord Light Infantry was organized soon after, (of which Joseph Hosmer was Captain; Samuel Jones, Lieutenant; and Samuel Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant); and attached to this regiment.</p> | | | | | |
| March 1, 1776 | 145 | 10 days | Dorchester Heights | | |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment of nearly all the militia, to take possession of Dorchester Heights just before the British evacuated Boston. The officers of the 3d Regiment abovementioned were generally there. An attack on Boston was anticipated, and a considerable quantity of lint and bandages was sent from Concord to the hospital.</p> | | | | | |
| April 9, 1776 | 31 | 9 months | Near Boston | | 55 ⁴ / ₅ |
| <p>This [the above] was an enlisted company for the purpose of fortifying and defending Boston and its vicinity. Officers: — Josiah Whitney, of Harvard, Colonel; Ephraim Jackson, of Newton, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Miller, Major. For the Middlesex Company, — Abishai Brown, Captain; Abraham Andrews, 1st Lieutenant; Silas Proctor, 2d Lieutenant; Jeremiah Williams and, Edward Heywood, all of Concord, were Sergeants. They were stationed at Hull. This company assisted in taking Col. Campbell, about three hundred Highlanders, and several provision ships. They left Concord June 1st, and were discharged December 1st. Thaddeus Blood, Esq., is the only person now living [1835] in Concord who belonged to this company.</p> | | | | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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April 13, day: George Washington arrived in New-York and began making preparations for the defense of the city.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



May: Panic swept [Charleston, South Carolina](#) when a British armada carrying more than 3,000 British regulars was sighted offshore. Oh, this is bad, this is very bad.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

A call for American independence from Britain, the [Virginia](#) Declaration of Rights was drafted by George Mason (1725-1792) and amended by Thomas Ludwell Lee (*circa* 1730-1778) and by the Virginia Convention. Mason wrote “*That all men are born equally free and independant [sic], and have certain inherent natural right, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursueing [sic] and obtaining Happiness and Safety.*” [Thomas Jefferson](#) would draw from this document when a month later he worked over an early draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In 1789 it would be accessed not only by [James Madison, Jr.](#) in drawing up the Bill of Rights to the US Constitution but also by the *Marquis de Lafayette* in drafting the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.



But that was in [Virginia](#) and applied to people who were safely pro-war. For people who were anti-war

67. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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there weren't all that many rights available in America:



Pennsylvania Quakers ... experienced significant harassment for their pacifism and neutrality. Their numbers were already greatly reduced by the disciplinary renaissance of the 1750s, and they faced a real schism from "Free Quakers," who both supported the Revolution and rejected pacifism. As a result "orthodox" Friends found themselves hunted down in a colony they had founded and long governed. In May 1776 a stone-throwing mob forced Philadelphia Friends to observe a fast day that the Continental Congress had proclaimed. A Berks County mob shackled and jailed Moses Roberts, a Quaker minister, until he posted a \$10,000 bond guaranteeing his "good" behavior. Philadelphia patriots also exiled seventeen Friends to Virginia in 1776 for nearly two years so they would not interfere with revolutionary activities. Patriots celebrating the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1782 ransacked Quaker homes that had not displayed victory candles.

Clearly, there were in [Rhode Island](#) a few Quaker men who were attempting to avoid persecution by the usual coterie of Those-Who-Aren't-With-Us-Are-Against-Us "patriots." For, at the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield](#), "*Two of the Committee to labour with Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson for attending Training etc. report that they have labored with them and they appear to have frequented Trainings for Military service and endeavour to justify the same, and seldom attended friends meetings, and gave but very little satisfaction for their said conduct. Therefore this Meeting puts them from under their care, until they shall condemn said conduct to the Satisfaction of friends, which we desire they may be enabled to do — Jona Arnold is desired to inform them of their denial, Right of appeal and report to next monthly Mtg. to which time the drawing of a Testimony of their deniels [sic], in order to be published, is referred. — L. Lapham, Clerk.*"

QUAKER DISOWNMEN

BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A



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MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.

May 2, day: Based on discussion between Arthur Lee and the Comte de Vergennes, King Louis XVI decided to provide a loan of 1,000,000 livres to the cause of the American colonies.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 4, day: The Rhode Island Assembly proclaimed their colony the independent state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 6, day: The appearance of British reinforcements at Quebec caused the withdrawal of colonial troops.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Symphonie concertante in G, C45 by Johann Christian Bach was performed for the first time in the Hanover Square Rooms, London.

May 8, day: For 2 days, 2 British ships attempted to run the river defenses on the Delaware, south of Philadelphia. They gave up and sailed away.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 15, day: The Virginia Assembly instructed its delegation in Congress to propose independence.

The Continental Congress adopted a measure to suppress the powers of the crown and admit to no power in the colonies other than the people.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 7, day: Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced a resolution on independence to the Continental Congress.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 8, day: Colonial forces attacked British and Canadians at Trois Rivières, halfway between Montreal and Quebec.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 9, day: Colonial forces evacuated Montreal.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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June 10, day: King Louis XVI of France approved loans to Americans.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

After a 3-day battle at Trois Rivières, British and Canadian forces fought off colonial attackers.

The Continental Congress decided to put off debate on independence until July 1st, giving southern colonies time to receive instructions. In the meantime, they appointed a committee to draft a declaration of independence. The members of this committee were to be John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman.



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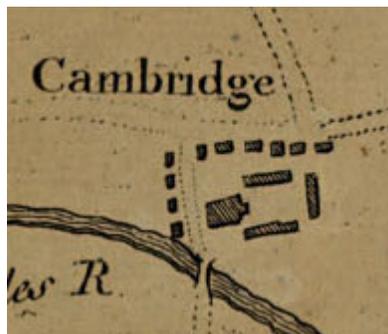
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June 11, Tuesday: The 2d Continental Congress formed a committee to draft a [Declaration of our independency upon the British crown](#).

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

John Constable, who would become a landscape painter, was born.

With the army having evacuated and with [Boston](#) safely in the hands of revolutionary authorities, it was possible for the board of governors of [Harvard College](#) to instruct “That the President, tomorrow after Prayers, adjourn the Colledge [from [Concord](#)] to Cambridge, there to meet & attend the usual exercises on Fryday [sic] the 21st Instant.”



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The departing class consisted of 43 seniors. The Harvard overseers paid individual homeowners for windows that had been broken in the town by students, and in addition voted a sum of £10 to the town itself. Some of “Concord’s” Class of ’76 would go on to distinction: one state governor, two state Chief Supreme Court justices, Harvard’s 1st professor of chemistry and materia medica, Isaac Hurd who would become a medical doctor; Jonathan Fay who would become an attorney at law — and in 1778 student [Ezra Ripley](#) would return to be the minister of 1st Parish.



While at Harvard, student Ripley was being referred to as “Holy Ripley,” although he did not yet look much like the divine pictured above. After working as a schoolteacher in Plymouth, Massachusetts for about a year, he would study for the ministry with Jason Haven, the pastor in Dedham, Massachusetts, before returning to [Concord](#)’s 1st Parish Church as a Reverend — and marrying the Reverend [William Emerson](#)’s widow [Phoebe](#).⁶⁸



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CONTINGENCY

ALTHOUGH VERY MANY OUTCOMES ARE OVERDETERMINED, WE TRUST THAT SOMETIMES WE ACTUALLY MAKE REAL CHOICES.



→ June 12, Wednesday: The [Virginia](#) Convention adopted the Declaration of Rights as drafted by George Mason (1725-1792) and amended by Thomas Ludwell Lee (*circa* 1730-1778) and other delegates.

READ THE FULL TEXT

Mason had written “*That all men are born equally free and independant [sic], and have certain inherent natural rights, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursuing [sic] and obtaining Happiness and Safety.*” [Thomas Jefferson](#) would draw from Mason’s draft while working over an early draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In 1789 it would be accessed not only by [James Madison, Jr.](#) in drawing up the Bill of Rights to the US Constitution but also by the [Marquis de Lafayette](#) in drafting the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.



The president of [Harvard College](#) directed an open letter to the citizens of the town of [Concord](#) as his institution began its temporary relocation to interior safety and turned its campus in Cambridge over to temporary use by General [George Washington](#)’s revolutionary soldiers.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Concord, June 12, 1776. At a meeting of the President, Professors, and Tutors of Harvard College, voted, that the following address of thanks be presented by the president to the Selectmen, the gentlemen of the Committee, and other gentlemen and inhabitants of the town of Concord, who have favored the college with their encouragement and assistance, in its removal to this town, by providing accommodations.

Gentlemen, – The assistance you have afforded us in obtaining accommodations for this society here [Concord], when Cambridge was filled with the glorious army of freemen, which was assembled to hazard their lives in their country’s cause, and our removal from thence became necessary, demands our grateful acknowledgments.

We have observed with pleasure the many tokens of your friendship to the college; and particularly to thank you for the use of your public buildings. We hope the scholars while here [Concord] have not dishonored themselves and the society by any incivilities or indecencies of behaviour, or that you will

68. A Scotsman, Archibald Campbell, had sailed into Boston harbor just after the British evacuated Boston, and he and all his men had been arrested. With the prisons in Boston already full, Campbell and one of his officers were held for a time in Concord. He complained to General Washington about the condition there. Later he would be exchanged for a British prisoner, Ethan Allen.



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readily forgive any errors which may be attributed to the inadvertence of youth.

May God reward you with all his blessings, grant us a quiet re-settlement in our ancient seat to which we are now returning, preserve America from slavery, and establish and continue religion, learning, peace, and the happiest government in these American colonies to the end of the world.

SAMUEL LANGDON, President Per Order.

Karl Marx would express, in his *THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE, 1848-1850*, the sentiment that “The origin of states gets lost in a myth, in which one may believe, but which one may not discuss.” On the 1st page of Theodore W. Allen’s introduction to his 1st volume,⁶⁹ this independent scholar asks our “indulgence for only one assumption, namely, that while some people may desire to be masters, all persons are born equally unwilling and unsuited to be slaves.” I find that remark remarkable indeed! When in our [Declaration of Independence](#) we said to ourselves “All men are created equal,” we were of course writing as lawyers and in a lawyerly manner.



We were purposing to level others, such as those overweening overbred British aristocrats, down to our own lay level, but meanwhile it was no part of our purpose to level others, such as our wives and slaves, up to our own exalted situation—we were doing this to benefit ourselves at the expense of others, and not doing this for the benefit of others. What we meant back there in Philadelphia several centuries ago, by such a trope as “All men are created equal,” was “We want, 1st, to sound almost as if we were saying that while some people may desire to be masters, all persons are born equally unwilling and unsuited to be slaves, and we want, 2dly, to sound as if we were struggling to express **something** like that without actually declaring **anything** like that—because it is essential that in this new nation of ours (based as it is upon human enslavement) we avoid any such issue. Our equality here is to be founded upon the inequality of others, and this grand-sounding trope ‘All men are created equal’ is being provided so that it can function as our cover story, enabling such viciousness to proceed unhindered.” As [Edmund Burke](#) expressed on February 16, 1788 during the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings for maladministration of the British rule in [India](#), “There is a sacred veil to be drawn over the

69. Allen, Theodore W. *THE INVENTION OF THE WHITE RACE, VOLUME ONE: RACIAL OPPRESSION AND SOCIAL CONTROL*. London: Verso, 1994



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beginnings of all government.”



The African Association was founded in England to explore the interior of Africa.

In the usage of the trope “peculiar institution” that is today ordinary or usual, this trope is deployed of course in oblique reference to the unmentionable crime of human chattel bondage. It is nowadays used in implicit criticism of enslavement. Not so originally! In its initial usages, to refer to slavery as “peculiar” was not to attack it but proclaim it to be defensible. “Peculiar,” in this archaic usage, indicated merely that the legitimacy of the system was based not upon any endorsement by a higher or more remote legal authority, but based instead upon the “peculiar conditions and history” of a particular district of the country and a particular society and a particular historically engendered set of customs and procedures and conventions. This trope went hand in hand with the Doctrine of States Rights, and went hand in hand with the persistence of the English common law. What Allen, however, refers to by use of this trope “peculiar institution” is, instead, the invention of the so-called “white race” which has here been used to legitimate our local version of this unmentionable crime, our local version of a solution to the problem of social control. It is for him this biologicistic cover story, itself, which constitutes the quintessential “Peculiar Institution” we have been forced to construct. “Only by understanding what was peculiar about the Peculiar Institution can one know what is exceptionable about American Exceptionalism” (Volume I, page 1). In this he acknowledges that he is following a seed that had been planted by W.E.B. Du Bois in his BLACK RECONSTRUCTION.

Allen’s 1st volume is made up of an elaborate parallelization of the [Irish](#) and Scottish experience under English colonialism, and the American antebellum experience:

Every aspect of the Ulster Plantation policy aimed at destroying the tribal leadership and dispersing the tribe is matched by typical examples from Anglo-American colonial and United States policy toward the indigenous population, the “American Indians” – a policy we clearly recognize as racial oppression of “the red man.”

I have been looking into an Irish mirror for insights into the nature of racial oppression and its implication for ruling-class social control in the United States.

SCOTLAND



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June 20, Thursday: The General Assembly of Connecticut declared its independence from Britain.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

June 24, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Isle aux Noix, Canada.

The voters of the town of Lincoln committed themselves to the American revolution.

At length, on the 24th of June, 1776, the town [of Lincoln] passed this important vote: "That, should the Honourable Congress, for the safety of the United American Colonies, declare themselves independent of Great Britain, we, the inhabitants of this town will solemnly engage, with our lives and fortunes to support them in the measure."

About this time the town was requested to instruct their representative, according to the general custom at that period; but it was thought more proper to "empower him to act according to his best judgement and discretion."⁷⁰

June 28, Friday: In the initial major naval battle of the Revolution, a fleet of 11 British warships and 1,500 troops under Admiral Sir Peter Parker attacked Ft. Moultrie on Sullivan's Island in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. They were repulsed with severe damage to the vessels, because the fort had been constructed of palmetto logs that were too spongy to be much damaged by cannonballs, and because British attackers attempting to wade across from Long Island found the water to be too deep.

[CHARLESTON](#)

The drafting committee presented its recommended draft for a [declaration of independency](#), thus stopping the clock on the deadlines which had been imposed on its work. The draft, however, was merely tabled rather than picked up and immediately processed by the congress acting as a Committee of the Whole. Pauline Maier says of this draft:

 No doubt it was a promising text, one that would have been easily improved if the author could have put it aside for two weeks, then looked at it afresh. Jefferson didn't have two weeks. He had, however, the next best thing: an extraordinary editor.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

70. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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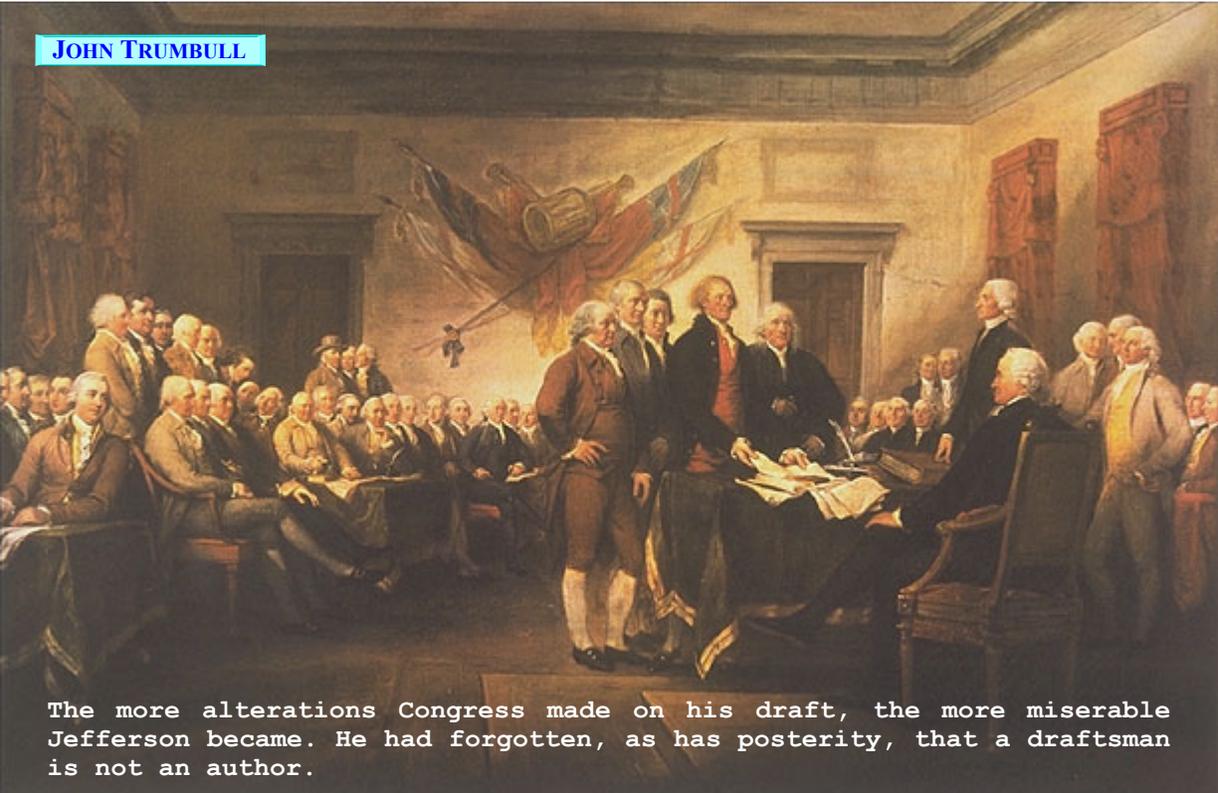
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June 30, Saturday: Great Britain reintroduced troops to the 13 rebellious colonies by occupying Staten Island, New York. Eventually there would be 32,000 soldiers on that island — which was greater than the population of any city on the North American continent.

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She is referring of course to the Congress acting collectively to improve the script:

JOHN TRUMBULL



The more alterations Congress made on his draft, the more miserable Jefferson became. He had forgotten, as has posterity, that a draftsman is not an author.

According to John Adams's 1805 autobiography, Jefferson's drafting contribution amounted to merely "a day or two," and came after the five members of the committee had not only outlined the document desired but also decided at least in general terms what its various "Articles" should say. These instructions to the draftsman according to Adams had been issued in writing, as "minutes," so they might be in a form which the draftsman could take with him to his lodgings.

Whatever written directions or "minutes" the Committee of Five gave Jefferson have long since disappeared.



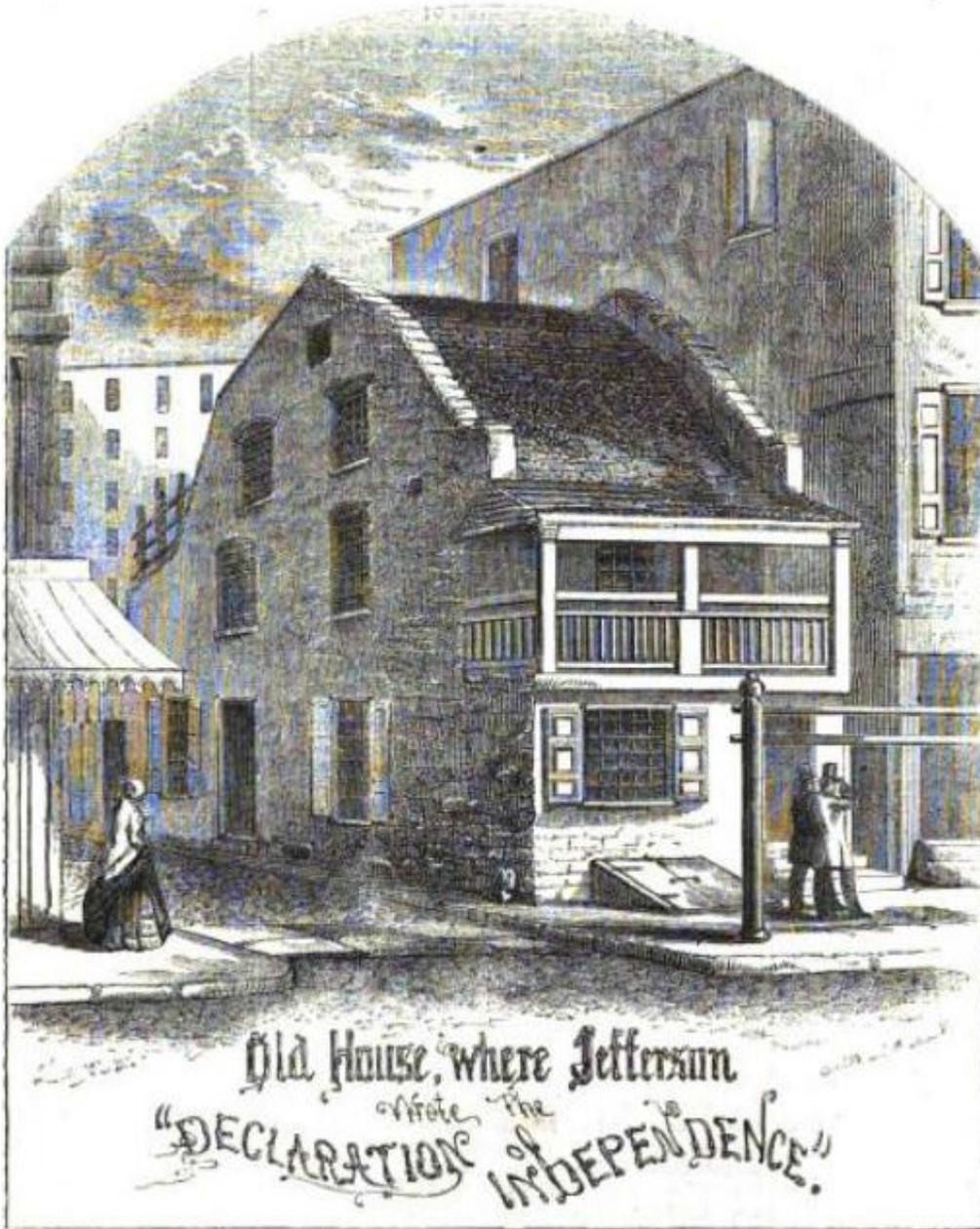
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Unless and until we have those instructive written “minutes” which Jefferson the scribe took with him to his lodgings, we have no way to determine the extent to which his subsequent “day or two” of work as a “draughtsman” amounted to more than a copying job, one of sheer elaboration.



Drawn by Devereux, from an Original Sketch. for the New York Journal.

ENGRAVED BY S. H. WALLIN

Jefferson would make the old age claim that he had in his possession “written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot,” but such materials are not now of record and there is every appearance that Jefferson,



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at age 80, was lying. Furthermore, be it noted that the words he used, “written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot,” are entirely ambiguous in that they might indicate that he was writing down the instructions of others under dictation, might indicate that he was jotting down his own thoughts and plans, or might indicate anything in between these two extremes. However that may be, Pauline Maier, on her page 100, concurs that he was “likely” lying when he made this assertion.

When, in 1852, [Frederick Douglass](#) would deliver an address in Rochester NY about our national [Declaration of Independence](#), he would be forced to repudiate it since it had been a foundational document of, by, and for only those Americans who have the good fortune to be all white. He would need to take that tack because although this text about human freedom, which had originally been reported to “the representatives of the United states of America, in General Congress Assembled” as of this June 28, 1776, had in its originary version contained the following valid declaration in regard to slaves by King George III of England, and as to our right to free ourselves from such treatment —

he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where Men should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the Liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

— that portion had been omitted by the white delegates in their process of reconsideration of the document!

(Had they not expunged such a peroration, the representatives obviously brought themselves to recognize, it would render this new continental government liable to the same course of action in the future, on the part of its own black slaves, which these white men were contemplating in their initial honorific rebellion against their white king. This clause of the document would have been able to become a perfect legitimation for further rebelliousness, available to such a personage as [Frederick Douglass](#): a war between the enslaved and enslaving races constructed in our originary document as being quite as legitimate as that earlier revolution of the whites against their white overlord. But no, they would be **careful** not to leave in the document a section useful to a later generation of freedom fighters of another hue!)

Now, it has ever been presumed that the above challenging paragraph about human freedom was something that was being created by [Thomas Jefferson](#) the believer in freedom, during his midnight-oil musings, and it has ever been presumed that the above challenging paragraph about human freedom was something that some cabal of other delegates of lesser audacity and benevolence at the congress would then have needed to voided in its entirety because they were not so firm in their belief in human freedom as was our Founding Father Jefferson the sole author of this [Declaration of Independence](#) writ.

But my intent here is to inquire as to **how we know** this to be the correct reconstruction of the course of events.



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Bear in mind, Jefferson was the guy who would become so horrified at the idea of miscegenation between the races, that he would be ready to contemplate the killing of white women in [Virginia](#) who were guilty of bearing racially tainted children — and of such racially tainted children with them. Bear in mind, this is the Jefferson who later, as President, when later faced by a 2d American revolution, a revolution by black slaves on the Caribbean Island of Haiti, would become so horrified as to place that sugar island under an absolute embargo, directly transforming it by US fiat from the richest “Pearl of the Antilles” into the sort of pesthole it is today.

Had this [Virginia](#) slavemaster been the delegate who actually espoused the attitudes shown in the paragraph included above, from the draft for the document?

It seems that the document we frequently see reproduced, that is on display in our nation’s capital under heavy green glass, is not only not in the hand of this [Thomas Jefferson](#), but does not even date all the way back to July 4th, 1776, let alone to this earlier June 28th. Instead, what we display for our corporate self-worship is a mere prettified copy that we are officiously passing off as if it had been that foundational writ. The Continental Congress would actually have its originary document set up in ugly moveable metal type and printed off at a job print shop, rather than penned onto foolscap. If we ask the interesting question, how is it that this prettified late copy on foolscap is now being passed off as the original, the answer seems to be that such an anonymous piece of calligraphy, since it approximates handwriting, appears to be the work of one hand, and, appearing as a hand product, better supports one of the myths we have come to embrace: the myth of Sole Authorship.

We know very well that Jefferson was not actually having quite as much to do with the drafting of the [Declaration of Independence](#), as his posterity now chooses to pretend to recall. For instance, on the wall of the Jefferson Memorial in [Washington DC](#) we have carved a truncated version of the grandiloquent last paragraph of the Declaration and yet as we are well aware those were words that would be inserted primarily only during the general revision process, as a generally accepted replacement for other text which Jefferson had sponsored. Jefferson’s “[autobiography](#),” written in 1820 when he was 77 after most of the other witnesses were out of the way, included an annotated version of his overnight draft showing the changes made by others subsequent to its submittal, **and in that commentary what we have chiseled into the wall of his memorial is carefully exegeted as having been primarily the contribution of others.** Also, we know that at the point at which Jefferson would begin to take sole credit for the Declaration, he would have become an old gent whose desire it was to be remembered for this creation of this foundational document, with the following eventually to be inscribed on his (replacement) tombstone⁷¹ at his slave plantation [Monticello](#) in [Virginia](#):

**Here was buried Thomas Jefferson,
author of the Declaration of American Independence,
of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom,
and father of the University of Virginia.**

At that point he would have become an octogenarian survivor whose grand claims could no longer readily be contested. He would have become able conveniently to forget that, at the time of enactment, he had been protesting that the other delegates were “mutilating” his work. He would have become able conveniently to forget how much editorial guidance he had been receiving, beforehand, from other members of the drafting committee, and elide this in his uncorroborated and entirely self-serving late narrative. He would in this late reconstruction neglect to make any similar record of the detailed instructions from other committee members which he had taken back to his lodgings with him for the preparation of that overnight draft — would choose to remember instead that these others had subsequently made but “two or three” minor changes in his draft!

71. In what year was this replacement grave marker with its inscription prepared, after the original marker had been chipped away by visitors? Had the original cenotaph been a blank stone?



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Well, if this is to be suspected to be an exaggeration, was it typical, or atypical, of Jefferson, to exaggerate? Jefferson was in fact frequently guilty of what John Quincy Adams, who knew the man, carefully referred to as “prodigies.” For instance, Jefferson once gratuitously insisted that for six weeks the thermometer had been below zero, when that was egregiously false. Also, he once claimed he had taught himself Spanish, when that, also, was a considerable exaggeration. Adam’s comment on this tendency was:

“He knows better, but he wants to excite wonder.”

The actual origin of the document seems to have been in a draft of a “Declaration of Rights” which George Mason had prepared for Virginians, a draft which ran afoul of the delegation because it spoke of human slavery as “disgraceful to mankind.” Mason, when it came time to sign the original printed-up form of the [Declaration of Independence](#) as amended and approved, would decline to add his name at the foot of that document. He refused, ashamed, because he knew that in this form it would be made to apply only to white Americans. It was this which would free [Thomas Jefferson](#), who never in his life saw anything problematic about American racism, later into his dotage, to claim to have been the Sole Author of that repudiated document.⁷²

I would like to suggest that we may be quite mistaken in presuming it to have been Jefferson who wrote the above paragraph about freedom for slaves, and in presuming that the better judgment of the other delegates over-rode his convictions in this area. It may well have been, instead, that this paragraph about the horror of slavery reflects instructions given by other drafters to Jefferson, which this slavemaster and other slavemasters would finally succeed in overcoming. –That alternate, unconsidered interpretation is a possibility which is definitely more compatible with a [Jefferson](#) who would later express such a horror of miscegenation, and demonstrate such mistrust in the processes of freedom in Haiti.

Thus, actually, the claim that [Jefferson](#) wrote the [Declaration of Independence](#) is a claim which rests merely upon his own late-life assertion, and not upon any other evidence. At first none of us really had cared who had written up that document. It had no legal standing. It had been brought into existence only as pro-revolution propaganda, which is to say, material considered to be of temporary and topical relevance. It had taken quite a long time for it to become more than a pamphlet of the times, to become instead a popular part of our history, an extra-legal foundational document of sorts.

The hard evidence which we presently have is consistent with A.) the story Jefferson created for himself in his old age. However, this hard evidence is **also** B.) consistent with another story altogether: that in fact for his own aggrandizement in history he vastly exaggerated not only the original importance of that particular document but also his own impact upon the document. As he was wont to do, even in regard to his knowledge of foreign languages and even in regard to the temperature. “He knows better, but he wants to excite wonder.”

We know he was sent home overnight by the drafting committee with a list of instructions as to what to prepare for the next day. We know he returned the next morning with a draft, of which we have the text. What we decidedly **do not know** is, how much of that draft he brought back in to the committee the next morning had already existed, in the list of instructions which he had been given by the committee. His claim was that this

72. Incidentally, contrary to what you might have supposed, the moniker “the United States of America” was not created by [Jefferson](#) for use in this document. Such a moniker was already in existence. For instance, we have a letter written by Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts as a member of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, to General Horatio Gates, promising that execution would be the fate of internal “enemies of the United States of America,” and the date on that letter is June 25th, three days prior to the appearance of the phrase “the representatives of the United states of America, in General Congress Assembled” on June 28th.



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list of instructions had been perfunctory. We do not know that that was true. For all we actually know, the list of instructions might well have been, all but a jot here and a tittle there and a little perfunctory scribal improvement in handwriting and/or wording, identical with what he brought back in the next morning.

Story B.) is consistent with everything else we know of Jefferson and his life.

Story A.) is generally inconsistent with many of the details of Jefferson's other work, such as with his eagerness to outlaw, and thus legally sanction the murder of, any white woman who bore a child not entirely white — and her child with her.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The Declaration of Independence showed a significant drift of public opinion from the firm stand taken in the "Association" resolutions. The clique of political philosophers to which Jefferson belonged never imagined the continued existence of the country with slavery. It is well known that the first draft of the Declaration contained a severe arraignment of Great Britain as the real promoter of slavery and the slave-trade in America. In it the king was charged with waging "cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another."⁷³

To this radical and not strictly truthful statement, even the large influence of the Virginia leaders could not gain the assent of the delegates in Congress. The afflatus of 1774 was rapidly subsiding, and changing economic conditions had already led many to look forward to a day when the slave-trade could successfully be reopened. More important than this, the nation as a whole was even less inclined now than in 1774 to denounce the slave-trade uncompromisingly. Jefferson himself says that this clause "was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also, I believe," said he, "felt a little tender under those censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."⁷⁴

73. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 23-4. On the Declaration as an anti-slavery document, cf. Elliot, DEBATES (1861), I. 89.



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As the war slowly dragged itself to a close, it became increasingly evident that a firm moral stand against slavery and the slave-trade was not a probability. The reaction which naturally follows a period of prolonged and exhausting strife for high political principles now set in. The economic forces of the country, which had suffered most, sought to recover and rearrange themselves; and all the selfish motives that impelled a bankrupt nation to seek to gain its daily bread did not long hesitate to demand a reopening of the profitable African slave-trade. This demand was especially urgent from the fact that the slaves, by pillage, flight, and actual fighting, had become so reduced in numbers during the war that an urgent demand for more laborers was felt in the South.

Nevertheless, the revival of the trade was naturally a matter of some difficulty, as the West India circuit had been cut off, leaving no resort except to contraband traffic and the direct African trade. The English slave-trade after the peace "returned to its former state," and was by 1784 sending 20,000 slaves annually to the West Indies.⁷⁵ Just how large the trade to the continent was at this time there are few means of ascertaining; it is certain that there was a general reopening of the trade in the Carolinas and Georgia, and that the New England traders participated in it. This traffic undoubtedly reached considerable proportions; and through the direct African trade and the illicit West India trade many thousands of Negroes came into the United States during the years 1783-1787.⁷⁶

Meantime there was slowly arising a significant divergence of opinion on the subject. Probably the whole country still regarded both slavery and the slave-trade as temporary; but the Middle States expected to see the abolition of both within a generation, while the South scarcely thought it probable to prohibit even the slave-trade in that short time. Such a difference might, in all probability, have been satisfactorily adjusted, if both parties had recognized the real gravity of the matter. As it was, both regarded it as a problem of secondary importance, to be solved after many other more pressing ones had been disposed of. The anti-slavery men had seen slavery die in their own communities, and expected it to die the same way in others, with as little active effort on their own part. The Southern planters, born and reared in a slave system, thought that some day the system might change, and possibly disappear; but active effort to this end on their part was ever farthest from their thoughts. Here, then, began that fatal policy toward slavery and the slave-trade that characterized the nation for three-quarters of a century, the policy of *laissez-faire*, *laissez-passer*.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

74. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 19.

75. Clarkson, IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, pages 25-6; REPORT OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, etc. (London, 1789).

76. Witness the many high duty acts on slaves, and the revenue derived therefrom. Massachusetts had sixty distilleries running in 1783. Cf. Sheffield, OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN COMMERCE, page 267.



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"It behooves the United States, therefore, in the interest both of scientific truth and of future social reform, carefully to study such chapters of her history as that of the suppression of the slave-trade. The most obvious question which this study suggests is: How far in a State can a recognized moral wrong safely be compromised? And although this chapter of history can give us no definite answer suited to the ever-varying aspects of political life, yet it would seem to warn any nation from allowing, through carelessness and moral cowardice, any social evil to grow. No persons would have seen the Civil War with more surprise and horror than the Revolutionists of 1776; yet from the small and apparently dying institution of their day arose the walled and castled Slave-Power. From this we may conclude that it behooves nations as well as men to do things at the very moment when they ought to be done."

— W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, 1896

July 1, Monday: The 2d Continental Congress (acting for the day as a committee of the whole in order to loosen things up a bit parliamentarily) took under consideration the draft of a [Declaration of Independence](#) document that had been submitted on schedule by its drafting "committee of five." Debate began, with it appeared 9 colonies for issuance of the document, 2 against, and 2 split, with New York abstaining — and, again acting only as a committee of the whole, after having discussed the matter for 9 hours, the congress adopted this draft, for purposes of presentation at the next meeting and formal debate.

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July 2, Tuesday: The Constitution of New Jersey granted suffrage to female citizens (this would remain in effect until 1807).

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

When the 2d Continental Congress prepared to take up the draft declaration of Independency that had been submitted for their consideration by the “committee of five” on June 28th, presumably during the intervening days any number of clerical copies of that draft had been made so that each delegate would be able to mark up, whenever possible in the press of the war business, his own personal copy with his own thoughts as to what such a declaration-of-war document ought to contain and how it ought to be worded. Since none of such copies have survived, a good hypothesis is that they must have most carefully been gathered up and destroyed at the conclusion of the deliberations — in order to quite obliterate any suspicious signs of internal dissent. The initial vote was 12 for, with New York abstaining. However, the press of urgent war-related business would prevent any real general discussion of the draft by the assembled delegates from being initiated until the 4th.

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[DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#)



From time to time one sees a question being uneasily raised as to which of our Founding Fathers, while striking this blow for nationhood and liberty, were themselves the holders of slaves. Typically, the folks who produce this question, and the folks who attempt to respond to it, are concerned about being considered unpatriotic (Heaven knows why). Here for what it is worth is an attempt at a list of known culprits as generated by PhD candidate Rob Parkinson of the University of Virginia for H-SHEAR on November 18, 2004:

Carter Braxton (Virginia)
Charles Carroll of Carrollton (Maryland)
Samuel Chase (Maryland)
William Ellery (Rhode Island)
Benjamin Franklin (Pennsylvania)
Button Gwinnett (Georgia)
John Hancock (Massachusetts)
Benjamin Harrison (Virginia)
Thomas Heyward, Jr. (South Carolina)
Francis Hopkinson (New Jersey)
Thomas Jefferson (Virginia)
Francis Lightfoot Lee (Virginia)
Richard Henry Lee (Virginia)
Francis Lewis (New York)
Thomas Lynch, Jr. (South Carolina)
Arthur Middleton (South Carolina)
Robert Morris (Pennsylvania)
John Morton (Pennsylvania)
Thomas Nelson (Pennsylvania)
George Read (Delaware)
Caesar Rodney (Delaware)
Benjamin Rush (Pennsylvania)
Edward Rutledge (South Carolina)
Richard Stockton (New Jersey)
George Walton (Georgia)
William Whipple (New Hampshire)
James Wilson (Pennsylvania)
John Witherspoon (New Jersey)
George Wythe (Virginia)

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July 3, Wednesday: In Cambridge, Massachusetts, [George Washington](#) assumed command of the main American army besieging British occupied Boston.



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On this day and the following one, the 2d Continental Congress was revising the wording of its Declaration of Independency.

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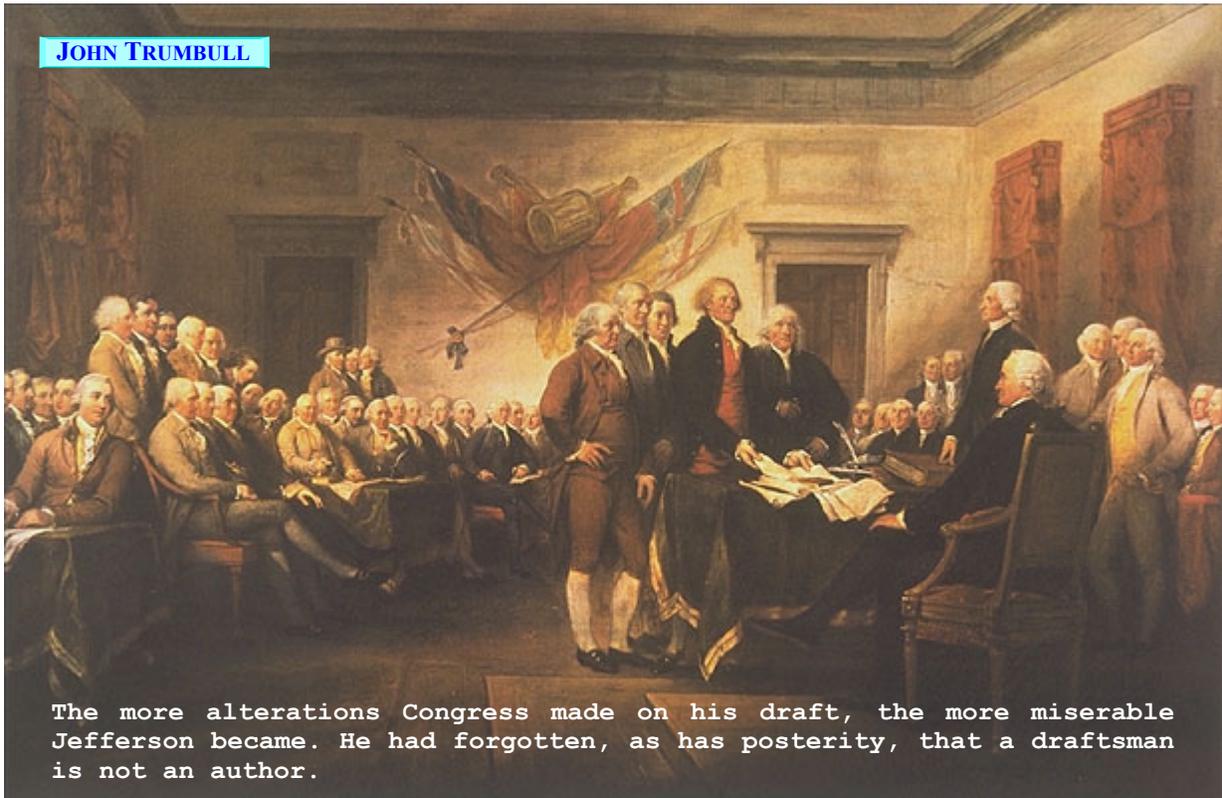


July 4, Thursday: After 2 days of debate and amendments, the [Declaration of Independence](#) was approved by the Continental Congress and signed by President of the Congress John Hancock and Secretary of the Congress Charles Thomson.

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It was a cloudy day, and the temperature was but 76 degrees Fahrenheit. In North America, the process that had begun when a crafty old politician named [Benjamin Franklin](#) had been placed on a Constitutional Committee of Pennsylvania to draft a declaration of the independence of the former North American seacoast colonies of Great Britain was brought to fruition, in that a broadside to that effect was on this date roughly printed off in Philadelphia.

JOHN TRUMBULL



The more alterations Congress made on his draft, the more miserable Jefferson became. He had forgotten, as has posterity, that a draftsman is not an author.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

HDT

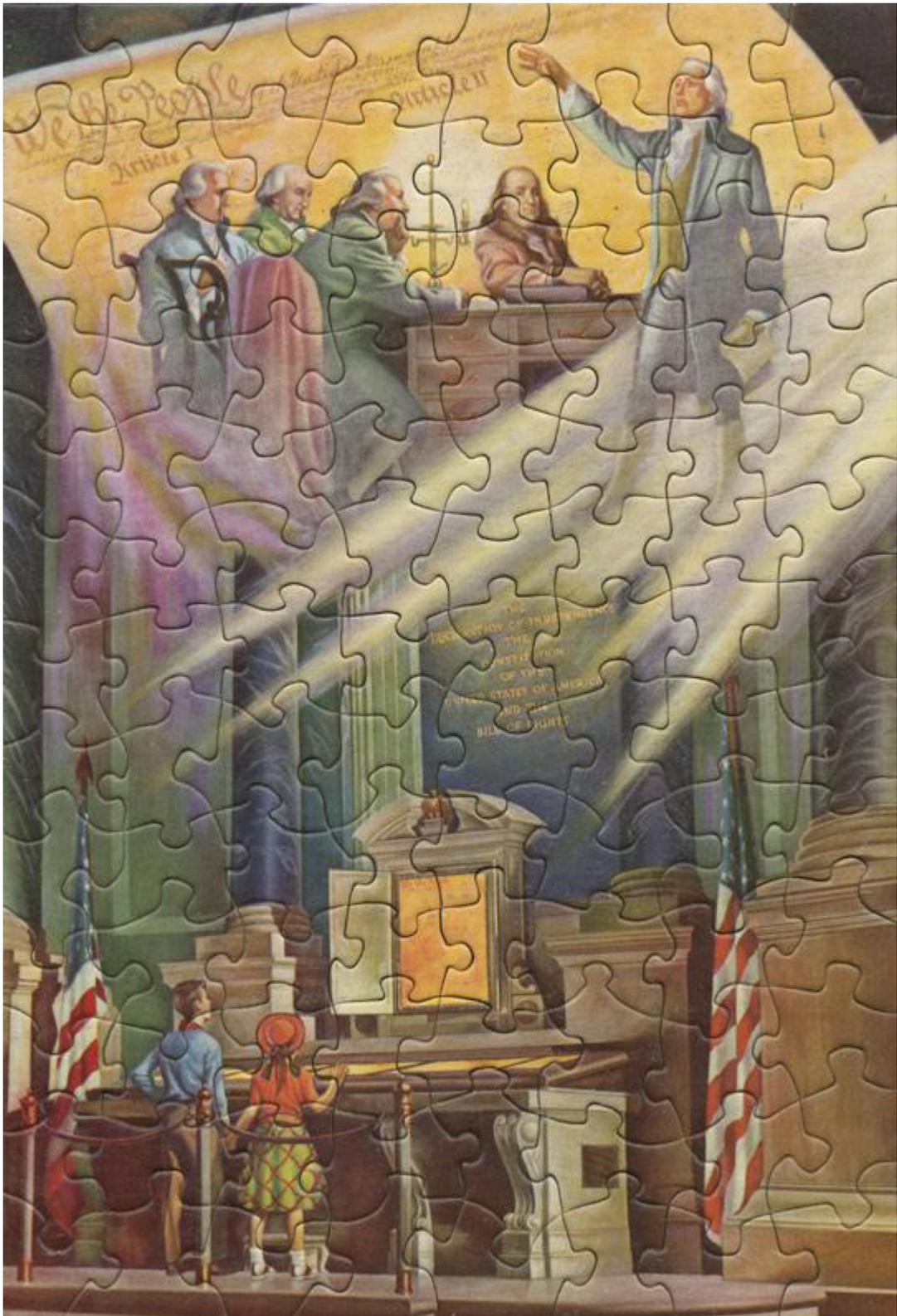
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This date saw, also, the publication of [Adam Smith](#)'s AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS.



The point at which Professor Smith writes about pin-manufacture (Chapter 1, page 3), as the basis for division of labor and therefore for the wealth of nations, is displayed on a following screen.

An extract from its section “The cost of Empire” is on subsequent screens:

[see following]

Certain American business types would come to regard this latter document, possibly on account of its publication date and possibly for some other reason, as their real [Declaration of Independence](#), although by 1844 Friedrich Engels would be challenging such an attitude toward freedom in his THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING MAN IN ENGLAND and by 1855 [Herman Melville](#) would be challenging such an attitude toward freedom in his BENITO CERENO.

Only John Hancock, president of the assembly, and Charles Thomson, secretary of the assembly, signed the draft of “A Declaration by the representatives of the United states of America, in Congress assembled” accepted on this day, which was declaring itself as being issued “in the name and by the authority of the good people of these ... free and independent states.” That draft incorporated markup of the changes made by the delegates, along with symbols inserted by Jefferson to indicate the points at which a person reading it orally ought to pause for rhetorical effect. The printer who typeset this document inserted quotation marks to

ten be collected into the same workhouse, and placed at once under the view of the spectator. In those great manufactures, on the contrary, which are destined to supply the great wants of the great body of the people, every different branch of the work employs so great a number of workmen, that it is impossible to collect them all into the same workhouse. We can seldom see more, at one time, than those employed in one single branch. Though in such manufactures, therefore, the work may really be divided into a much greater number of parts, than in those of a more trifling nature, the division is not near so obvious, and has accordingly been much less observed.

To take an example, therefore, from a very trifling manufacture, but one in which the division of labour has been very often taken notice of, the trade of a pin-maker: a workman not educated to this business (which the division of labour has rendered a distinct trade), nor acquainted with the use of the machinery employed in it (to the invention of which the same division of labour has probably given occasion), could scarce, perhaps, with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which this business is now carried on, not only the whole work is a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater part are likewise peculiar trades. One man draws out the wire; another straightens it; a third cuts it; a fourth points it; a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business; to whiten the pins is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands, though in others the same man will sometimes perform two or three of them. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind, where ten men only were employed, and where some of them consequently performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of four thousand pins of a middling size. Those ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this peculiar business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day; that is, certainly, not the

two hundred and fortieth, perhaps not the four thousand eight hundredth, part of what they are at present capable of performing, in consequence of a proper division and combination of their different operations.

In every other art and manufacture, the effects of the division of labour are similar to what they are in this very trifling one, though, in many of them, the labour can neither be so much subdivided, nor reduced to so great a simplicity of operation. The division of labour, however, so far as it can be introduced, occasions, in every art, a proportionable increase of the productive powers of labour. The separation of different trades and employments from one another, seems to have taken place in consequence of this advantage. This separation, too, is generally carried furthest in those countries which enjoy the highest degree of industry and improvement; what is the work of one man, in a rude state of society, being generally that of several in an improved one. In every improved society, the farmer is generally nothing but a farmer; the manufacturer, nothing but a manufacturer. The labour, too, which is necessary to produce any one complete manufacture, is almost always divided among a great number of hands. How many different trades are employed in each branch of the linen and woollen manufactures, from the growers of the flax and the wool, to the bleachers and smoothers of the linen, or to the dyers and dressers of the cloth! The nature of agriculture, indeed, does not admit of so many subdivisions of labour, nor of so complete a separation of one business from another, as manufactures. It is impossible to separate so entirely the business of the grazier from that of the corn-farmer, as the trade of the carpenter is commonly separated from that of the smith. The spinner is almost always a distinct person from the weaver; but the ploughman, the harrower, the sower of the seed, and the reaper of the corn, are often the same. The occasions for those different sorts of labour returning with the different seasons of the year, it is impossible that one man should be constantly employed in any one of them. This impossibility of making so complete and entire a separation of all the different branches of labour employed in agriculture, is perhaps the reason why the improvement of the productive powers of labour, in this art, does not always keep pace with their improvement in manufactures. The most opulent nations, indeed, generally excel all their neighbours in agriculture as well as in manufactures; but they are commonly more distinguished by their superiority in the latter than in the former. Their lands are in general better cultivated, and having more labour and expense bestowed upon them, produce more in proportion to the extent and natural fertility of the ground. But this superiority of produce is seldom much more than in pro-

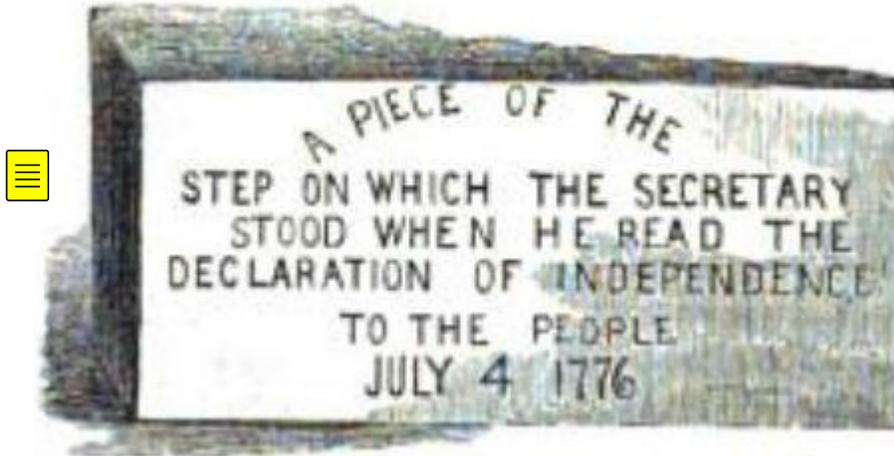


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represent Jefferson's symbol, and then found he had to pull them out in general replacing them by extra spaces.



This draft was not preserved and, it seems, nobody made any particular effort to preserve any copies of this original printing. Of the 25 copies that by the sheerest chance have survived, the 25th was to be discovered as the paper backing of a painting that had been bought at a flea market in Pennsylvania in 1989 for \$4, and this copy seems now to be worth more than \$8,000,000 on the open market as it has become the sole copy not owned by an institution. It would not be until after the delegation from the colony of New York had belatedly received instructions to cast their vote also for independence and thus render the vote of the Continental Congress unanimous, that the delegates would be able to insert the word "unanimous" into this title. At the same time they would delete the reference to mere "representatives," thus strengthening the affirmation of colonial consensus. Although the JOURNALS OF CONGRESS did identify the members of the committee that had prepared the draft for this Declaration document and thus listed the name of [Thomas Jefferson](#) among the others, there was no mention made at this time of his having provided a contribution that was being considered unique. —In fact Jefferson himself would make no such public claim, until the year prior to his death.



July 5, Friday: The Philadelphia printer John Dunlap produced printed copies of the [Declaration of Independence](#).
Congressmen began sending them throughout the country.

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July 6, Saturday: 2d Continental Congress, DECLARATION OF THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF TAKING UP ARMS.

The Pennsylvania [Evening Post](#) was the first newspaper to print the [Declaration of Independence](#).

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July 7, Sunday: Silas Deane arrived in Paris as the 1st representative of the United States to a foreign power.

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Adam Smith on "The cost of Empire," from AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS:

The countries which possess the colonies of America, and which trade directly to the East Indies, enjoy, indeed, the whole show and splendour of this great commerce. Other countries, however, notwithstanding all the invidious restraints by which it is meant to exclude them, frequently enjoy a greater share of the real benefit of it. The colonies of Spain and Portugal, for example, give more real encouragement to the industry of other countries than to that of Spain and Portugal.... After all the unjust attempts, therefore, of every country in Europe to engross to itself the whole advantage of the trade of its own colonies, no country has yet been able to engross to itself anything but the expense of supporting in time of peace, and of defending in time of war, the oppressive authority which it assumes over them. The inconveniencies resulting from the possession of its colonies, every country has engrossed to itself completely. The advantages resulting from their trade it has been obliged to share with many other countries.

At first sight, no doubt, the monopoly of the great commerce of America naturally seems to be an acquisition of the highest value. To the undiscerning eye of giddy ambition, it naturally presents itself amidst the confused scramble of politics and war, as a very dazzling object to fight for. The dazzling splendour of the object, however the immense greatness of the commerce, is the very quality which renders the monopoly of it hurtful, or which makes one employment, in its own nature necessarily less advantageous to the country than the greater part of other employments, absorb a much greater proportion of the capital of the country than what would otherwise have gone to it.... It is not contrary to justice that ... America should contribute towards the discharge of the public debt of Great Britain.... a government to which several of the colonies of America owe their present charters, and consequently their present constitution; and to which all the colonies of America owe the liberty, security, and property which they have ever since enjoyed. That public debt has been contracted in the defence, not of Great Britain alone, but of all the different provinces of the empire; the immense debt contracted in the late war in particular, and a great part of that contracted in the war before, were both properly contracted in defence of America.... If it should be found impracticable for Great Britain to draw any considerable augmentation of revenue from any of the resources above mentioned; the only resource which can remain to her is a diminution of her expense. In the mode of collecting, and in that of expending the public revenue; though in both there may be still room for improvement; Great Britain seems to be at least as economical as any of her neighbours. The military establishment which she maintains for her own defence in time of peace, is more moderate than that of any European state which can pretend to rival her either in wealth or in power. None of those articles, therefore, seem to admit of any considerable reduction of expense. The expense of the peace establishment of the colonies was, before the commencement of the present disturbances, very considerable, and is an expense which may, and if no revenue can be drawn from them ought certainly to be saved altogether. This constant expense in time of peace, though very great, is insignificant in comparison with what the defence of the colonies has cost us in time of war.



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Adam Smith on “The cost of Empire,” from AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS:

The last war, which was undertaken altogether on account of the colonies, cost Great Britain ... upwards of ninety millions. The Spanish war of 1739 was principally undertaken on their account; in which, and in the French war that was the consequence of it, Great Britain spent upwards of forty millions, a great part of which ought justly to be charged to the colonies. In those two wars the colonies cost Great Britain much more than double the sum which the national debt amounted to before the commencement of the first of them. Had it not been for those wars that debt might, and probably would by this time, have been completely paid; and had it not been for the colonies, the former of those wars might not, and the latter certainly would not have been undertaken. It was because the colonies were supposed to be provinces of the British empire, that this expense was laid out upon them. But countries which contribute neither revenue nor military force towards the support of the empire, cannot be considered as provinces. They may perhaps be considered as appendages, as a sort of splendid and showy equipage of the empire. But if the empire can no longer support the expense of keeping up this equipage, it ought certainly to lay it down; and if it cannot raise its revenue in proportion to its expense, it ought at least, to accommodate its expense to its revenue. If the colonies, notwithstanding their refusal to submit to British taxes, are still to be considered as provinces of the British empire, their defence in some future war may cost Great Britain as great an expense as it ever has done in any former war. The rulers of Great Britain have, for more than a century past, amused the people with the imagination that they possessed a great empire on the west side of the Atlantic. This empire, however, has hitherto existed in imagination only. It has hitherto been, not an empire, but the project of an empire; not a gold mine, but the project of a gold mine; a project which has cost, which continues to cost, and which, if pursued in the same way as it has been hitherto, is likely to cost, immense expense, without being likely to bring any profit; for the effects of the monopoly of the colony trade, it has been shown, are, to the great body of the people, mere loss instead of profit. It is surely now time that our rulers should either realise this golden dream, in which they have been indulging themselves, perhaps, as well as the people; or, that they should awake from it themselves, and endeavour to awaken the people. If the project cannot be completed, it ought to be given up. If any of these provinces of the British empire cannot be made to contribute towards the support of the whole empire, it is surely time that Great Britain should free herself from the expense of defending those provinces in time of war, and of supporting any part of their civil or military establishments in time of peace, and endeavour to accommodate her future views and designs to the real mediocrity of her circumstances.



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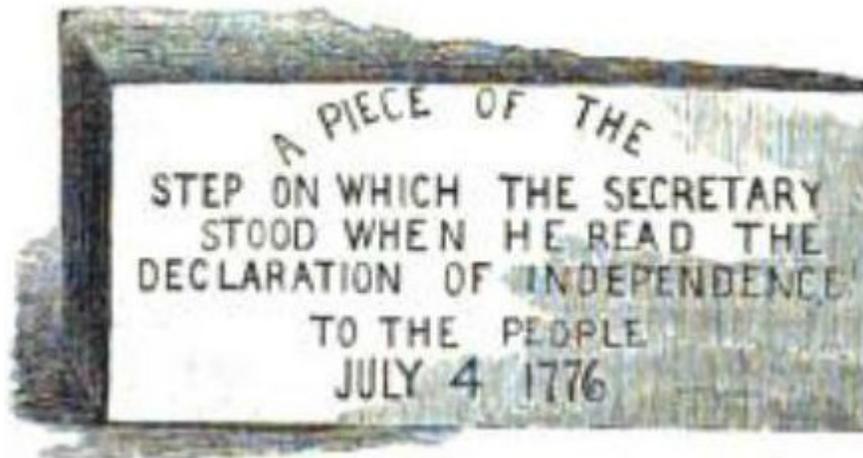


July 8, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Roxbury, Massachusetts.

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[Thomas Jefferson](#) sent to Richard Henry Lee and to Edmund Pendleton “a copy of the [Declaration of Independence](#) as agreed to by the House, and also, as originally framed” asking them to “judge whether it is better or worse for the Critics.”⁷⁷

Standing on the steps to the Observatory in State House Yard, John Nixon read the document to the public. This was to be the very most famous declaration of war ever issued!



This was followed by general celebrations, bonfires, and parades. The royal arms were removed from the Supreme Court at the State House and placed on a large fire. Meanwhile a public reading was being given the document in Trenton.



77. John Lind would write “Of the preamble I have taken little or no notice. The truth is, little or none does it deserve.” (It is said that Governor [Thomas Hutchinson](#) likewise paid little attention to this “All men are created equal...” boilerplate.) Boyd, Julian P., et al., eds., THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, 27 vols. to date (Princeton NJ, 1950 -), Volume I, pages 455-6



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THE 1ST STILL EXTANT DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF

INDEPENDENCE⁷⁸

This is what Jefferson alleged to be his "original rough draft" as submitted by him as his writing before it was modified by others. Pauline Maier has pointed out that actually "what Jefferson later called 'the original rough draft' of the document ... was in fact not an 'original rough draft,' but a copy Jefferson made from earlier compositional fragments to show members of the drafting committee...." In other words, this is not Jefferson's creation but the Committee of Five's creation, falsely claimed by Jefferson after most of the people who could expose him were safely deceased.

**A Declaration of the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
in General Congress assembled.**

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a people to advance from that subordination in which they have hitherto remained, & to assume among the powers of the earth the equal & independent station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the change.

We hold these truths to be sacred & undeniable; that all men are created equal & independent, that from equal creation they derive rights inherent & inalienable, among which are the preservation of life, & liberty & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ends, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government shall become destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation on such principles & organizing it's powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but when a long train of abuses & usurpations, begun at a distinguished period, & pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to subject them to arbitrary power, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government & to provide new guards for their future security. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former systems of government. the history of his present majesty, is a history of unremitting injuries and usurpations, among which

78. Original manuscript held and owned by the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.



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no one fact stands single or solitary to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, all of this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.

he has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary of the public good:

he has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has neglected utterly to attend to them.

he has refused to pass laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish, the right of representation; a right inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants alone:

he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly & continually, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people:

he has refused for a long space of time to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions within:

he has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands:

he has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these colonies, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers:

he has made our judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and amount of their salaries:

he has erected a multitude of new offices by a self-assumed power, & sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people & eat out their substance:

he has kept among us in times of peace standing armies & ships of war.

he has affected to render the military, independent of & superior to the civil power:

he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their pretended acts of legislation, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders they should commit on the inhabitants of these states; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offenses: for taking away our charters, & altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own legislatures & declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

he has abdicated government here, withdrawing his governors, & declaring us out of his allegiance & protection:

he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns & destroyed the lives of our people:



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he is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation & tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty & perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation:

he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, & conditions of existence: he has incited treasonable insurrections in our fellow-subjects, with the allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property.

he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life & liberty in the persons of distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.

this piratical warfare, the opprobrium of **infidel** powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which **he** has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom **he** also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the **liberties** of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the **lives** of another. in every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered by repeated injury. a prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free. future ages will scarce believe that the hardiness of one man, adventured within the short compass of 12 years only, on so many acts of tyranny without a mask, over a people fostered & fixed in principles of liberty. Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. we have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend a jurisdiction over these our states. we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration & settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood & treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited: and we appealed to their native justice & magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which were likely to interrupt our correspondence & connection. they too have been deaf to the voice of justice & of consanguinity, & when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power, at this very time too they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & deluge us in blood. these facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. we must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. we might have been a free & a great people together; but a



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communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity. be it so, since they will have it: the road to glory & happiness is open to us too; we will climb it in a separate state, and acquiesce in the necessity which pronounces our everlasting Adieu!

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled do, in the name & by authority of the good people of these states, reject and renounce all allegiance & subjection to the kings of Great Britain & all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve & break off all political connections which may have heretofore subsisted between us & the people of parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent states, and that as free & independent states they shall hereafter have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, & our sacred honor.

July 8, Monday-10, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Gwyn's Island in Chesapeake Bay.

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July 9, Tuesday: A provincial congress in the Hudson Valley declares itself to be the legitimate legislature of [New York](#) State, and voted to endorse the [Declaration of Independence](#). Here is the first public reading aloud in Philadelphia, on this day, as imagined by Brumidi on a wall of our federal capitol:



The equestrian statue of King George III in [New-York](#)'s Bowling Green was toppled by citizens gathered to hear the reading of the Declaration there.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

General [George Washington](#) led an American Independence celebration in [New-York](#), ordering that the [Declaration of Independence](#) be read to his troops assembled on the New York Common (City Hall Park) and sending a copy of it to each of his generals.



Here is one of the earliest broadsides, printed in Salem:



John Beaton, a Scotsman who earned in [Concord](#) both a respectable estate as a merchant and a reputation for personal integrity, died at the age of 47 and left money for the support of the [Town School](#) and of the town poor.

The town of Concord has also a fund of \$833.33 given by John Cuming, Esq., for the benefit of the "private schools," in the language of his Will, which has been distributed in all the districts but the centre one. Another donation now [1835] amounting to \$744.92 was given by John Beaton, Esq., for the

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support of schools and the poor.⁷⁹



July 10, Wednesday: The new [Declaration of Independence](#) document was read to the general public of [New-York](#). It was published by the Pennsylvania [Gazette](#).

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July 11, Thursday: The Annapolis, [Maryland Gazette](#) and [New-York's Packet and Journal](#) published the [Declaration of Independence](#).

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79. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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July 12, Friday: On what would become [Henry Thoreau](#)'s birthday, one of Thoreau's remote relatives, the inventor [William Dunbar](#) of Mississippi,⁸⁰ recorded in his journal with a sense of hurt and amazement that there had been a [slave](#) rebellion on his plantation: "Judge my surprise ... Of what avail is kindness & good usage when rewarded by such ingratitude." When he would manage to recover his runaways, he would have them lashed with a hundred strokes, five different times so that they would have a chance to survive for the next lashing, for a total of 500 blows each, "and to carry a chain & log fixt to the ancle."



CLAN DUNBAR

Toni Morrison has suggested that by disciplining black savagery in this extreme manner, what Dunbar was doing was demonstrating his white gentlemanliness: "[W]hatever his social status in London, in the New World he is a gentleman. More gentle, more man. The site of his transformation is within rawness: he is backgrounded by savagery."⁸¹

DUNBAR FAMILY

[Captain James Cook](#) set sail in the *Resolution* from Plymouth on a 3d voyage to the southern oceans, to be joined later by the *Discovery*.

Five British ships proceeded up the Hudson River past the American shore batteries to anchor unmolested at Tarrytown.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

80. Named, presumably, in honor of the famous Scottish poet [William Dunbar](#), he invented the screw press that made possible the square baling of cotton.

READ DUNBAR'S POEMS

81. To at all grasp the force of Morrison's argument here, you will need to make a careful study of her *PLAYING IN THE DARK: WHITENESS AND THE LITERARY IMAGINATION* (NY: Vintage Books, 1992). This is on page 44.

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July 14, Sunday: [George Washington](#) refused a letter from General Howe because it was addressed to George Washington, Esq. rather than to General Washington.

An emissary from General Howe met with him in New-York to make peace overtures. He politely but pointedly rebuffed the offer.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 15, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Rayborn Creek, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 18, Thursday: The [Declaration of Independence](#) was read publicly in Boston and in Portsmouth, [New Hampshire](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 19, Friday: The 2d Continental Congress decided that the [Declaration of Independence](#) ought to be signed by all the delegates as an indication of their unity. In fact not all the delegates initially subscribed their names to this dangerous piece of paper; missing signatures would be supplied over the months ahead. (In fact, by August 2, 1776, only 50 signatures had been applied to the parchment document, and there were still six more signatures to obtain.) This didn't really matter, as anyways the parchment version and its signatures were for safety for the time being held utterly secret:



They were not, however, given to throwing their fate into God's hands needlessly. Only on January 18, 1777, after the long, disastrous military campaign of 1776 was over and the Americans had won victories at Trenton and Princeton, did Congress send the states authenticated copies of the Declaration of Independence "with the names of the members ... subscribing the same."



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 20, Saturday: Dr. Benjamin Rush became a member of the Continental Congress, to February 1777. He would be among those signing the [Declaration of Independence](#).

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July 22, Monday: The Boston Gazette carried, in addition to its usual advertisements for slaves, the initial distributed printing of the Declaration of Independence, minus of course the incriminating personal signatures which were being collected in the strictest secrecy.



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July 24, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Sorrel River, Canada.

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July 25, Thursday: There were 3 separate public readings of the Declaration of Independence in Williamsburg.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 26, Friday: Benjamin Franklin became the Postmaster General.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 28, Sunday: David Matthews and Thomas Hickey (one of General George Washington's bodyguards) had been implicated in a plot to blow up a weapons magazine, and thus possibly cause the death of Washington. They had apparently been paid to make this attempt by the royal Governor of New York, William Tryon. –So on this day Hickey was executed.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 29, Monday: The Dominguez-Escalante expedition began.

Giovanni Paisiello left Naples for St. Petersburg, where he would take up duties as *maestro di cappella* to the Russian court.

Daliso e Delmita, an azione pastorale by Antonio Salieri to words of De Gamera, was performed for the initial time, in the *Burgtheater* of Vienna.

There was a public reading of the Declaration of Independence in Baltimore, Maryland.

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30th, 7th Month: “*The Preparative Meeting of Portsmouth inform that Gideon Shearman (son of John Shearman) and Seth Thomas (son of Joseph Thomas) have enlisted as soldiers, which is a transgression of the rules of our Society. Therefore we do disown them to be any longer under our care as members thereof, and order a copy of this minute to be read publicly at the close of a First Day Meeting at Portsmouth. Jacob Mott 2nd is desired to read the same and make report at our next Monthly Meeting.*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 2, Friday: A fair copy of the Declaration of Independence having become available, various Congressmen signed the document without fanfare in Philadelphia.

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Les romans, a ballet héroïque by Giuseppe Cambini to words of Bonneval, was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opéra.

August 11, Sunday: While serving in the 1st Battalion of Pennsylvania Militia in the revolutionary army in New Jersey, John Pitman found it of interest that he “Heard a sermon from an Indian.”

People were trying to kill each other at Tomassy, South Carolina.

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August 22, day: Prussia and Poland settled their disputed frontier. Prussia evacuated all land on the left bank of the River Netze (Notec).

British troops began making the journey from Staten Island to Long Island. They immediately set up a beachhead.

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August 27, day: British troops managed to get around American troops on the Brooklyn Heights, New York. The Americans ran away and were shot down as they fled, many in swamps. At the end of the day, however, the British did not press their advantage.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 29, day: During the night of August 29-30, American forces secretly withdrew from Long Island across the East River to Manhattan. In one of his more remarkable military maneuvers, Washington saved his 9,000-man army to fight another day.

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Lobsinget dem Herrn for chorus by Johannes Herbst was performed for the initial time.



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September: [Benjamin Franklin](#) was sent to Paris by the Continental Congress to solicit support for the American revolution and became, in his fur hat, wearing his own hair, an icon of New World natural sophistication which the French manufacturers painted onto [snuff](#)-boxes, onto chamber-pots, and onto everything in between.

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September 6, Friday: A hurricane struck Guadeloupe, Martinique and St. Christopher. Hundreds of French and Dutch ships were sunk. 6,000 were killed.

The 1st submarine attack in military history took place when Ezra Lee sailed the “Turtle,” built by David Bushnell of Saybrook, Connecticut, into New-York harbor and attached a time bomb to the hull of Admiral Howe’s flagship (the device drifted free before it exploded, and did no damage).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 9, Monday: The Continental Congress adopted the name United States of America.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 10, Tuesday: British troops from Long Island occupied Montresor’s Island at the mouth of the Harlem River.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 11, Wednesday: A delegation from the US Congress, consisting of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge, met with Lord Howe on Staten Island. Nothing productive would come of this.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 14, Saturday: General George Washington moved his headquarters north to the Harlem Heights, where most of his army was at that point encamped.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 15, Sunday: British and German troops landed at Kip’s Bay, sending the Americans in headlong flight to the rear. The British went on to occupy New-York. Loyalists in the city welcomed them with a great celebration.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 16, Monday: The British pursuit of American forces on Manhattan Island was halted by an unexpected counterattack on the Harlem Heights. The British and Hessians retreated in disorder back toward New-York.

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September 18, Wednesday: Disappointed at having been given no opportunity to hold prayer services or to preach to the revolutionary soldiers, and seriously ill of the “mongrell Feaver,” the Reverend [William Emerson](#) petitioned to be released from his military obligation at the military encampment at Fort Ticonderoga.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 22, day: Nathan Hale was executed by the British as a spy in Manhattan.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 24, day: People were trying to kill each other at Montessor's Island, [New York](#).

Treaties with France: Instructions to the Agent.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 25, day: Delegates from the western slopes of Vermont's Green Mountains, Seth Warner among them, met at Deacon Cephas Kent's house in Dorset and agreed to withhold their support from the [New York](#) colony during the revolution — placing themselves instead directly under the Continental Congress.

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September 26, day: The Continental Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson to join Silas Deane as emissaries to Paris (Jefferson would decline).

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October: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield](#), "*Lydia Wilkinson continued to inform [sic] Patience and [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) of their being disowned from Friends and report to this Meeting.*"

There was, meanwhile, an outbreak of [typhoid fever](#) in [Rhode Island](#), that evidently came with the *Columbus*, a ship of war carrying prisoners. As a girl, Friend Jemimah Wilkinson had experienced evangelical sermons by the Reverend George Whitefield and had been inspired by the female leader Ann Lee ("Mother Ann") of the Shakers. At about the age of 18, she had become involved with the New Light [Baptists](#) or "Rogerenes" of Ledyard, Connecticut. At this point, while suffering under the spiritual distress of being [disowned](#) by here monthly meeting of the Society and contemplating the long road of atonement and spiritual rectification that would be necessary before such a disownment could be erased, probably while in Ledyard, as a victim of the [typhoid fever](#) epidemic she fell into a prolonged coma — and upon reviving, she would proclaim that her soul had gone to Heaven and had been replaced in her body by "Spirit of Life." God had sent this apparition to inhabit her body in order to warn earthly creatures of His impending wrath. Discontinuing the use of the name "Jemimah Wilkinson" and denominating herself instead "Public Universal Friend," she would preach, attired in something suggestive of men's rather than of women's clothing, through Connecticut and Rhode Island. The preserved image we have of her portrays her while attired in a rather standard clerical gown and collar over her men's clothing:



For a time her friend [Moses Brown](#) had been taken by her pretensions, but at the point of her disownment, he was able to stand aside. Here is the account of this by the Los Angeles newsman and storyteller Charles Rappleye on page 187 of his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006) — an account in which he has exaggerated some of the details (such as the precise number of hours that she was uncommunicative, and the conceit that she had been "pronounced dead") and gotten other details bass-ackward (for instance suggesting that she had been opposed to war when in fact she and her family were at odds with the Quaker Peace Testimony, sending a number of the Wilkinson sons to Washington's army):

Moses' quest for meaning drew him to another homegrown mystic during the early days of the war, a tall, striking woman named Jemima Wilkinson. As deep and stoic as was Job Scott, Wilkinson was extravagant. She called herself "the Public Universal Friend," and mesmerized audiences for hours by proclaiming moral convictions she said were acquired by revelation, or simply by delivering from memory lengthy quotations from the Bible. Some of her contemporaries considered her a charlatan, but she had genuine charisma, and won a following among powerful people in

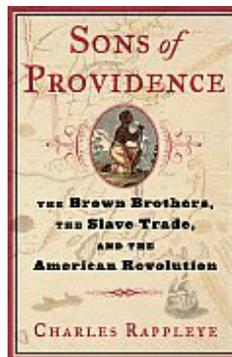


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Rhode Island, including several prominent judges. Moses knew Wilkinson from her youth. Her father, a Quaker farmer, was a cousin to Israel Wilkinson, the ironworker long associated with the Browns, and also to Stephen and Esek Hopkins, connections that ensured her entrée to the elite families of Rhode Island. Jemima was intrigued early on by a variety of religious doctrines, including those of the New Light Baptists and the Quakers, but her transformation took place in 1776, when she contracted a case of typhus. Beset with fever and delirium, she was pronounced dead, but she arose after thirty-six hours, and proclaimed her own resurrection. In the following months, Jemima Wilkinson renounced her former worldly identity and began holding ad hoc prayer meetings in country glades or borrowed meetinghouses. She preached a sort of radical strain of Quakerism, damning war, slavery, and matrimony in sermons that often ran over two hours. Her traveling services evolved into a sort of religious circus, featuring appearances by devotees who dubbed themselves Prophet Daniel and Prophet Elijah and who mimicked Wilkinson by professing visions and delivering messages from on high. Moses was intrigued by Wilkinson and attended several of her meetings. He was impressed with her knowledge of the Bible, but more than that, Moses was drawn to her story of divine inspiration. From the time of his own revelation, while walking home from Anna's grave, Moses looked for similar signs of God's active hand. Another adherent was Moses' uncle Elisha Brown, who attended several of her meetings and, convinced "that she was a messenger from God," invited her to his home, where they spent several evenings discussing her message and the controversy she caused among Rhode Island Quakers. Fortunately for Moses, however, he could not accept her as a prophet, and when the New England Meeting formally ostracized Wilkinson and barred attendance at her meetings, Moses was able to watch the proceedings with a sense of bemused detachment.



Jemimah would establish congregations at New Milford, Connecticut, and at Greenwich, Rhode Island. She did nothing to restrain enthusiastic followers who acclaimed her as the Messiah, and occasionally a stone would be thrown at her.

A memorandum of the introduction of that fatal Fever, called in the year 1776 the Columbus fever, since called the Typhus.... The ship called *Columbus* which sailed out of [Providence](#) in the



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state of Rhode Island, being a ship of war, on her return brought with her prisoners this awful and alarming disease of which many of the inhabitants in Providence died. On the fourth of the tenth month it reached the house of Jemima Wilkinson, ten miles from Providence.... A certain young woman, known by the name of Jemima Wilkinson, was seized with this mortal disease. And on the 2nd day of her illness was rendered almost incapable of helping herself. And the fever continued to increase until fifth day of the week, about midnight she appeared to meet the shock of Death; which (released) the Soul.

What was it she preached? –Generally, she favored celibacy and plainness of dress, and opposed slavery. As an intellectual record it's not all that impressive. She totally bought into the Puritan vision of the inherent depravity of humankind. Various [Quakers](#), especially those favorable to the American cause in the Revolution, would follow her in approximately a similar manner to the manner in which the Shakers followed Mother Ann Lee. The [Religious Society of Friends](#) would be disowning a number of these Friends as they made themselves guilty by association. Although her brother Stephen Wilkinson and sisters Mercy Wilkinson, Betsey (?) Wilkinson, and Deborah Wilkinson followed Universal Friend in her relocation to upstate New York, her father Jeremiah Wilkinson, who had admittedly at times served as her escort but had never been a convert, and her brother Jeremiah Wilkinson, eventually would resume association with the [Smithfield](#) Friends.

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Jemima Wilkinson was born in Cumberland, Nov. 19, 1752, and is, without doubt, the most singular as well as celebrated female character Rhode Island has ever produced. When she was about eighteen years of age, she became very much impressed with matters of a religious nature. A great religious excitement prevailed about this time in the county of Providence, and soon spread itself all over the State, through the efforts and preaching of George Whitefield. Jemima became very much interested and a great change came over her life. From a gay, spirited girl she became a sort of recluse, and spent her time in the study of the scriptures and deep meditation.

In 1775 she was stricken with a severe fever, and during her illness she pretended to have a vision from on high, and received a call, as she was pleased to term it, to go out and preach to the sin-burdened world. She arose suddenly one night, demanded her clothes, and appeared to be in a trance. The next Sabbath she preached her first sermon under the old oak tree we have mentioned in another part of this work. Her words made a decided sensation upon her hearers. She styled herself the "People's Universal Friend," and ever afterward was known by that appellation. She travelled through the country preaching her peculiar doctrine and soon surrounded herself with many devoted followers. For some six years she made her home at Judge Potter's, in [Kingstown](#). The Judge was a wealthy land-holder and became one of her most devoted admirers. When others began to desert her and cry her down as an imposter and a selfish, scheming woman, the Judge became all the more infatuated, and no means were spared to sustain her cause and protect her from the calumnies of her enemies. Wherever she went, the Judge was her companion, and when she finally resolved to leave her native State and settle in the wilds of western New York, Mr. Potter



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was among the most prominent advocates of this movement. He at last became embarrassed financially, and his fine estate was sold, and in his old age he was compelled to live in straitened circumstances, a victim of infatuated devotion to this artful adventuress. She claimed for herself supernatural powers, and great crowds often congregated to witness some of her wonderful performances. She several times attempted to raise the dead, and her failures were attributed to want of faith in those who had assembled to witness the verification of her pretended supernatural powers. She removed with a few followers to Yales County, N. Y., and settled at a place which they called New Jerusalem. Here she spent the remainder of her eventful life, and died July 1, 1819. After her death her followers remained for several years and kept up their peculiar organization.

The history of this woman has been written by several different parties, and the fallacy of her pretended inspiration received the verdict it so justly merited. And yet, that she was a woman possessed of more than ordinary abilities and some admirable traits of character it would be more than folly to deny. She lived in an age when ignorance and superstition in matters of religion were more prevalent than now, and it is not strange that she drew to her faith many good and honest people. Experience teaches that there is no creed without its believers and no delusion without its dupes. The saying that "murder will out" is accepted as truth, and the excitement attending the supposed celestial powers of this artful woman was shrewdly turned to account, and avarice preyed upon credulity. A great revolution is silently making its way through the world by the developing influences of education, the freedom of thought and the press, and will end in promoting the highest interests of the race, and remove forever the last vestige of religious superstition and fanaticism.

The Old Baptist Church at Abbott's was situated on the east side of the Lanesville road, upon the site now [1878] occupied by D.A. Thompson's house. It was built about the year 1700. It was a wooden structure, two stories high, with a large gallery. Its size was 30 x 60 feet, and it was torn down in 1825. Under an oak-tree that stood in front of this church, the celebrated Jemima Wilkinson made her first speech, and was listened to with attention.

The Baptist Catholic Society was chartered January, 1797. It held its meetings during warm weather in the shade of the old oak-tree at Lonsdale. These meetings were discontinued about 1860.

The old oak-tree in Lonsdale is an historical relic of the past. It is held in great veneration by the citizens of the place, and an iron railing has been placed around it. The tree is supposed to be three hundred years old, but is now [1878] rapidly going to decay. It is said, by good authorities, that these trees are one hundred years maturing, they flourish another hundred, and decay in the third and last hundred years.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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([Friend Jemimah Wilkinson](#) was not the only American woman to begin cross-dressing in this year. In Middleborough, Massachusetts, the mind of a 16- year-old indentured servant, Deborah Sampson, was becoming “agitated with the enquiry — why a nation, separated from us by an ocean ... [should] enforce on us plans of subjugation.” Sampson would resolve to make herself into “one of the severest avengers of the wrong” and through flattening her breasts with a bandage would enlist in the Revolutionary army as a common soldier. She was at this point also involved with the New Light [Baptists](#), although she would get in trouble with them and be expelled, and although she would be detected in the army and discharged. She would then transform herself more completely and competently, into the Revolutionary soldier Robert Shurtleff, for 17 months an enlisted man in the 4th Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Army. She would suffer war wounds in an encounter with a Tory militia while on a scouting expedition in the New York countryside but, at a later point, would fall ill with a fever and be discovered again to be of the female persuasion. With “chastity inviolate” – but of course they checked this out– she would receive a revolutionary veteran’s pension. Her grave in Rockridge Cemetery is marked as that of “a revolutionary soldier.” She married, so after her death her husband received the monetary equivalent of a revolutionary veteran’s widow’s pension.)

October 8, Tuesday: Captain [John Paul Jones](#)’s *USS Providence*, having relocated from Canso in Nova Scotia to Ile Madame, had taken additional prizes from among the vessels fishing there and had then ridden out a severe storm. Then, after the whaler *Portland* had surrendered to it, on this day the *Providence* sailed back into the Narragansett Bay of [Rhode Island](#). While the vessel was in its home port, Commander in Chief of the Fleet of the United Colonies [Esek Hopkins](#) would appoint Captain Jones as Commander of a larger vessel, the *Alfred*, which would serve as the Commander in Chief’s flagship on the forthcoming expedition against the Bahamas (the *Providence* would be captained by Hoysted Hacker).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 9, Wednesday: Three British warships forced their way past Fort Washington and Fort Constitution on the Hudson River, in the process sustaining a good deal of damage.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Mission San Francisco de Asís \(Mission Dolores\)](#) was dedicated by Spanish missionary [Father Francisco Palóu](#) 3,000 kilometers northwest of Mexico City (now central San Francisco, California). It was at the time a log and thatch structure.

October 11, Friday: People in hastily constructed ships were trying to kill each other off Valcour Island in Lake Champlain.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 12, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Harlem Heights (Throg’s Neck), New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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October 13, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other again on Lake Champlain.



[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 14, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Crown Point, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

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October 17, Thursday: General George Washington ordered the evacuation of Manhattan, except for Fort Mifflin.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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October 18, Friday: The British advance out of [New-York](#), transferred from Throg’s Neck, was delayed by an American defense at Pell’s Point — which is to say, to put this another way, people were trying to kill each other at Pelham Manor (New Rochell), [New York](#).

Polish general Tadeusz Kosciuszko was given a commission in the United States Army.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Gideon Manchester of [Providence](#), in the State of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations, Merchant, of his own free voluntary Will and Accord [manumitted](#), fet free, and discharged his Negro Man Servant “Colette” from all Servitude, Slavery and Bondage whatsoever, requesting that all Magistrates and others permit this former [slave](#) to go and pafs freely about his own Buifnefs and Concernements without Molestation or Interruption for so long as He behaved Himfelf peaceably and in Subjection to the Law:

To all People to whom these Presents shall come Greeting, Know ye that I Gideon Manchester of Providence, in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Merchant, of my own free voluntary Will and Accord Do hereby manumit, fet free, and discharge my Negro Man Servant called Colette from all Servitude, Slavery and Bondage whatsoever. And I request all Magistrates and others to permit the said Negro Man to go and pafs freely about his own Buifnefs and Concernements, without Molestation or Interruption, He behaving Himfelf peaceably and in Subjection to the Law. Given under my Hand and Seal, at Providence, the Eighteenth Day of October in the Year of our LORD One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Six.

((L.S.))

*Witness Caleb Godfrey,
Christopher Lufsey Jun.*



Gideon Manchester.
*The foregoing is a true Copy Recorded this Sixth Day of July
A.D. 1778. Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk*



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

October 20, Sunday: Fiume was transferred from Venice to Croatia.

The [Reverend William Emerson](#) died in Otter Creek, [Vermont](#) at the home of the minister at Rutland. At this early time there was a large barn with associated farmland across the road from what we now know as the “Old Manse” in Concord, which farm was being worked by three or more black slaves. There is a story that on his deathbed in Vermont the Reverend Emerson expressed a desire to free these slaves. Although it is unclear how the surviving family could have funded such a [manumission](#) except by its being a merely nominal one, it is a fact that two black men, named Caesar and Peter, would live across the road from the Old Manse for years. The body of the Reverend must have been buried at or near Rutland but no-one now knows exactly where.⁸² The deceased left five children of whom one, [William Emerson, Junior](#), would become minister of the 1st Church (Old South Church) of Boston and father of [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#), while another was [Mary Moody Emerson](#) — Waldo’s aunt “Polly” who had been “in arms” at the time of the Concord fight.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

82. Eventually [Waldo](#) would go searching for his grandfather [William Emerson](#)’s grave and not be able to locate it. The brick tomb constructed to house his casket, close to the Old Manse and the North Bridge in Concord, has therefore always been empty, and the stone qualifies as a memorial rather than a gravestone.



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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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WALDO'S RELATIVES



There Mary is, in her mother's arms. —See?

October 21, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Mamaroneck, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 23, Wednesday: [George Washington](#) evacuated Manhattan, marching toward White Plains, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[William Emerson Faulkner](#) was born, a son of [Francis Faulkner](#).

October 28, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at White Plains, [New York](#). Colonel Eleazer Brooks was in command of a regiment of the Middlesex militia. General Howe's British and Hessian troops forced [George Washington](#) to withdraw to North Castle.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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29th, 10th Month: At the Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#), “One of the visitors from [Newport](#) informed that Benjamin Stanton had been on a cruise in a private vessel of war which being directly contrary to the peaceable principle we profess, we do disown him.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

October 30, Wednesday: The US Navy was authorized by the 2d Continental Congress.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 1, Friday: The American army set up defensive positions across the Bronx River to await a British assault that, I am pleased to report, would not come.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Father Junípero Serra arrived at the locale which would become his Mission San Juan Capistrano *de Quanis Savit* (somewhat toward the sea from the present locale, but still 2,400 kilometers northwest of Mexico City).⁸³

November 5, Tuesday: British troops facing the American army in White Plains began moving south.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 7, Thursday: Lord Dunmore, Governor of [Virginia](#), declared Martial Law.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 8, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Mt. Washington, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 10, Sunday: The U.S. Marines organized to protect ships and their cargoes (understand it this way: ships are human property and their cargoes human property but people are merely humans; although it is not licit for an individual acting on his or her own behalf to protect his or her property by killing others, but instead you must act in accordance with the 6th Commandment; however, if you happen to represent such a duly established organization as the Marines then there is an implicit escape clause in the 6th Commandment that renders it not merely legitimate, but indeed renders it your sworn duty, to protect the safety of human property by killing others).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

THOU SHALT NOT KILL EXC...

83. In the present-day mission compound a document in his handwriting lists on-hand supplies and their provenance.

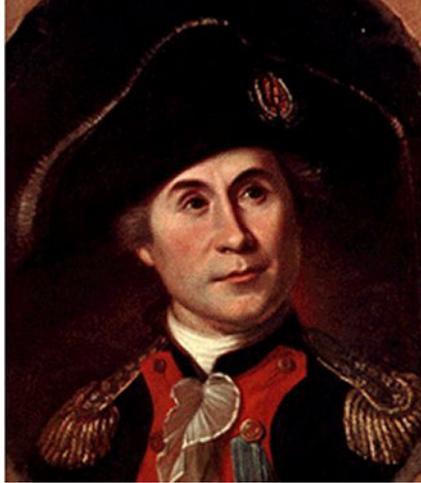
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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November 11, Monday: Captain [John Paul Jones](#)'s *Alfred* and Captain Hoysted Hacker's *USS Providence* got underway from the Narragansett Bay of [Rhode Island](#), headed for the Bahamas.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

The Constitution of [Maryland](#).

READ THE FULL TEXT

November 16, Saturday: Nicolò Piccinni and his wife departed [Naples](#) for his new appointment in Paris.

As the American vessel Andrew Doria entered the harbor of St. Eustasius in the West Indies, the Dutch garrison fired a ritual salute. This was a big deal at the time, because it was the 1st recognition of American sovereignty by a foreign power.

People were trying to kill each other at Fort Washington, New York, at Fort Tryon, New York, at Fort George, New York, at Harlem Cove (Manhattanville), New York, and at Cock-Hill Fort, New York. Yeah.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 18, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Lee, New Jersey.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 19, Tuesday: The Caribbean island of St. Eustasius offered its 1st official salute to American Colors (it was in the process of making itself a major trans-shipment point for arms and supplies for General George Washington and his revolutionary army of North America).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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November 20, Wednesday: British forces captured Ft. Lee, New Jersey, across the Hudson River from Manhattan. It had been abandoned by the Americans.

People were trying to kill each other at Fort Cumberland, Nova Scotia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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November 21, Thursday: Captain [John Paul Jones](#)'s *Alfred* and Captain Hoysted Hacker's *USS Providence* captured the brigantine *Active*.

The United States Army began retreating south across New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Concord](#) budgeted for three months of the services in New York of 34 local soldiers at £340 each, over and above an incentive advance of £10.

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS⁸⁴

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|-----------|----------------|--------|--------|
| June 1776 | 19 | 12 months | New York | 10 | 190 |
| June 25, 1776 | 48 | 6 months | Ticonderoga | 9 | 432 |
| <p>Dr. John Cuming was appointed Commander in this [the above] expedition, but declined. The whole consisted of five thousand men. One company, consisting of ninety-four men, was commanded by Capt. Charles Miles, of Concord. Edmond Munroe, was Lieutenant; Matthew Hobbs, 2d Lieutenant; and Jonas Brown, Ensign. They were attached to Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment. His muster-roll give sixty-one from Concord, (differing from the report from which the above is compiled); Weston, twenty-seven; Lexington, four; and two from Tyconterage [?]. Being ready to march, they were paraded on the common in Concord, with several other companies from the adjoining towns, and attended religious services in the meeting-house. Rev. William Emerson preached from Job v. 20, and afterwards went as Chaplain, sacrificed his life to his patriotism, and never returned. Another Company, commanded by Capt. Asahel Wheeler, whose Lieutenant was Samuel Hoar, of Lincoln. Samuel Osburn was 2d Lieutenant, and David Hosmer, Ensign.</p> | | | | | |
| September 12, 1776 | 23 | 3 months | White Plains | 8 | 184 |
| <p>This [the above] embraced one fifth of the Militia under fifty years of age, not in actual service. The drafts from this county formed one regiment, which was commanded by Eleazer Brooks, of Lincoln. Rev. Moses Adams, of Acton, was Chaplain; Dr. Joseph Hunt, Surgeon; and Samuel Hartwell, of Lincoln, Quarter-master. Concord furnished twenty-three men; Lexington, sixteen, Acton, fifteen; and Lincoln, twelve, which formed one company, whose officers were Simon Hunt, of Acton, Captain; Samuel Heald, of Concord, Lieutenant; Ebenezer White, 2d Lieutenant. They were in the battle of White Plains. A return after the battle gives forty-two fit for duty, seven sick, four wounded, two of whom, David Wheeler and Amos Buttrick, belonged to Concord. Thomas Darby, of Acton was killed. Col. Brooks's Regiment behaved bravely on that occasion.</p> | | | | | |
| September 12, 1776 | 7 | | Dorchester | | |
| <p>These [the above] were part of a company of eighty-nine men, taken from nearly every town in this county, commanded by John Minott, of Chelmsford, and attached to Col. Dykes's Regiment. John Hartwell, of Lincoln, was Lieutenant. Acton furnished five; Lincoln, four; and Bedford, three.</p> | | | | | |
| November 21, 1776 | 34 | 3 months | New York | 10 | 340 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| This [the above] was one fourth of the Militia in Middlesex County, and formed one Regiment of six hundred and seventy men, commanded by Col. Samuel Thatcher, of Cambridge. Cyprian How, of Marlborough, was Lieutenant-Colonel; Joseph Bryant, of Stoneham, Major. Concord furnished thirty-four; Weston, eighteen; Lexington, fourteen; Acton, thirteen; Lincoln, thirteen, which composed one company. John Bridge, of Lexington, was Captain; Jacob Brown, of Concord, Lieutenant; and Josiah Stearns, of Weston, 2d Lieutenant; William Burrows, Orderly Sergeant. They marched to New-York and New-Jersey before they returned, and were stationed at Woodbridge. Dissolved March 6th. | | | | | |
| December 1, 1776 | 8 | | Boston | | |
| It appears from a roll of this company in the Secretary's office, that Capt. John Hartwell was commander of it [the above]. Thirteen in this and six in other companies were from Lincoln. They were attached to Col. Dykes's Regiment. | | | | | |
| December 1776 | 6 | | Rhode Island | | |
| These [the above] were attached to the Artillery. | | | | | |

November 22, Friday: Captain [John Paul Jones](#)'s *Alfred* and Captain Hoysted Hacker's *USS Providence* took the armed transport *Mellish*, which was carrying winter uniforms and military supplies for the British Army.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 25, Monday: A British army departed New York in pursuit of the fleeing Americans, whom they outnumbered more than 3-1.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 30, Saturday: Admiral Lord Howe and General Sir William Howe issued a proclamation of reconciliation to Americans. In return for their oath of allegiance to the King, they would grant a pardon. Thousands of New Jersey residents would seek out the British army to swear allegiance.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Winter 1775/1776: The British pulled down the wooden meeting house of the 2nd Church in North Square, [Newport, Rhode Island](#) for fuel (later this congregation would unite with the New Brick).

84. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 *A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...* Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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They weren't so warm that winter in the environs of [Boston](#),

In the winter of 1775, and 1776, the town [[Concord](#)] carried to Cambridge, for the use of the [American] Army, 210 cords of wood, 5 tons of hay, and some other articles for which it paid 150 pounds.⁸⁵

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

85. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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December 1, Sunday: In (New) Brunswick, New Jersey, General George Washington lost about half of his army because as enlistments in the New Jersey and [Maryland](#) militias expired, the militiamen left for home. He ordered the remainder of his army to retreat toward Trenton as British troops crossed the Raritan River and occupied the town.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Concord](#) sent 8 local soldiers to serve in the vicinity of [Boston](#). Also this month, the town would have 6 local soldiers serving with the artillery in [Rhode Island](#).

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS⁸⁶

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|------------------|-----|----------|----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| January 20, 1776 | 36 | 2 months | Cambridge | £1 ⁴ / ₅ | £63 ⁴ / ₅ |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|-----------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|
| <p>January 20, 1776. Middlesex was ordered to raise a regiment of 571 men; Concord 26, Bedford 6, Acton 13, Lincoln 8. Concord, however, furnished 36. John Robinson was Colonel; John Buttrick, Lieutenant-Colonel; Samuel McCobb, Major; Joseph Thaxter, Chaplain; Nathan Stow, Quarter-master; Jabez Brown, Adjutant. The Captains' names were, John Ford, Simon Edgel, Josiah Warren, Asahel Wheeler, Benjamin Edgel, Job Shattuck, and John Lamont. Silan Mann was a lieutenant there under Wheeler.</p> <p>A new organization of the militia was made in February, 1776, and Concord, Lexington, Weston, Acton and Lincoln were assigned to the 3d Regiment. Oliver Prescott was then chosen Brigadier-General, Eleazer Brooks, Colonel of this regiment, Francis Faulkner, Lieutenant-Colonel; Nathan Barrett, 1st Major; Samuel Lamson, 2d Major; and Joseph Adams, Surgeon.</p> <p>The following were the officers of the several companies: Company 1, of Concord; Captain George Minott, 1st Lieutenant Edward Wright, 2d Lieutenant Emerson Cogswell. Company 2, of Weston; Captain Jonathan Fiske, 1st Lieutenant Matthew Hobbs, 2d Lieutenant Josiah Severns. Company 3, of Lexington; Captain John Bridge, 1st Lieutenant William Munroe, 2d Lieutenant Ebenezer White. Company 4, of Concord; Captain Thomas Hubbard, 1st Lieutenant Ephraim Wheeler, 2d Lieutenant Amos Hosmer. Company 5, of Acton; Captain Simon Hunt, 1st Lieutenant John Heald, Jr., 2d Lieutenant Benjamin Brabrook. Company 6, of Lincoln; Captain Samuel Farrar, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Hoar, 2d Lieutenant James Parks. Company 7, of Concord; Captain Thomas Barrett, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Heald, 2d Lieutenant Asa Green.</p> <p>Col. James Barrett was appointed to raise men in this county December 2d, 1775; and was muster-master from December 28th, 1776, till his death. Capt. Joseph Hosmer succeeded him in 1780.</p> <p>The Concord Light Infantry was organized soon after, (of which Joseph Hosmer was Captain; Samuel Jones, Lieutenant; and Samuel Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant); and attached to this regiment.</p> | | | | | |
| March 1, 1776 | 145 | 10 days | Dorchester Heights | | |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment of nearly all the militia, to take possession of Dorchester Heights just before the British evacuated Boston. The officers of the 3d Regiment abovementioned were generally there. An attack on Boston was anticipated, and a considerable quantity of lint and bandages was sent from Concord to the hospital.</p> | | | | | |
| April 9, 1776 | 31 | 9 months | Near Boston | | 55 ⁴ / ₅ |
| <p>This [the above] was an enlisted company for the purpose of fortifying and defending Boston and its vicinity. Officers: — Josiah Whitney, of Harvard, Colonel; Ephraim Jackson, of Newton, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Miller, Major. For the Middlesex Company, — Abishai Brown, Captain; Abraham Andrews, 1st Lieutenant; Silas Proctor, 2d Lieutenant; Jeremiah Williams and, Edward Heywood, all of Concord, were Sergeants. They were stationed at Hull. This company assisted in taking Col. Campbell, about three hundred Highlanders, and several provision ships. They left Concord June 1st, and were discharged December 1st. Thaddeus Blood, Esq., is the only person now living [1835] in Concord who belonged to this company.</p> | | | | | |

86. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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December 7, Saturday: A flotilla of British ships hove over the horizon, and came to anchor in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). From this point until May 27, 1782, to speak of the matter poetically, “the seat of Muses” in [Providence](#) would be transformed into “the habitation of Mars.” College studies were suspended indefinitely, and the new edifice (the one now called University Hall) was occupied by the soldiers initially for barracks and then for a hospital.

People were trying to kill each other at Tappan, New York.

After pausing 6 days in (New) Brunswick, New Jersey, the British resumed the pursuit of General George Washington. At the same time, the American army was crossing the Delaware River to Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Captain Simon Forrester (?-1817), having recently come ashore after his sloop *Rover* blew up a British ship sailing between Bristol, England and Guinea resulting in the deaths of 25 of its 28-man crew, on this day married a daughter of Daniel Hathorne, grandfather of [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#).⁸⁷

THE SCARLET LETTER: In the second storey of the Custom-House there is a large room, in which the brick-work and naked rafters have never been covered with panelling and plaster. The edifice - originally projected on a scale adapted to the old commercial enterprise of the port, and with an idea of subsequent prosperity destined never to be realized - contains far more space than its occupants know what to do with. This airy hall, therefore, over the Collector's apartments, remains unfinished to this day, and, in spite of the aged cobwebs that festoon its dusky beams, appears still to await the labour of the carpenter and mason. At one end of the room, in a recess, were a number of barrels piled one upon another, containing bundles of official documents. Large quantities of similar rubbish lay lumbering the floor. It was sorrowful to think how many days, and weeks, and months, and years of toil had been wasted on these musty papers, which were now only an encumbrance on earth, and were hidden away in this forgotten corner, never more to be glanced at by human eyes. But then, what reams of other manuscripts -filled, not with the dulness of official formalities, but with the thought of inventive brains and the rich effusion of deep hearts- had gone equally to oblivion; and that, moreover, without serving a purpose in their day, as these heaped-up papers had, and -saddest of all- without purchasing for their writers the comfortable livelihood which the clerks of the Custom-House had gained by these worthless scratchings of the pen. Yet not altogether worthless, perhaps, as materials of local history. Here, no doubt, statistics of the former commerce of Salem might be discovered, and memorials of her princely merchants -old King Derby -old Billy Gray -old Simon Forrester -and many another magnate in his day, whose powdered head, however, was scarcely in the tomb before his mountain pile of wealth began to dwindle. The founders of the greater part of the families which now compose the aristocracy of Salem might here be traced, from the petty and obscure beginnings of their traffic, at periods generally much posterior to the Revolution, upward to what their children look upon as long-established rank.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

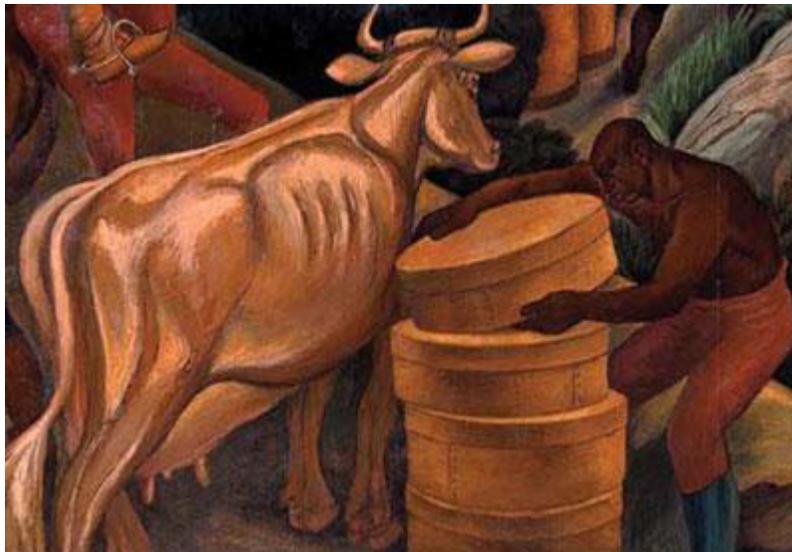
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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December 8, Sunday: A British Army under General Clinton took possession of [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

During the British occupation of Aquidneck Island a number of area slaves would seek refuge there. A Newport Loyalist and a British officer would record in their diaries five separate such occasions, during which a total of 19 men, women, and children of color made their way by boat from the southern Rhode Island mainland to the freedom of British-occupied Newport.



87. Captain Simon Forrester's businessman son Simon Forrester, Jr. (1776-1851) would eventually be supposed to be the richest man in Salem — and hence this note in Hawthorne's writing.

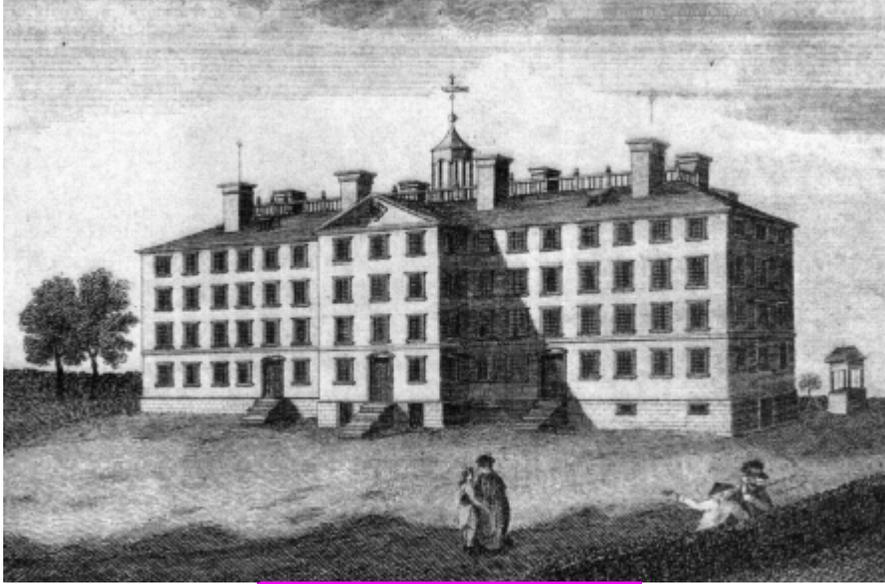
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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December 10, Tuesday: The British troop encampments on [Aquidneck Island](#) were within clear sight from atop College Hill, which meant that there was an ever-present danger to young colonial men of impressment. President [James Manning](#) of [Rhode Island](#) College placed a notice in the [Providence Gazette](#) explaining that the building which had been constructed had for the time being been commandeered as a barracks for revolutionary soldiers.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The [College of Rhode Island](#) which eventually would become [Brown University](#) would actually not reopen for its students until May 27, 1782.

This is to inform all the Students, that their Attendance on College Orders is hereby difpenfed with, until the End of the next Spring Vacation ; and that they are at Liberty to return Home, or profecute their Studies elfewhere, as they think proper : And that thofe who pay as particular Attention to their Studies as thefe confufed Times will admit, fhall then be confidered in the fame Light and Standing as if they had given the ufual Attendance here. In Witnefs whereof, I fubfcribe

James Manning, Prefident.

Providence, December 10.

Since most of the colonials were abandoning [Newport](#) during this timeframe, we may presume that this was about the time at which the family of Friend [Abraham Redwood](#) also departed from there, to reside for a short period in North [Providence](#) before purchasing a farm in Mendon, Massachusetts, and the family of [Aaron Lopez](#) departed from there, to reside first in [Providence](#) and then in Leicester, Massachusetts.

On a following screen is a depiction of the beacon which would give warning to Providence, should the British occupying nearby Aquidneck Island begin an approach.

HDT

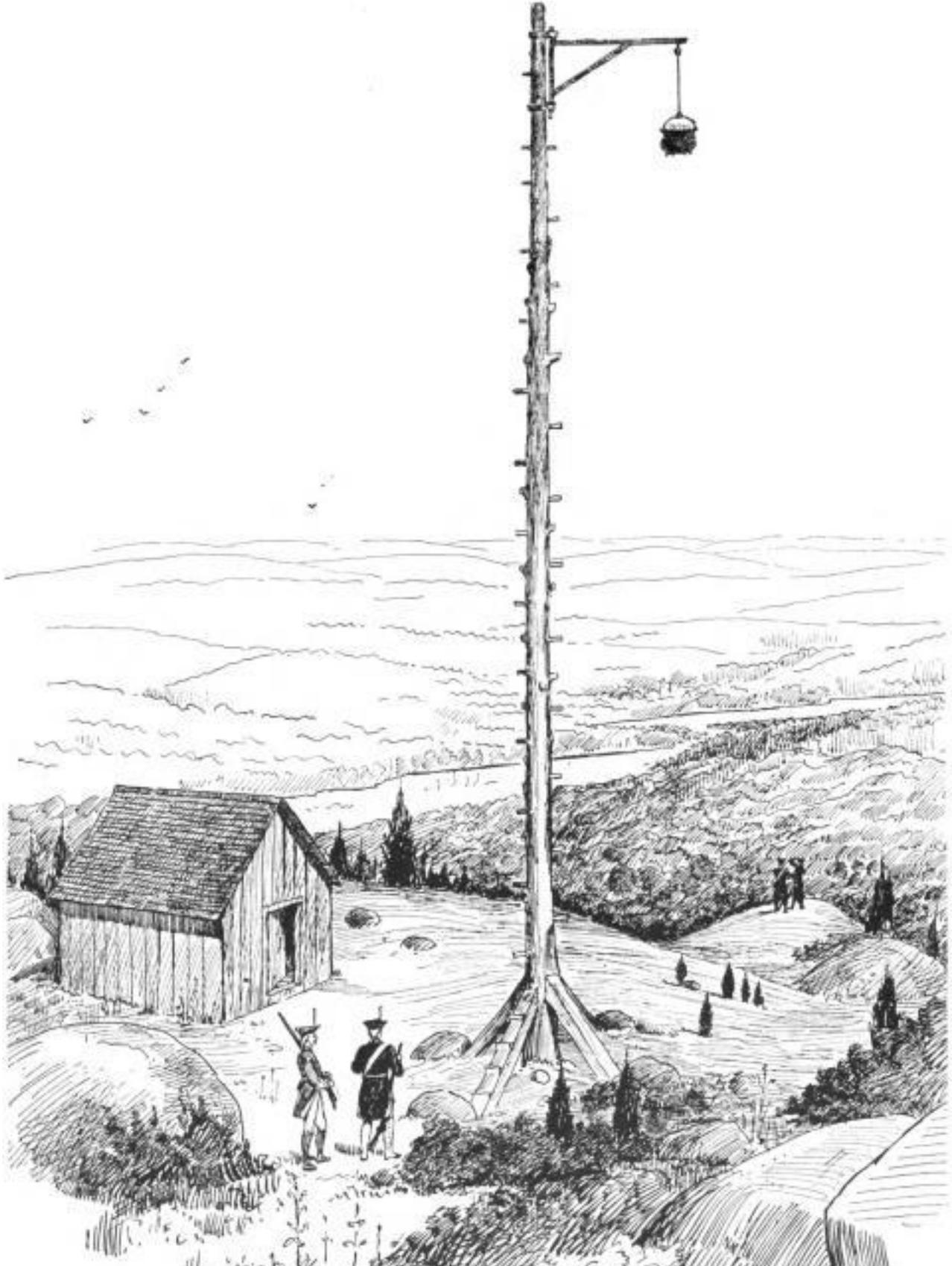
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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December 12, Thursday: With British forces in Trenton, New Jersey to the northeast of Philadelphia, Congress invested General George Washington with dictatorial powers and fled to Baltimore.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On this day, or perhaps on the following one, [William Bartram](#) departed Ashwood.

December 13, Friday: A small detachment of British soldiers managed to capture General Charles Lee at a tavern near Morristown, New Jersey. At the same time, General Howe decided to suspend his advance in Trenton until the Spring.

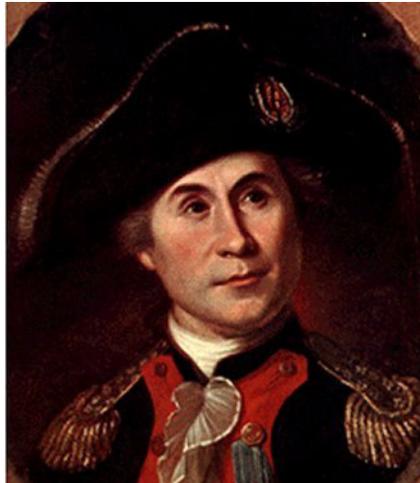
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 14, Saturday: General Howe left his army in Trenton and returned to New-York. To protect his gains he established a line of outposts across New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 16, Monday: Jane Austen was born.

Captain [John Paul Jones](#)'s *Alfred* and Captain Hoysted Hacker's *USS Providence* captured the snow *Kitty*.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 17, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Springfield, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

That night, Captain Hoysted Hacker's *USS Providence* needed to head back for [Rhode Island](#) on account of persistent leaks that had developed during bad weather.

December 18, Wednesday: Constitution of [North Carolina](#).

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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December 19, Thursday: Captain Hoysted Hacker's [USS Providence](#), troubled by persistent leaks, arrived at [Newport](#) harbor in the [Narragansett Bay](#) to find that the island was under the control of British forces. Together with other American vessels, it would retire up the [Providence](#) River.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[Thomas Paine](#) prepared his 1st "American Crisis" essay, the one in which he wrote that "These are the times that try men's souls."

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

December 20, Friday: Private Amos Baker and Corporal Samuel Baker were in Dorchester as part of Captain Moses Harrington's militia company of Colonel Dike's regiment.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[Acton](#) observed this day as a day of solemn fasting and prayer to Almighty God for direction and assistance in selecting their new minister.

The 14th May, 1776, the town [of [Acton](#)] voted to invite four candidates to preach four sabbaths each on probation. And a committee consisting of Messrs. Samuel Hayward, Francis Faulkner, Nathaniel Edwards, Josiah Hayward, and John Heald were chosen "to take advice of the President of the College and the neighbouring ministers, who said candidates shall be." Mr. Moses Adams was subsequently engaged eight sabbaths on trial. The 20th of December was observed as a day of solemn fasting and prayer to Almighty God for direction and assistance in resettling the gospel. Mr. Adams was invited to be their pastor 8th of January, 1777; and was ordained 25th of June, 1778. The first and fourth church in Dedham, second in Sudbury, second in Reading, and the churches in [Concord](#), Stow, and Fitchburg, composed the counsel. He received £200 as a settlement, and £180 salary, according to the value of silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce, and his fire-wood.⁸⁸

December 21, Saturday: Benjamin Franklin arrived in Paris.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 22, Sunday: The American colonies organized a Continental naval fleet under the command of [Esek Hopkins](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

88. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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December 23, Monday: [Thomas Paine](#) published his CRISIS.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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December 25, **Christmas**: Late in the night, General **George Washington**, General Henry Knox, and troops crossed the Delaware River in freezing winter weather to launch a surprise dawn attack on about a thousand British and Hessian mercenaries encamped at Trenton.⁸⁹ Washington's irregulars sneaking around was a grand victory for us and showed our bravery and determination, as soldiers who are fighting for a paycheck, such as these Hessian peasants, always fight real hard.⁹⁰



AMERICAN REVOLUTION



← **George Washington's sword (in the above Leutze painting).**

Colonel Loammi Baldwin took his 26th Continental regiment of foot soldiers “on the expedition to Trentown.”

89. There was a claim, in our early Republic, that these Hessian mercenaries had brought with them in the straw of their bedding a pesky fly. It was certainly true that during the late 18th Century, a fly in the family *Cecidomyiidae*, the *Mayetiola destructor*, began to decimate wheat crops in America. Whether appropriately named or not, this has become more destructive to wheat in the United States than any other insect pest, and has also impacted our rye and barley crops. This fly is also now found in Canada, Europe, northern Africa, western Asia, and New Zealand.



90. In the famous Leutze painting, **General Washington** is depicted as standing up in a rowboat. This is imaginative, and was chosen by the painter over depicting Washington on horseback (the army ferried over the river not in rowboats, but in entirely unpicturesque high-sided barges). You will note a black soldier rowing the boat. The actual black person on the scene would have been Washington's manservant (slave) who traveled with him, but the myth that has developed is that this is a depiction of an African who had been an African prince and his parents had sent him to America to go to college. This was an actual person who actually was in that army, but it is not known that he was ever close to Washington. Of course, immediately that his ship had anchored in an American port, this actual person had been clapped into chains and sold as a slave. Over the course of the revolution he would regain his freedom but he would never return to Africa with his hard-won education in our School of Hard Knocks.



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In this regiment a company from Woburn MA was under the command of John Wood.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Just at this point the conscription practices of the Massachusetts General Court were being amended to exclude [Quaker](#) conscientious objectors who had been members of the religious society before April 19, 1775.



Some Quakers, however, terming themselves “Free Quakers,” affiliated themselves with the armed conflict, and there are some records of Friends in the [Boston](#) Meeting being accused of an unspecified “misconduct” which was probably the bearing of arms on one side or the other of the insurrection. The sympathies of some Friends lay with the revolutionaries, and the sympathies of others lay with established authority. During

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the hostilities, for instance, one Boston merchant, Friend Daniel Silsbe or Silsbury, emigrated to London.



[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

While [General Washington](#) was able to take advantage of the proclivity of these Hessian mercenary soldiers to make full use of alcoholic beverages during these [Christmas](#) celebrations, becoming not only dissolute but also unwatchful, a scanning of the ministerial diaries of the Reverend [William Emerson](#) of [Concord](#)—which he had been keeping since 1764— offers us not one single solitary mention of any [Christmas](#) celebration whatever.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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December 26, Thursday: [William Bartram](#) arrived in Alexandria.

People were trying to kill each other at Trenton, New Jersey in the early morning, with Americans attacking sleeping British and Hessian troops, killing 22 Hessians and capturing 948 captured with the loss of 2 Americans frozen to death and 5 wounded. They retreated back across the Delaware.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Henry Thoreau](#) would note, while traveling the Cape on a stagecoach preparing for the writing of [CAPE COD](#), that in 1776, during the trade embargoes that accompanied the American Revolution, a Captain John Sears had been able to obtain pure marine salt there, by solar evaporation alone:

Captain John Sears, of Suet, was the first person in this country who obtained pure marine salt by solar evaporation alone; though it had long been made in a similar way on the coast of France, and elsewhere. This was in the year 1776, at which time, on account of the war, salt was scarce and dear. The Historical Collections contain an interesting account of his experiments, which we read when we first saw the roofs of the salt-works. Barnstable county is the most favorable locality for these works on our northern coast, there is so little fresh water here emptying into ocean. Quite recently there were about two millions of dollars invested in this business here. But now the Cape is unable to compete with the importers of salt and the manufacturers of it at the West, and, accordingly, her salt-works are fast going to decay.

December 27, Friday: The American Congress voted to give General George Washington dictatorial powers for 6 months.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 30, Monday: The American Congress voted to send envoys to Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Tuscany.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 31, Tuesday: General Benedict Arnold's attack on Quebec failed.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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During the Revolutionary War, Friend [Benjamin Say](#) of Philadelphia would disregard the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) and serve in uniform in the Continental Army:

Magee, 316 Chestnut Street, Phila.



Friend Jane,—I have brought thee a
STRIP and a Hat, which I hope will prove
servicicable in these times.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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December 25, **Christmas**: Late in the night, General **George Washington**, General Henry Knox, and troops crossed the Delaware River in freezing winter weather to launch a surprise dawn attack on about a thousand British and Hessian mercenaries encamped at Trenton.⁹¹ Washington's irregulars sneaking around was a grand victory for us and showed our bravery and determination, as soldiers who are fighting for a paycheck, such as these Hessian peasants, always fight real hard.⁹²



AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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1777

A new town fort, 300 feet by 150 feet inside its parapets, was erected for the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). This was located at what is now the corner of Bowen Street and Congdon Street. The fort contained 56 cannon and was protected not only by its walls but by a ditch (no trace of said military structure remains).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

With the British occupying [Aquidneck Island](#), the [Jamestown, Rhode Island](#) meetinghouse of the [Quakers](#) was commandeered for use as a military hospital (7 military graves are still nearby).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Vessels engaged in [Rhode Island privateering](#) during the Revolutionary War:

| | |
|------|----|
| 1776 | 57 |
| 1777 | 17 |
| 1778 | 17 |
| 1779 | 39 |
| 1780 | 13 |
| 1781 | 9 |
| 1782 | 26 |
| 1783 | 17 |

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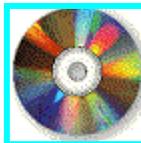
"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to [privateering](#) in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— [Thomas Jefferson](#), 1812



"If [privateering](#) had not been already well established in the British Empire when [Rhode Island](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65⁹³





1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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[Henry Marchant](#) was a member of the Continental Congress (1777-1780, 1783, 1784), representing [Rhode Island](#).

[CONTINENTAL CONGRESS](#)



The marine committee of the congress, which had [William Ellery](#) of [Rhode Island](#) as a member, recommended, perhaps at his suggestion, that six old vessels be sent out from Rhode Island ports as “fire ships” which were to attach themselves to British warships by means of grapple irons and then destroy them: “If upon due consideration, jointly had by the navy board for the eastern department, and the governor and council of war for the state of Rhode Island, and for which purpose the said navy board are directed to attend upon the said governor and council of war, the preparing fire ships be judged practicable, expedient, and advisable, the said navy board immediately purchase, upon as reasonable terms as possible, six ships, or square-rigged vessels, at Providence, in the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the best calculated for fire ships, with all possible expedition; that the said navy board provide proper materials for the same, an employ a proper captain or commander, one lieutenant, and a suitable number of men for each of the said ships, or vessels, of approved courage and prudence; and that notice be given to all the commanders of the continental ships and vessels in the port of Providence, to be in readiness to sail at a moment’s warning: that as soon as the said fire ships are well prepared, the first favorable wind be embraced to attack the British ships and navy in the rivers and bays of the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations: that the officers of the continental navy there, favor, as much as possible, the design, and use their utmost efforts to get out to sea, and proceed to such cruise, or to such ports, as the said navy board, or the marine committee, shall appoint or order.”

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

93. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF [RHODE ISLAND](#). Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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Colonel Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln was appointed a Justice of the Peace.

Justices of the Peace of Lincoln⁹⁴

| | | |
|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Chambers Russell | Chambers Russell | William Hayden |
| James Russell | Samuel Hoar | Charles Wheeler |
| Charles Russell | Eleazer Brooks, Jr. | Elijah Fiske |
| Eleazer Brooks | Joshua Brooks | Stephen Patch |
| Joseph Adams | Grosvenor Tarbell | Joel Smith |

94. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood, Nathan Merriam, and Nehemiah Hunt were Selectmen.

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood was again Town Clerk.

In [Concord](#), Abijah Bond was again Town Treasurer.

Joseph Hosmer was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

Amos Melvin (2) and others of [Concord](#) conveyed stores to the revolutionary forces in the vicinity of [Boston](#), returning to Concord with the empty wagons.

[THE MELVINS OF CONCORD](#)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

This was Concord's prison structure as depicted by John Wilson, Secretary to Sir Archibald Campbell:



[Concord](#)'s revolutionary Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety was renewed.

The committee of correspondence, etc., chosen March, 1776 [for [Concord](#)], were [John Cuming](#), Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. Jonas Heywood, Capt. Joseph Hosmer, James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Capt. George Minot. In 1777, Colonel John Buttrick, Josiah Merriam, Isaac Hubbard, Capt. Abishai Brown, Capt. David Wheeler, Mr. Ephraim Potter, and Lieut. Nathan Stow.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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In 1778, [John Cuming](#), Esq., Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam. These were re-elected in 1779, 1780, 1781 & 1782. In 1783, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Wood, and Lieut. Joseph Hayward. This committee was not chosen afterwards.⁹⁵

A committee also attempted to set prices:

[A] committee, chosen by the town for the purpose, reported the prices of various kinds of "common labor, carpenters', cordwainers', blacksmiths' women's labor, firewood, charcoal, live swine, horse-hire, chaise-hire, upper leather, saddlery, entertainment at public houses, flax, spirits, milk, clothiers' work," etc. All who varied from the established prices were prosecuted and treated as enemies. Colonel John Buttrick was chosen to collect evidence against such as might be brought to trial. It does not appear, however, that any prosecutions took place in Concord.⁹⁶

95. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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96. *ibid*

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Thomas Kitchen created this map of the environs of wartime Philadelphia:

[CARTOGRAPHY](#)

A Pennsylvania militia statute limited duty to male inhabitants between the age of 18 and 53. –Oh, by the way, whites only.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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[General George Washington](#)'s Continental Army drove the British from the College of New-Jersey's Nassau Hall. (That Army would however overwinter at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania while government bigwigs occupied this fine edifice. Oneida, Tuscarora, and Delaware Indians helped Washington's cold and starving troops during this winter encampment. Washington, who often quoted from [Joseph Addison](#)'s "Cato, a Tragedy," had the play performed that winter in spite of Congressional hostility to stage performances. Contrary to popular impression, the winter of 1777/1778 would be a comparatively mild one, the really severe weather during the Revolutionary War being yet to arrive during the winter of 1779/1780 during which the revolutionary forces would be in winter camp at Morristown.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

"CATO, A TRAGEDY"

January: A resident of the [New York](#) colony, John Cumming (this is **not** the Dr. John Cuming of Concord, Massachusetts), went to the city of [New-York](#) to determine how best he might handle his delicate political situation, his delicate political situation being that he was a Loyalist rather than a revolutionary. While in the city he refused a commission in the British army.

People were trying to kill each other at the Assumpsick Bridge in Trenton, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "[Benjamin Arnold](#) informs this meeting that he hath read the denials of [Jemimah](#) and [Patience Wilkinson](#) agreeable to appointment."



JEMIMAH WILKINSON

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Three more [Quaker](#) men of Worcester County, Massachusetts were imprisoned for adhering to the Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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January 1, day: “Again imperial Winter’s sway,” an ode by William Boyce to words of Whitehead, was performed for the 1st time.

A British force sent to retake Trenton occupied Princeton, New Jersey.

The value of money was regulated monthly. January 1, 1777, \$100 in silver was worth \$105 currency; in 1778, \$328; in 1779, \$742; in 1780, \$2,934; and in February, 1781, \$7,500. Such a rapid depreciation introduced great embarrassment and distress into all commercial transactions, which by no body of men could remove by resolutions, addresses, price-currents or prosecutions.⁹⁷

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

2nd, 1st Month: Revolutionary forces halted the British advance toward Trenton.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On [Aquidneck Island](#) itself, in [Narragansett Bay](#), while it was occupied by the British army and navy, the men of the local [Friends](#) attempted to maintain their peaceableness:⁹⁸

The address of the people called Quakers on Rhode Island in Monthly Meeting assembled the 2nd day of the 1st mo. 1777 –

May it please the General,

We the King’s peaceable and loyal subjects being deeply affected with the unhappy commotions which now prevail around us, on which reflecting we are desirous that thou through the blessing of Divine Providence may be instrumental in Restoring peace and tranquility to this at present distressed Country – Believing that thy intentions are to conduct toward such who have not deviated from their Allegiance to the King in a leniant & tender manner – we are desirous to inform thee that we as a Society Concerned since the Commencement of the present unhappy commotions to bear our Christian Testimony against any violations thereof in any of our Members and have publicly manifested our disunity with such as have appeared openly in taking up arms.

With thankful hearts we adore that most merciful hand which preserved us in that Critical time of thy landing so that no human blood was shed and that through thy distinguished Lenity the Inhabitants have been favoured beyond what might have been Expected. Encouraged thereby we ask the protection of our persons & properties & indulgence in the enjoyment of our Religious Liberties with desires for thy well doing here and

97. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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98. Friends considered the revolution to be a “civil war” in which there was no reason whatever to choose sides. In return, both sides considered them disloyal.

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happyness hereafter we are thy sinceer [sic] Friends

[SIGNATURES OF 38 MALE FRIENDS]

We whose names are hereafter inserted not being present at the Meeting aforesaid, do manifest our Unity with this address by subscribing same.

[SIGNATURES OF 27 MORE MALE FRIENDS]

During this month, the local [Quaker](#) Meeting for Sufferings recorded there to be abroad in the general American population a “*hope of the military*” according to which, by for a period giving free reign to “*lusts of men in general,*” it would be possible to “*shut up, separate, and destroy that union and fellowship which once subsisted between the inhabitants of the two countries*” — England and America. Meetings were urged to cope with such a false expectation of the efficacy of bloodshed by continuing “*to manifest to the world that there is one universal parent over all, that his obedient children have no parties to support, their desire being to promote the one peaceable kingdom of Christ...*”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

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January 2, Thursday: General Cornwallis headed his army south out of [New-York](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

The Dominguez-Escalante expedition into the southwest ended in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

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January 3, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Princeton in [New Jersey](#), with the American irregulars sweeping around the advancing British and attacking their rear guard and thus driving them back towards Trenton, taking nearly a couple of hundred of prisoners.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Hey, looks like it’s gonna be reasonably safe to publish the names of the signatories to our [Declaration of Independence](#)! (Although the dates of the signatures ranged from August 2, 1776 to sometime in November of 1776, depending on when each delegate had gotten around to signing it, for safety’s sake the signed version of the document had been being held top secret.)





1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

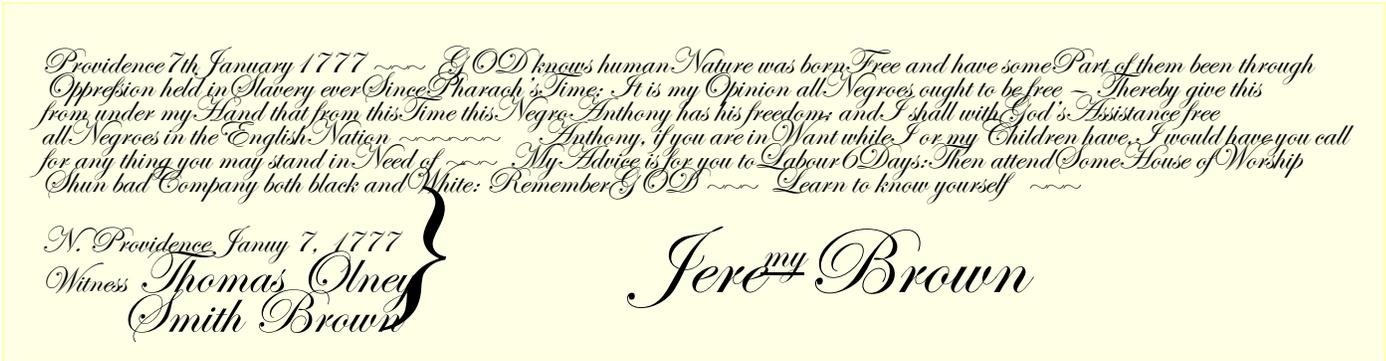
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

January 7, Tuesday: The Committee of Safety ordered that, to halt British ships, British prisoners of war be put to work on a chain across the Hudson River at Fort Montgomery.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

According to the Record of Deeds for 1617 to 1872, Book 19, page 309, on this day Jeremy Brown of Providence, Rhode Island in the presence of Thomas Olney and Smith Brown as witnesses manumitted his slave Anthony, offering by way of explanation that “GOD knows human Nature was born Free” and urging him to “Remember GOD” while following the practical advice “to Labour 6 days: Then attend Some House of Worship,” meanwhile noticing to him that “if you are in Want while I or my Children have, I would have you call for any thing you may stand in Need of”:



January 10, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Fogland Ferry, Rhode Island.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 13, Monday: Mary Brown was born in Concord, Massachusetts to Ezekiel Brown and Mary Brown.

Publication of Thomas Paine’s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 2.

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 15, Wednesday: The New Hampshire Grants, claimed both by New York and by New Hampshire, declared their independence from both Great Britain and the United States, deeming themselves the “republic” of “New Connecticut.”

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 17, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at King’s Bridge, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION





1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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January 18, Saturday: At this point, with the difficult military campaign of 1776 behind them and with victories obtained at Trenton and at Princeton, the members of the 2nd Continental Congress decided that it would be reasonably safe for them personally, to send out to the several states the authenticated copies of their [Declaration of Independence](#) as it had been signed by all the delegates in confirmation of their we-will-all-hang-together-or-separately unity. Initially these parchment copies “with the names of the members ... subscribing the same” had been held secret for their personal protection:



They were not...given to throwing their fate into God's hands needlessly.

HDT

WHAT?

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The secret signatories had included, among others, for instance, as it turned out, Dr. Josiah Bartlett (1729-1795) of Kingston, [New Hampshire](#), the 2d to appear on the face of the prettified document:



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

It was [Mary Katherine Goddard](#) who was authorized to issue this 1st printed copy of the Declaration document

HDT

WHAT?

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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which included the names of all its signers.



CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

January 20, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at the Somerset Court House of Millstone, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 25, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at West Farms, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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January 26, Sunday: [Concord](#) sent 44 local soldiers to serve for three years with the Continental Army, at a cost of £880 each plus an enlistment bounty of £20.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS⁹⁹

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | £20 | £880 |
| <p>These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord. Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years' service. The forty-four names follow.</p> <p>Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants.</p> | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |
| <p>Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton, 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White's MS. says, "July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island]," and gives the names of twenty-nine.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey. | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |
| This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign. | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind. | | | | | |

28th, 1st Month: The Meeting at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) recorded: "*As the intercourse between this island [and the mainland] is yet obstructed, the business ... is again refer'd...*"

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)
[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 29, Wednesday: British general John Burgoyne began making plans for the conquest of the colonies.

General Benjamin Lincoln's division of the Continental Army encamped at Dobbs Ferry.

People were trying to kill each other in Augusta, Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

99. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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February: Under the command of Lieutenant Jonathan Pitcher, the [USS Providence](#) ran the British blockade of the [Narragansett Bay](#). After putting into [New Bedford](#), the vessel cruised to Cape Breton and captured there a transport brig loaded with stores and carrying in addition to its crew two officers and 25 men of the British Army. Under command of Captain J.P. Rathbun, the *USS Providence* then would make two cruises on the coast.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Some sort of crazy influence battle was fought in [Rhode Island](#) over the issue of which was to come first, winning American freedom or making money off the revolutionary fighting. The battle was waged by proxies, and was ostensibly over whether obtaining crews of sailors for the Continental navy's publicly financed warships should have priority over obtaining crews of sailors for privately financed privateering expeditions, but eventually it became clear that attacks on [Esek Hopkins](#)'s loyalty to his nation had been being encouraged by the chauvinistic war profiteer [John Brown](#):

 John's attack on Esek Hopkins marks him as a man of calculation and influence, and of overweening pride. With the frigate committee disbanded and his privateers returning a stream of riches, John might have contented himself to count his loot and enjoy the mounting problems confounding his grizzled old shipmaster. Instead he plotted, patiently, until he finally had the pieces in place to sabotage the one man in Rhode Island who had dared to cross him....

As the war progressed, many fortunes were lost in Providence and throughout America, but John only prospered. At the outset of the war he owned or shared interest in more than seventy-five ships, and while many were lost to the enemy -ten were seized in 1777 alone- John more than covered his losses with prize ships and returns from trade. Combined with earnings from the Hope Furnace and from his contracts with Congress, John managed to turn the war into a personal bonanza.

His phenomenal gains are evidenced by his investments. During the course of the war, John and his brother Nicholas banked heavily on securities issued by the states and by the Continental Congress. The prices of these bonds fluctuated wildly, but long experience trading in a variety of foreign currencies had honed their skills in arbitrage, and together the brothers amassed the largest single stake in government debt in Rhode Island. Around the same time, beginning in 1780, John went on a real-estate buying spree, purchasing a large waterfront tract on Aquidneck Island outside Newport and an eight-hundred-acre farm on Prudence Island. On the east shore of Narragansett Bay he obtained a lovely, grassy estate on a promontory near Bristol known by the Indian name Poppasquash, which he renamed Point Pleasant; on the west shore, he bought from the Greene clan five hundred well-watered acres at Namquit point south of Patuxet, overlooking the spit of land that had grounded the Gaspee a decade before. This he dubbed Spring Green Farm, and it alternated with Point Pleasant as a summer retreat for the family.

Most of the properties John obtained were bargains. Some of the estates were confiscated from Tory sympathizers -the farm on Prudence Island formerly belonged to Joseph Wanton- and were resold at a discount by the wartime government. And farmland



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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valuations were especially low. But John had had ample cash reserves to skim the cream off the depressed market. There is little question that, by the end of the Revolution, John had emerged as the richest man in Rhode Island.

1st, 2nd Month: “*John G. Wanton and Robert Taylor of [Newport](#) have signed a declaration called the Test Act, which being contrary to the peaceable principles we profess, therefore for the clearing of our Christian testimony we do disown them.*”¹⁰⁰

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

February 4, Tuesday: Giuseppe Lomellini replaced Fabrizio Giustiniani Banca as Doge of [Genoa](#).

For the 3d day people were trying to kill each other at Fort McIntosh, Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 5, Wednesday: Constitution of Georgia.

READ THE FULL TEXT

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 13, Thursday: The new state government stipulated that each male citizen was to denounce the King of England and pledge loyalty to the government of [South Carolina](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 28, Friday: Burgoyne met with Lord George Germain in London and presented his plan for an attack on Continental forces in [New York State](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

March 1, Saturday: Amos Baker and Samuel Baker were discharged from Captain Moses Harrington’s militia company of Colonel Dike’s regiment. They would be paid for their service by their town.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

100. Subscription to this Test Act, since it involved the provision of a substitute soldier or the making of an adequate payment for the obtaining of such a substitute soldier, was held to constitute personal participation in conflict and therefore was in violation of the peaceable principles of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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March 4, Tuesday: The United States Congress adjourned in Baltimore.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 5, Wednesday: The United States Congress convened in Philadelphia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 8, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Amboy (Punk Hill), New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 21, Friday: Amos Baker was discharged from the militia company of Captain George Minot, part of the regiment of Colonel Samuel Bullard.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 22, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Peekskill, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 24, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Highlands, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April: A new militia law in [Rhode Island](#) withdrew protection from [Quaker](#) men who refused to perform “alternative service.” Quaker refuseniks should be replaced by soldiers hired at town expense — and then the town should seize Quaker property in the amount of that expense. (In response to this, the Meeting for Sufferings of the Religious Society of Friends would desist from all compliance with community demands, for instance ceasing to issue the certificates of membership in the Religious Society of Friends that the military had been relying upon in determining whether or not a refusenik was actually a member.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Friend David Anthony of Greenwich monthly meeting was imprisoned. The New England Meeting for Sufferings would take the matter up with the Rhode Island General Assembly and he would be released, spending but 9 weeks in prison for his observance of the Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

April 12, Saturday: Henry Clay was born in Virginia.

[Concord](#) sent 11 local soldiers to reinforce General Spencer in [Rhode Island](#), at a cost of £66 each plus an enlistment bounty of £6.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁰¹

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | £20 | £880 |
| <p>These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord. Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years' service. The forty-four names follow.</p> <p>Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants.</p> | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |
| <p>Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton, 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White's MS. says, "July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island]," and gives the names of twenty-nine.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey. | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |
| This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign. | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind. | | | | | |

April 13, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Boundbrook, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 19, Saturday: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 3.

People were trying to kill each other at Woodbridge, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

101. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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April 20, Saturday: A state convention, meeting in Kingston, New York, accepted a constitution drafted by John Jay for [New York State](#). Almost all civil and military offices, including judges and Secretary of State, were to be chosen and governed by a Council of Appointment. [Quakers](#) would be required to pay a bond in exchange for militia exemptions — something which their faith forbade them to do.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

Only locally situated white adult males with property holdings would be allowed to vote: a minimum 6-month residency was required. Property and tax minimums were set for voting in Assembly and Senate elections.

READ THE FULL TEXT

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

April 25-27: People were trying to kill each other during a raid on Danbury, Connecticut.

April 26, Saturday: 2,000 British and loyalists landed and marched to Danbury, Connecticut where they burned down the town. 16-year-old Sybil Ludington rode 40 miles warning residents of New York's Putnam County that the British were coming.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

April 27, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Ridgefield, Connecticut. As they headed back to their ships from Danbury, British and loyalists were set upon by rebels. The British had the higher losses but managed an orderly evacuation.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Domenico Cimarosa got married with Costanza Suffi Palante, stepdaughter of a secretary to the Holy Roman Consul, in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, [Naples](#).

April 28, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Compo Hill, Connecticut.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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April 30, Wednesday: Karl Friedrich Gauss was born.

Reorganization of the “Second Troop of Horse of Middlesex,” formed in 1669, as the “[Concord](#) Light Infantry.” The town sent 5 of its citizen soldiers to serve for six months with the Continental Army at an expense of £40 each plus an enlistment bounty of £8.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁰²

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | £20 | £880 |
| <p>These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord. Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years’ service. The forty-four names follow.</p> <p>Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants.</p> | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |
| <p>Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton, 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White’s MS. says, “July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island],” and gives the names of twenty-nine.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey. | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |
| This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign. | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind. | | | | | |

102. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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May: Bowing to necessity, President [James Manning](#) published a further notice regarding his [Rhode Island](#) College in [Providence](#), the edifice of which was still in use as a barracks for revolutionary soldiers.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The [College of Rhode Island](#) that would become [Brown University](#) would not be able to reopen “while this continues a garrisoned Town.” The graduating class would, however, assuming a professed diligence in study elsewhere, be able to receive its diplomas in September.



President Manning would not be idle. He was the reverend at the 1st [Baptist](#) Church in Providence.

Additionally, during this year he was with his own hands laying some 32 rods of stone wall on the eight acres of educational grantland atop College Hill — no mean feat in itself.

Would this illustration, from an unknown year prior to 1864, depict in the foreground a few rods of one of the Reverend President Manning’s stone walls, at the beginnings of the intersection of Angell Street and Prospect Street before asphaltting, and would the foundation of this barn structure be underneath the site of the present



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

carillon tower?



[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

May 8, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Piscataway, New Jersey.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

May 10, Saturday: The town of [Concord](#) at this point estimated that it had disbursed about £2,161 so far during the revolutionary effort, and proceeded to collect a special war tax from its residents (in subsequent years it would obtain such funding several more times).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

On the 10th of May, 1777, the 9th of December, 1778 and the 4th of April, 1780, estimates were made by the town of the "several services done in the war, 3 years' men excepted, by the town, classes, or individuals," and an average of the same made and assessed upon the inhabitants, and called average or war taxes. The amount of the first average was £2161 0s. 3d; the 2d, £5192; and the 3d (in silver), £1295. 4s. 11d. The following table, compiled with labor and care from these estimates and other authentic sources of information, exhibits, though imperfectly, the number of men from Concord, the date of the resolve of the Council, or General Court, when they were required, at what price they were employed, and the bounties paid by the town [Concord]. In this abstract are not included many who enlisted voluntarily, or marched on a sudden alarm for a short period, or were procured in classes, or where it is doubtful to what campaign they belonged. This would swell the list very much. In some instances, they were not exclusively stationed as mentioned



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

in the table, but marched to other places.¹⁰³

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁰⁴

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| January 1, 1775 | 100 | | Minute Men | | £58 |
| April 20, 1775 | 56 | 8 months | Cambridge | £5½— | 308 |
| <p>The officers in the regiment, to which these [the above] men were attached, were, John Nixon, Colonel; Thomas Nixon, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Buttrick, Major. The officers of two companies, of 84 and 103 men, belonged to Concord. Joseph Butler was Captain; Silas Walker, Lieutenant; Edward Richardson, Ensign; Moses Richardson, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Chesley, and Edward Heywood, Sergeants of one: and Abishai Brown was Captain; Daniel Taylor, Lieutenant; Silas Mann, Ensign; and Nathan Stow, Ephraim Minott, John Cobs, and Bradbury Robinson were Sergeants of the other. Rev. William Emerson was Chaplain a part of the time; and Dr. Joseph Hunt was mate to Dr. Foster in Cambridge hospital. The men enlisted the last week in April, and the officers were commissioned June 5th. At the Battle of Bunker Hill, Captain Butler's company, under command of Lieutenant Walker, were engaged at the northern declivity of the hill by the "rail fence"; and a part of the other company were on guard, and not ordered on in season to take part in the battle. Benjamin Ball received a mortal wound, of which he died in Boston. John Meers was killed. Amos Wheeler, Ephraim Minot, and some others were wounded; the first died of his wounds at Cambridge, a short time after. As soon as the news of the battle arrived, the whole of the militia marched to Cambridge, but returned after a few days. A chest of clothing, and other articles necessary for the wounded, were contributed by the "patriotic ladies" in Concord, and sent to the hospital in Cambridge, for which they received public thanks. "This instance of their humanity and public spirit," say a public notice, "does honor to the town, and will, we hope, induce others to imitate so good an example." During this campaign, Danforth Hayward and William Buttrick died.</p> | | | | | |
| December 1, 1775 | 18 | 2 months | Cambridge | 1½ | 27 |
| January 20, 1776 | 36 | 2 months | Cambridge | 1 ⁴ / ₅ | 63 ⁴ / ₅ |

103. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|-----------|-----------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|
| <p>January 20, 1776. Middlesex was ordered to raise a regiment of 571 men; Concord 26, Bedford 6, Acton 13, Lincoln 8. Concord, however, furnished 36. John Robinson was Colonel; John Buttrick, Lieutenant-Colonel; Samuel McCobb, Major; Joseph Thaxter, Chaplain; Nathan Stow, Quarter-master; Jabez Brown, Adjutant. The Captains' names were, John Ford, Simon Edgel, Josiah Warren, Asahel Wheeler, Benjamin Edgel, Job Shattuck, and John Lamont. Silan Mann was a lieutenant there under Wheeler.</p> <p>A new organization of the militia was made in February, 1776, and Concord, Lexington, Weston, Acton and Lincoln were assigned to the 3d Regiment. Oliver Prescott was then chosen Brigadier-General, Eleazer Brooks, Colonel of this regiment, Francis Faulkner, Lieutenant-Colonel; Nathan Barrett, 1st Major; Samuel Lamson, 2d Major; and Joseph Adams, Surgeon.</p> <p>The following were the officers of the several companies: Company 1, of Concord; Captain George Minott, 1st Lieutenant Edward Wright, 2d Lieutenant Emerson Cogswell. Company 2, of Weston; Captain Jonathan Fiske, 1st Lieutenant Matthew Hobbs, 2d Lieutenant Josiah Severns. Company 3, of Lexington; Captain John Bridge, 1st Lieutenant William Munroe, 2d Lieutenant Ebenezer White. Company 4, of Concord; Captain Thomas Hubbard, 1st Lieutenant Ephraim Wheeler, 2d Lieutenant Amos Hosmer. Company 5, of Acton; Captain Simon Hunt, 1st Lieutenant John Heald, Jr., 2d Lieutenant Benjamin Brabrook. Company 6, of Lincoln; Captain Samuel Farrar, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Hoar, 2d Lieutenant James Parks. Company 7, of Concord; Captain Thomas Barrett, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Heald, 2d Lieutenant Asa Green.</p> <p>Col. James Barrett was appointed to raise men in this county December 2d, 1775; and was muster-master from December 28th, 1776, till his death. Capt. Joseph Hosmer succeeded him in 1780.</p> <p>The Concord Light Infantry was organized soon after, (of which Joseph Hosmer was Captain; Samuel Jones, Lieutenant; and Samuel Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant); and attached to this regiment.</p> | | | | | |
| March 1, 1776 | 145 | 10 days | Dorchester Hgts | | |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment of nearly all the militia, to take possession of Dorchester Heights just before the British evacuated Boston. The officers of the 3d Regiment abovementioned were generally there. An attack on Boston was anticipated, and a considerable quantity of lint and bandages was sent from Concord to the hospital.</p> | | | | | |
| April 9, 1776 | 31 | 9 months | Near Boston | | 55 ⁴ / ₅ |
| <p>This [the above] was an enlisted company for the purpose of fortifying and defending Boston and its vicinity. Officers: —, Josiah Whitney, of Harvard, Colonel; Ephraim Jackson, of Newton, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Miller, Major. For the Middlesex Company, — Abishai Brown, Captain; Abraham Andrews, 1st Lieutenant; Silas Proctor, 2d Lieutenant; Jeremiah Williams and, Edward Heywood, all of Concord, were Sergeants. They were stationed at Hull. This company assisted in taking Col. Campbell, about three hundred Highlanders, and several provision ships. They left Concord June 1st, and were discharged December 1st. Thaddeus Blood, Esq., is the only person now living [1835] in Concord who belonged to this company.</p> | | | | | |
| June 1776 | 19 | 12 months | New York | 10 | 190 |

104. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------|--------|--------|
| June 25, 1776 | 48 | 6 months | Ticonderoga | 9 | 432 |
| <p>Dr. John Cuming was appointed Commander in this [the above] expedition, but declined. The whole consisted of five thousand men. One company, consisting of ninety-four men, was commanded by Capt. Charles Miles, of Concord. Edmond Munroe, was Lieutenant; Matthew Hobbs, 2d Lieutenant; and Jonas Brown, Ensign. They were attached to Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment. His muster-roll give sixty-one from Concord, (differing from the report from which the above is compiled); Weston, twenty-seven; Lexington, four; and two from Tyconterage [?]. Being ready to march, they were paraded on the common in Concord, with several other companies from the adjoining towns, and attended religious services in the meeting-house. Rev. William Emerson preached from Job v. 20, and afterwards went as Chaplain, sacrificed his life to his patriotism, and never returned. Another Company, commanded by Capt. Asahel Wheeler, whose Lieutenant was Samuel Hoar, of Lincoln. Samuel Osburn was 2d Lieutenant, and David Hosmer, Ensign.</p> | | | | | |
| September 12, 1776 | 23 | 3 months | White Plains | 8 | 184 |
| <p>This [the above] embraced one fifth of the Militia under fifty years of age, not in actual service. The drafts from this county formed one regiment, which was commanded by Eleazer Brooks, of Lincoln. Rev. Moses Adams, of Acton, was Chaplain; Dr. Joseph Hunt, Surgeon; and Samuel Hartwell, of Lincoln, Quarter-master. Concord furnished twenty-three men; Lexington, sixteen, Acton, fifteen; and Lincoln, twelve, which formed one company, whose officers were Simon Hunt, of Acton, Captain; Samuel Heald, of Concord, Lieutenant; Ebenezer White, 2d Lieutenant. They were in the battle of White Plains. A return after the battle gives forty-two fit for duty, seven sick, four wounded, two of whom, David Wheeler and Amos Buttrick, belonged to Concord. Thomas Darby, of Acton was killed. Col. Brooks's Regiment behaved bravely on that occasion.</p> | | | | | |
| September 12, 1776 | 7 | | Dorchester | | |
| <p>These [the above] were part of a company of eighty-nine men, taken from nearly every town in this county, commanded by John Minott, of Chelmsford, and attached to Col. Dykes's Regiment. John Hartwell, of Lincoln, was Lieutenant. Acton furnished five; Lincoln, four; and Bedford, three.</p> | | | | | |
| November 21, 1776 | 34 | 3 months | New York | 10 | 340 |
| <p>This [the above] was one fourth of the Militia in Middlesex County, and formed one Regiment of six hundred and seventy men, commanded by Col. Samuel Thatcher, of Cambridge. Cyprian How, of Marlborough, was Lieutenant-Colonel; Joseph Bryant, of Stoneham, Major. Concord furnished thirty-four; Weston, eighteen; Lexington, fourteen; Acton, thirteen; Lincoln, thirteen, which composed one company. John Bridge, of Lexington, was Captain; Jacob Brown, of Concord, Lieutenant; and Josiah Stearns, of Weston, 2d Lieutenant; William Burrows, Orderly Sergeant. They marched to New-York and New-Jersey before they returned, and were stationed at Woodbridge. Dissolved March 6th.</p> | | | | | |
| December 1, 1776 | 8 | | Boston | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| It appears from a roll of this company in the Secretary's office, that Capt. John Hartwell was commander of it [the above]. Thirteen in this and six in other companies were from Lincoln. They were attached to Col. Dykes's Regiment. | | | | | |
| December 1776 | 6 | | Rhode Island | | |
| These [the above] were attached to the Artillery. | | | | | |
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | 20 | 880 |
| These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord . Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years' service. The forty-four names follow. Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole. | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants. | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |
| Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton , 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White's MS. says, "July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island]," and gives the names of twenty-nine. | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |
| These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey. | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| <p>This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign.</p> | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| <p>Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind.</p> | | | | | |
| March 3, 1778 | 22 | 3 months | Guard at Cambridge | 10 | 220 |
| <p>Resolutions were passed February 7th, for four hundred men [above], and March 11th and 13th, each for five hundred more to guard the stores at Boston. These men were called out for that purpose, and were under the command of General Heath. Thomas Barret was Captain a part of the time; Daniel Harrington, the other part; Elisha Jones and Asa Green, Lieutenants. They were under Col. Jonathan Reed.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1778 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 18 | 198 |
| <p>These [the above] men were raised for the defence of Rhode Island under Gen. Spencer. The officers of the regiment were John Jacobs, Colonel; Frederick Pope, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abishai Brown, Major. They were chosen February 27th. Thaddeus Blood of Concord was Ensign in this campaign. The committee chosen by the town to hire them, were Col. James Barrett, Col. John Buttrick, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Jonas Heywood, Esq., and John Cuming, Esq.</p> | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army | 130 | 1300 |
| <p>These [the above] men were Oliver Buttrick, Benjamin Gould, Jason Bemis, William Diggs, Joseph Plummer, Cesar Kettle, David White, Benjamin Perkins, Jeremiah Hunt, Jr., and John Stratten. These were hired by the town, as in the last, and all subsequent campaigns. These were part of two hundred men. Acton and Lincoln furnished five each, and Bedford, three. They marched first to Rhode Island, and afterwards to New York. They were to serve nine months from the time they arrived at Fishkill.</p> | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 9 | 8 months | Guard at North River | 100 | 900 |
| <p>Their names [the above] were William Burrows, (a Lieutenant), Reuben Parks, Timothy Merriam, Jeremiah Williams, Jonathan Curtis, Jacob Ames, Timothy Hoar, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Cleisby.</p> | | | | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| June 23, 1778 | 8 | 6 months | Guard at Cambridge | 15 | 120 |
| These [the above] men guarded the prisoners to the new barracks built at Rutland. Ephraim Wood was appointed to superintend their removal. | | | | | |
| June 27, 1778 | 26 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | 30 | 780 |
| These [the above] men were sent to reinforce General Sullivan. John Buttrick was Lieutenant-Colonel, and was wounded at Sullivan's retreat. Samuel Jones and Emerson Cogswell were lieutenants under Capt. Francis Brown, of Lexington. Thaddeus Blood was Ensign in the State troops at the same time. Benjamin Prescott was Surgeon. One Sergeant and three Corporals were from Concord . | | | | | |
| September 6, 1778 | 7 | 4 months | Rhode Island | 73½ | 514½ |
| The town received the order, September 10th, and held a meeting the next day, when a committee was chosen to hire them [the above]. They were paid £23 per month, including the public wages. The men were, Timothy Killock, Charles Shepherd, Daniel Wheat, Timothy Wetherbee, Jesse Parkins, Thomas Hodgman, and Silas Parlin. | | | | | |
| September 19, 1778 | 46 | | To march to Boston | \$3 | \$138 |
| This [the above] constituted one third of the militia, required to march to Boston at a minute's warning. They volunteered under Col. Cuming, and were to receive \$5 bounty, and \$15 per month, including the pay allowed by the public. The orders were countermanded and they did not march. This is the only instance in all the campaigns of the men not marching when called. | | | | | |
| April 27, 1779 | 5 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 8 | 9 months | Continental Army | | 3248 |
| The town chose a committee June 16th, to hire the men [both lines above] for these two campaigns, consisting, of Col. Nathan Barrett, the four commanding officers of the militia companies, the Selectmen, Col. John Cuming, Mr. Jonas Heywood, Capt. David Brown, Capt. Joseph Butler, and James Barrett, Esq. Acton furnished four; Bedford, three; Lincoln, five; and the whole county, two hundred and forty-five in the nine months' campaign. The detachment to Rhode Island took one hundred men more from this county, who were under Col. Jacobs. The 3d Regiment was required to furnish one Sergeant and eleven privates. Thaddeus Blood was a Lieutenant in the United States' service; Jonas Wright was Sergeant. | | | | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 4 | 6 months | Rhode Island | | |
| The town received orders for these men [the above] September 1st and chose the Selectmen, Col. Nathan Barrett, Jonas Heywood, Esq., and the four militia Captains, a committee to procure these and other four militia captains, a committee to procure these and all others, "when small drafts are called," without calling the town together. | | | | | |
| August 9, 1779 | 9 | | Rhode Island | | |
| September 1779 | 4 | | Works at Boston | 12 | 48 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| <p>These [the above] belonged to a company of thirty-eight men from this and the adjoining towns, under Samuel Heald, Captain; Enoch Kingsbury, Lieutenant; Stephen Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant; and John Jacobs, Colonel. Henry Flint was Sergeant Major. They were discharged in November, and the whole amount of their wages was 10s. 6p. in silver each!</p> | | | | | |
| September 1, 1779 | 20 | 2 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The names of these [the above] men were, Charles Shepherd, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Timothy Wesson, Nathan Page, Asa Piper, Timothy Sprague, Nathaniel Breed, Charles Hanley, John Stratten, Ezekiel Hager, Jeremiah Shepherd, Nathaniel French, Josiah Melvin Jr., Joshua Stevens, Phillip Barrett, Lemuel Wheeler, Chandler Bryant, Daniel Cole. Acton furnished eleven; Bedford, seven; Lincoln, nine; Carlisle, seven. These men were procured by a committee chosen by the town, June 12th, in addition to that chosen in September previous, consisting of John Cuming, Esq., Capt. David Brown, Capt. Andrew Conant, Capt. David Wheeler, Lieut. Stephen Barrett. They were also to procure others, "if the draught does not exceed sixteen; if it does, the town to be called together."</p> | | | | | |
| June 5, 1780 | 19 | 6 months | Continental Army | 1000 | 16000 |
| <p>These [the above] men were hired by the same committee. They were intended to march to Albany to prevent the incursions of the Indians, but counter orders were issued and they went to Rhode Island. Cyprian How was Colonel; ——— Bancroft of Dunstable, Lieutenant-Colonel; ——— Stone, of Ashby, Major; Abraham Andrews, Captain; Silas Walker and Eli Conant, Lieutenants. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, eleven; Lincoln, twelve; Carlisle, nine.</p> | | | | | |
| June 22, 1780 | 19 | 3 months | Rhode Island | | 17090 |
| December 2, 1780 | 16 | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |
| <p>These [the above] men were to serve three years or during the war. The town decided, after considerable debate, by a vote of 53 to 42, to hire them in classes. The Selectmen, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Mr. Isaac Hubbard, Mr. Samuel Hosmer, Col. Nathan Barrett, and Mr. Job Brooks were chosen to divide the town into as many classes as there were men to hire, according to wealth. The town voted to "proceed against" any who should neglect to pay their proportion in the several classes; each one of which hired a man at as low a rate as possible. The men's names were Charles Adams, Richard Hayden, Jonathan Wright, Joseph Dudley, Isaac Hall, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Joseph Adams, Benjamin Barron, William Tencleff, Richard Hobby, Leonard Whitney, Samuel Farrar, John Stratten, Daniel McGregor, and Jonathan Fiske. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, ten; Lincoln, ten; Carlisle, six. They were mustered by Capt. Joseph Hosmer.</p> | | | | | |
| December 28, 1780 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army, Fishkill | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| June 15, 1781 | 3 | 5 months | Rhode Island | | |
| Bedford furnished seven; Acton , eight; Lincoln, eight; Carlisle, four, for this [the above] campaign. The whole State furnished two thousand seven hundred. | | | | | |
| June 30, 1781 | 14 | 4 months | Continental Army | | |
| These [the above] men were hired by classes. Dea. John White was Chairman of the 3d class, which was assessed £180 to hire Joseph Cleisby. The 5th class, of which Reuben Hunt was Chairman, hired Jacob Laughton, for £90 lawful money as a bounty. Sometimes \$100 were given by a single individual. All property seemed to be at the disposal of government, if required. The soldiers were paid off in government sureties which were sold for 2s. 6d. on the pound. Nathaniel French received ninety bushels of rye. | | | | | |
| March 1, 1782 | | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |

May 18, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Amelia Island, Florida.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 23, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Sag Harbor, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 26, Monday: [Oliver Goldsmith](#)'s pastoral THE DESERTED VILLAGE (in memory of his deceased brother).

THE DESERTED VILLAGE

While [Noah Webster, Jr.](#) was entering the Junior year of his college studies, invasion of the port city of New Haven by the British military holding the ports of Boston, Newport, and New-York came to be a real possibility. British General Burgoyne's army was advancing down the Hudson River. For this reason, at the end of May the entire Junior class of [Yale College](#) began its studies far inland in Glastonbury, Connecticut with the depressed and depressing Reverend Joseph Buckminster, D.D. as their tutor:

Sin is an abominable thing, which God's soul hates and it is no less offensive in his children than in others. Was there no such thing as sin in the world, suffering would be a stranger.

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June 2, Monday: Francis Jukes prepared an aquatint, on the basis of surveys made by Henry Pelham — a 42¹/₂ inch by 28¹/₂ inch depiction of the environs of Boston including the military works of 1775 and 1776.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

MAPS OF BOSTON

June 14, Saturday: The revolutionary Congress adopted a flag for the 13 United States of America with 13 stars in a union of blue and 13 alternating red and white stripes, replacing the Grand Union flag.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 16, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Crown Point, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 17, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Millstone, New Jersey.

General Burgoyne began his campaign south from Canada along the Champlain-Hudson waterways.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 26, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Short Hills, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

HDT

WHAT?

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July: The *Marquis de Lafayette* arrived in Philadelphia.



George Clinton took office as [New York State](#)'s 1st governor.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Concord](#) sent 29 of its citizen soldiers to [Rhode Island](#) at an expense of £290 each plus an enlistment bounty of £10.



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TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁰⁵

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | £20 | £880 |
| <p>These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord. Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years' service. The forty-four names follow.</p> <p>Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants.</p> | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |
| <p>Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton, 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White's MS. says, "July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island]," and gives the names of twenty-nine.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey. | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |
| This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign. | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind. | | | | | |

July 1, Tuesday: When General Burgoyne and his troops arrived at Fort Ticonderoga, he issued a warning proclamation to the local colonists.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

General John Fellows, who in 1781 would successfully represent Elizabeth "Mumbet" Freeman in her suit for freedom, sold Ton and Bet, [slaves](#), to Theodore Sedgwick (1746-1813).

Know all Men by these Presents that I John Fellows of Sheffield in the County of Berkshire Esq. for & in Consideration of the sum of Sixty Pounds to me in Hand well and truly paid by Theodore -- Sedgwick of said Sheffield Esq. here and by these Presents bargain, sell and convey unto him the said Theodore Sedgwick his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, one Negro Woman named Ton and about thirty years old, and one Negro Girl named Bett, about four years old, to have and to hold said Negro Woman & Negro Girl to him

105. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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the said Theodore Sedgwick his Executors,
 Administrators
 and Assigns the said Negro Woman for and during
 the Term of her natural Life and said Negro Girl
 Untill she shall arrive at the Age of twenty one
 years, and I the said John Fellows for my self
 and Heirs, Executors & Administrators do covenant
 promise & engage to and with said Theodore
 Sedgwick his Executors, Administrators and Assigns
 that I have good Right and lawful Authority
 to bargain & sell the said Negros in Manner
 aforesaid & that he the said Theodore Sedgwick
 his Executors, Administrators & Assigns may & shall
 Use, possess, and dispose of the said Negros for and
 during the Term aforesd. by Force & Virtue of these
 Presents, Witness my Hand & Seal this first Day
 of July Anno Dom: 1777 --
 John Fellows
 Wm. Baron
 Ebzr. Fellows
 Genl. Fellows
 1st July 1777
 B. Sale of Sev't.

Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: At Portsmouth, [New Hampshire](#), Americans were invited by Captain Thompson to lunch on board a Continental frigate.

In Philadelphia, stones were being thrown through the windows of [Quaker](#) homes because, being adherents of the Peace Testimony, these people were unable to honor American military prowess by closing their businesses on the holidays declared in celebration of victories.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

The 1st religious sermon about Independence Day was delivered in Boston by the Reverend William Gordon, before the General Court of Massachusetts.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: When the first 4th-of-July commemorative B'day bash was staged, in 1777, what was being celebrated on the 4th was what had happened on the 2nd. The celebration that year didn't have anything much to do with any formal [Declaration of Independence](#) document that had been in process as of the 4th in the previous year, but rather, it had to do with the actual political act, the declaration (lower-case "d") of our independence (lower-case "i"), which is to say, it had to do with the critical vote which had succeeded on July 2, 1776. The problem was simply that in this year 1777, nobody was yet thinking much in advance — and so it had taken a couple of days to organize the idea of having a celebration.¹⁰⁶

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In those early years you won't find any suggestions being made, that the document was a particularly powerful one, or a fine piece of writing. When people quoted from the propaganda broadside, very commonly what they quoted were not words from the Committee of Five's early draft, but words in the final paragraph that had been offered by the Continental Congress acting as a Committee of the Whole, words such as "absolved of all allegiance to the British Crown," and "are and of right ought to be free and independent states." The bulk of the document was easily dismissed at the time as yet another mean-spirited "recapitulation of injuries":



Considering how revered a position the Declaration of Independence later won in the hearts and minds of the American people ... disregard for it in the earliest years of the new nation verges on the incredible.



It was as if that document had done its work in carrying news of Independence to the people, and neither needed nor deserved further consideration. The festivities included no praise of Thomas Jefferson.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

One thing to bear in mind is that, just as there wasn't just this one copy of this particular Declaration of Independence, also there wasn't just one such Declaration of Independence. We presently know of at least ninety discrete, different examples of this peculiar art form, and if we had any reason to dig further, surely we could produce record of some more. For instance, according to Lemuel Shattuck's HISTORY OF ... CONCORD, there was a Declaration of Independence from British colonial rule issued by the town government of Acton MA on June 14th, 1776. Where is it now? —Presumably in the Reserve Book Room of the Acton Public Library, or maybe hanging on the wall. Who knows, and who cares? What we have done in our minds is suppress all memory of these other examples of the art form so that the one document we have selected out for our national worship, encased behind bullet-proof glass in a Baroque reliquary in [Washington DC](#), will seem to us to have been totally exceptional. It's a cheap trick but so what? Every night as the line of worshipful viewers is halted, that votive document gets lowered by computer into a specially reinforced underground crypt where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal, and where atomic weapons raining down upon the District of Columbia would be as harmless as the Brownian motion of the molecules of water vapor in the carefully regulated ambiance inside the thick green glass case. For where our treasured document is, there our hearts are also. Meanwhile our other 89 Declarations of Independence are

106. Later on, of course, the forces of historical rectification took over, and some apologist or other swept the pieces of the story together creatively and invented a plausible reason why we have been celebrating our national B'day on the 4th — and that, kiddies, is how the Declaration of Independence, a political broadside, got substituted for our declaration of independence, an act of defiance. Although the [Declaration of Independence](#) was probably not signed on the evening of the 4th as [Thomas Jefferson](#) would insist it had been, having probably been already approved that morning and lain aside, with the signing of a handscripted parchment copy not beginning until a later timeframe, we have all decided to pretend that it was signed on the 4th because that pretense legitimates our habitually popping off with imitation gunfire and the rockets red glare as of the 4th. There are several good reasons why there have been no objections to this false story our Jeffersons were creating. First, according to Pauline Maier on page 184, his fabrication was at the time merely "entrusted to private letters" rather than being broadcast to people who might have challenged it, and second, he was doing this historical reconstruction only after in the case of many of the participants "death had sealed their lips."



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protected only by their entire irrelevance.

The Declaration of Independence was, in fact, a peculiar document to be cited by those who championed the cause of equality. Not only did its reference to men's equal creation concern people in a state of nature before government was established, but the document's original function was to end the previous regime, not to lay down principles to guide and limit its successor.

Let's re-emphasize what is being said above. The [Declaration of Independence](#) was a document to end an existing government, not one to begin a new government. Its very success took it out of any legal existence. It has no legal force whatever in any court of the United States of America, not even the Supreme Court, as it has never been ratified or endorsed by any duly constituted authority of that national government. That is of course the whole reason why we presently emphasize the document to such a great degree in our oratory — our oratory amounts to cheap talk, whereas were we to discourse upon our Bill of Rights, we would be talking about something possessing serious impact, as our Bill of Rights is of course in legal effect. Talk about how "all men are created equal" per our Declaration of Independence, on a 4th of July, distracts us from the serious limitations inherent in actual legal texts such as the XIIIth and XIVth Amendments.



July 5, Saturday: Fort Ticonderoga at Crown Point, New York was evacuated by General St. Clair's American revolutionaries.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 6, Sunday: British troops from Canada led by General Burgoyne occupied Fort Ticonderoga at Crown Point, New York, it having just been abandoned by the Americans. They discovered within the fort important American supplies that had not been destroyed.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 7, Monday: American revolutionary forces retreating from Ticonderoga were defeated at Hubbardton, [Vermont](#) (in addition, people were trying to kill each other at Skenesboro, New York).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In the Gänsemarkt of Hamburg, Germany, *Cephalus und Prokris*, a melodram by Johann Friedrich Reichardt to words of Ramler, was performed for the initial time.

July 8, Tuesday: At a convention in Windsor, a constitution was adopted for the Republic of [Vermont](#). This abolished slavery, as well as indentured servitude for adults, and made Vermont the initial American political unit to embrace the notion of universal male suffrage.

READ THE FULL TEXT

People were trying to kill each other at Fort Anne, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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July 9, Wednesday: During this night Colonel William Barton of the Patriot Militia and 40 men had proceeded ten miles along the Narragansett Bay from Warwick Neck under cover of darkness, staying close to shore to evade British warships. In the wee smalls of the predawn of the 10th in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#), they would awake General Richard Prescott and inform him that he was, again, being taken prisoner. Without giving the British general an opportunity to dress, they would hustle him to [Providence](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[Henry Hallam](#) was born. The only son of the Reverend John Hallam, canon of Windsor and dean of Bristol, he would be educated at the Eton School and at Christ Church College, Oxford.

July 22, Tuesday: 267 British ships carrying 18,000 troops sailed out of New York making for Chesapeake Bay.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 23, Wednesday: Casimir Pulaski arrived at Marblehead, Massachusetts. He carried a letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin and hoped to join the cause of the United States.

General Howe sailed from New-York to capture Philadelphia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 26, Saturday: Colonel Barry St. Leger's army ascended the Oswego River.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 27, Sunday: Settler Jane McCrea was murdered by General Burgoyne's Indians.

Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier, *Marquis de Lafayette* and Baron Johann de Kalb arrived in Philadelphia to aid the revolution.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 29, Tuesday: Continental general Philip Schuyler abandoned Fort Edwards, retreating down the Hudson Valley.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 31, Thursday: The Continental Army appointed a 19-year-old French nobleman, Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier, *Marquis de Lafayette*, as a major general in their revolution.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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August: St. Leger gathered his forces at Three Rivers before proceeding toward Rome, [New York](#).

Four [Quaker](#) men of East Hoosack, Massachusetts were imprisoned for adhering to the Peace Testimony, until the General Court ordered their release.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

FIGURING OUT WHAT AMOUNTS TO A “HISTORICAL CONTEXT” IS WHAT THE CRAFT OF HISTORICIZING AMOUNTS TO, AND THIS NECESSITATES DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE SET OF EVENTS THAT MUST HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE EVENT E COULD BECOME POSSIBLE, AND MOST CAREFULLY DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM ANOTHER SET OF EVENTS THAT COULD NOT POSSIBLY OCCUR UNTIL SUBSEQUENT TO EVENT E.

August 1, Friday: On or about this date General Burgoyne’s forces reached [New York](#)’s Hudson River and took over Fort Edward.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

John Adams wrote Abigail Adams, “My best friend”:

The Fleet is in Delaware Bay. 228 of them were seen, in the Offing, from Cape Henlopen, the day before yesterday. They come in but slowly.

G. [General] Washington, and the light Horse came into Town last Night. His Army will be in, this day – that is the two or three first Divisions of it – Greens, Sterlings and Stevensons [Stephen’s].

The rest is following on, as fast as possible. General Nash with about 1500 North Carolina Forces, has taken Post on the Heights of Chester, about 15 miles below this City on the River. The Fire Ships &c. are ready.

I really think that Providence has ordered this Country to be the Theatre of this Summers Campaign, in Favour to Us, for many Reasons. 1. It will make an entire and final Separation of the Wheat from the Chaff, the Ore from the Dross, the Whiggs from the Tories. 2. It will give a little Breath to you in N. England. 3. If they should fail in their Attempt upon Philadelphia, it will give Lustre to our Arms and Disgrace to theirs, but if they succeed, it will cutt off this corrupted City, from the Body of the Country, and it will take all their Force to maintain it.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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August 2, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at

In [Rhode Island](#), at Dutch Island, a black unit consisting of 300 local slaves who had been promised freedom after the war was able to kill approximately 1,000 Hessian mercenary soldiers (this black unit would also see action under Colonel Green at Pontois Bridge in [New York](#)).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 3, Sunday: St. Leger began a siege of the revolutionaries in Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix) at Oriskany in the Mohawk Valley of [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 4, Monday-22, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix), at Oriskany in the Mohawk Valley of [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 6, Wednesday: A force led by Nicholas Herkimer, including newly-acquired Oneida Indian troops led by Honyere Tehawenkrogwen, coming to the aid of the revolutionaries in Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix) at Oriskany in the Mohawk Valley of [New York](#), was ambushed at Oriskany by a group of Loyalists and Mohawks under their chief Joseph Brant. Nicholas Herkimer was mortally wounded. Honyere Tehawenkrogwen and his wife and son killed a dozen of the enemy. St. Leger failed to take Fort Stanwix, which remained in American hands.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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August 9, Saturday: [Concord](#) sent 16 of its citizen soldiers northward at an expense of £560 plus an enlistment bounty of £35.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁰⁷

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | £20 | £880 |
| <p>These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord. Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years' service. The forty-four names follow.</p> <p>Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants.</p> | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |
| <p>Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton, 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White's MS. says, "July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island]," and gives the names of twenty-nine.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey. | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |
| This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign. | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind. | | | | | |

August 14, Thursday: Samuel Baker was recruited out of the Lincoln militia company of Captain Samuel Farrar of Colonel Eleazer Brooks's regiment, to serve instead as part of the Northern Department under General Gates.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 16, Saturday: The American revolutionaries defeated the British and Hessians near Bennington, [Vermont](#). 230 were killed and there were 700 prisoners.

Samuel Baker became part of the company of Captain George Minot in the regiment of Colonel Samuel Bullard. A man named Amos Baker, presumably Samuel Baker's brother, would serve as a private in that militia company for a month and 24 days.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

107. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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August 21, Thursday: The British fleet from New York entered Chesapeake Bay.

On this day and the following one, people were trying to kill each other on Staten Island, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 22, Friday: As General Benedict Arnold arrived with reinforcements at Fort Stanwix in the Mohawk Valley of [New York](#), St. Leger ended his siege, returning toward Canada.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 24, Sunday: 15,000 British troops landed on Chesapeake Bay at Head of Elk, [Maryland](#), to move toward Philadelphia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Fall: The Reverend [Ezra Stiles](#) was elected president of [Yale College](#).



Studying under the perpetually depressed and depressing Yale tutor, the Reverend Joseph Buckminster, D.D., in the hick town of Glastonbury, could not have been particularly intriguing. Despite the fact that as a student he was exempt from military service, [Noah Webster, Jr.](#) enlisted as a private in his father [Captain Noah Webster, Sr.](#)'s Hartford militia unit, on its way to resist the army of British General Burgoyne (the militia unit would not take part in any actual altercations).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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September: Joseph Bradley Varnum's militia from Dracut, Massachusetts was sent to Fort Ticonderoga to engage Burgoyne's Army.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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September 1, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Henry (Wheeling), Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Boston](#)'s King Street became State Street and its Queen Street became Court Street.

At about this point the revolutionary forces begin the fortification of Bemis Heights above the Hudson River at Stillwater.

September 3, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Iron Hill in Delaware.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 9, Tuesday: The first [New York State](#) legislature met, in Kingston. It soon adjourned.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 11, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Chadd's Ford and at Brandywine in Pennsylvania. The American fighters at Brandywine, Pennsylvania were pushed east, back into Philadelphia.

On this day, having been appointed a major general, the 19-year-old *Marquis de Lafayette* fought (or did something which among the ranks of major generals is said in some manner to resemble or to be analogous to fighting, such as look through a telescope or scan a map or tell someone to go risk his life in order to murder someone or say "A good day's work, my men" to the men who were still able to stand up).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 12, Friday: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 4.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 13, Saturday: Frederick the Great of Prussia noticed that war and [coffee](#) wouldn't mix — though war and [beer](#) would do just fine together thank you:

It is disgusting to notice the increase in the quantity of coffee used by my subjects, and the amount of money that goes out of this country in consequence. Everybody is using coffee. If possible, this must be prevented. My people must drink beer. His majesty was brought up on beer, and so were his ancestors and his officers. Many battles have been fought and won by soldiers nourished on beer; and the king does not believe that coffee-drinking soldiers can be depended upon to endure hardship or to beat his enemies in case of the occurrence of another war.

Hey, Fat Freddy, brew coffee not war!

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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September 14, Sunday: General Burgoyne crossed to the west side of the Hudson River.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 15, Monday: The United States Congress created Casimir Pulaski a brigadier general and placed him in command of the American cavalry.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 16, Tuesday: British and United States forces engaged in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The day went badly for the Americans but they were saved from annihilation by an enormous cloudburst. This would come to be known as the Battle of the Clouds.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 18, Thursday: The United States Congress adjourned in Philadelphia. With the urging of General Washington, the Congressmen began to flee the city.

People were trying to kill each other at Lake George, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 19, Friday: The Oneida chief Honyere dined with General Schuyler in Albany and agreed to aid Gates' army.

A British assault on the American forces of General Daniel Morgan and Colonel Henry Dearborn near Saratoga, [New York](#), led by General Burgoyne, was repulsed with heavy losses (the 1st Battle of Saratoga, at Stillwater, or the Battle of Freeman's Farm, New York).

People were also striving to kill each other at Bemis Heights, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 20, Saturday night: People were trying to kill each other at Paoli, Pennsylvania, west of Philadelphia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

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September 21, Sunday: Colonel [Benjamin Bellows](#)'s Regiment of Militia (AKA 16th New Hampshire Militia Regiment) was called up at [Walpole, New Hampshire](#) as reinforcements for the Continental Army during the Saratoga Campaign. The regiment would join the forces of General Horatio Gates and face off against the British army under General John Burgoyne in northern [New York](#). (The 16th New Hampshire would then serve in General William Whipple's brigade until, just after the surrender and grounding of arms of Burgoyne's army was witnessed by two Americans on October 27, 1777, it would disband.)



(Presumably this was the struggle that the intellectually marginal [Jonathan Plummer](#) would have meant to indicate, when later in his life he would remember having participated in the 1st and 2d Battles of Saratoga under Horatio Gates and Benedict Arnold.)

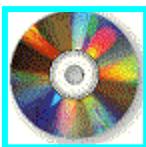
[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 22, Monday: [John Bartram](#), while anxious that British soldiers would destroy his garden, died. (His worries were groundless, as the only relic of the war in his garden would be a solitary cannonball that would lie there for at least a couple of generations.)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

This would be published in 1804: "Mr. Bartram was a man of modest and gentle manners, frank, cheerful, and of great good-nature; a lover of justice, truth, and charity. He was himself an example of filial, conjugal, and parental affection. His humanity, gentleness, and compassion were manifested upon all occasions, and were even extended to the animal creation. He was never known to have been at enmity with any man."

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787





1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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“The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows.”

—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| 1681 | Headman Ockanickon of the Mantas | the Mantas are the “Leaping Frogs” group of the Lenape tribe | <i>“Be plain and fair to all, both Indian and Christian, as I have been.”</i> |
| 1692 | Massachusetts Bay colonist Giles Corey | being pressed to death for refusing to cooperate in his trial for witchcraft | <i>“Add more weight that my misery may be the sooner ended.”</i> |
| 1777 | John Bartram | during a spasm of pain | <i>“I want to die.”</i> |
| 1790 | Benjamin Franklin | unsolicited comment | <i>“A dying man can do nothing easy.”</i> |
| 1793 | Louis Capet, King Louis XVI of France | being beheaded in the Place de la Concorde | <i>“I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I Pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God that the blood you are going to shed may never be visited on France.”</i> |
| 1793 | Jean-Paul Marat | reviewing a list of names  | <i>“They shall all be guillotined.”</i>  |
| 1793 | Citizen Marie Antoinette | stepping on the foot of her executioner | <i>“Pardonnez-moi, monsieur.”</i> |
| <i>... other famous last words ...</i> | | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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One version of the cannonball story has it that after the battle, General Washington sat under a weeping ash chatting with the French ambassador, and the Frenchman gestured toward the spent cannonball and went “What kind of nut is that?” and Washington quipped back, “It is a nut too hard for John Bull to crack.” Another version of the cannonball story has it that Washington was at the moment consuming one of [John Bartram](#)’s famous pears and the French ambassador gestured toward the spent cannonball and went “What kind of fruit is this?” – “Ah, count, that is a fruit hard of digestion.” (We don’t have such a story from either the general or the ambassador.)

[When George Washington visited the garden of the Bartrams, he was horrified to discover that the Bartrams did not believe in pulling the weeds. This challenged all his notions of order and propriety. Not only did they not pull weeds, but also, for religious, philosophical, and environmental reasons, they were opposed to the indiscriminate killing of poisonous snakes!]

[Concord](#) sent 46 of its citizen soldiers to assist for 41 days at the taking of General Burgoyne, at an expense of £640 plus an enlistment bounty of £16.

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁰⁸

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | £20 | £880 |
| <p>These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord. Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years’ service. The forty-four names follow.</p> <p>Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants.</p> | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |



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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| <p>Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton, 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White's MS. says, "July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island]," and gives the names of twenty-nine.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |
| <p>These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey.</p> | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |
| <p>This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign.</p> | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| <p>Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind.</p> | | | | | |

September 23, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Diamond Island, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

108. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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September 26, Friday: Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg withdrew his dismissal of Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who had been sacked for asking for another leave to travel.

On this day and the following one, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was being occupied by the British under General William Howe.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 27, Saturday: British troops occupied Philadelphia. The United States Congress convened for one day in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, west of Philadelphia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

30th, 9th Month: The visiting committee of the women's meeting of the [Aquidneck Island Friends](#) reported that the reason why the female residents of Point Estates had fallen behind on their rents was "*the general calamity by which the price of the necessities of life are so greatly enhanced, that it is with difficulty that they can supply their own daily necessities.*" The property of the [Quakers](#) was being seized ("*destrained*") both by the British soldiers and by the American soldiers, because of their refusal to take sides in the warfare. The accumulated totals of these destraints had come to amount to some £2,473. Indeed, attendance at meeting for worship was falling off because some [Friends](#) had become so straited that their clothing was no longer fit for them to appear in public.

RHODE ISLAND

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was received by Elector Maximilian III of Bavaria in München.

The United States Congress convened in York, Pennsylvania, west of Philadelphia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October: [Thomas Paine](#) was appointed as Pennsylvania's observer with [Colonel George Washington](#)'s army.

James Whitelaw discovered that the Scots American Company has not honored his 1776 draft to build Ryegate's mills, but had instead dismissed him as manager for exceeding his authority.

The British sailed up the Hudson, safely bypassing the chain across the Hudson at Fort Montgomery. Public records in Kingston were removed to the Ulster County town of Rochester.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 3, Friday: Sir Henry Clinton moved north out of [New-York](#), capturing two forts on the Hudson.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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October 4, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Germantown, Pennsylvania. The American militias under Colonel [George Washington](#), in defeat, would evacuate Philadelphia before the army marched into the city on October 14th.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

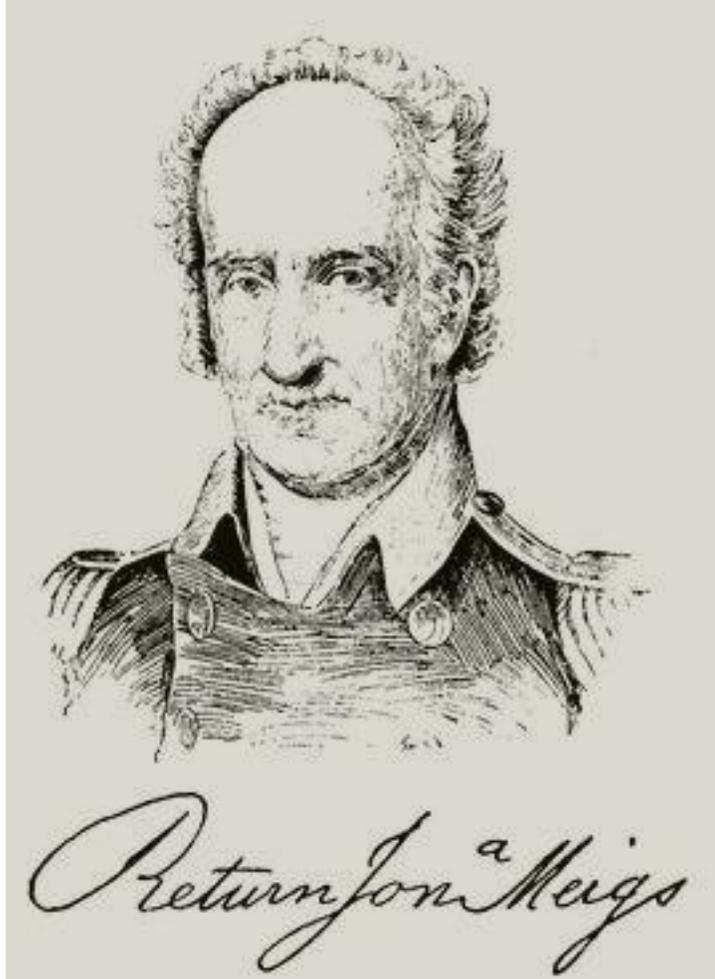
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October 5, Sunday-7, Tuesday: [Samuel Smith](#) would indicate at the time of his execution in [Concord](#) on December 26, 1799 that subsequent to his 1st confessed crime of theft, and subsequent to his punishment in 1772 for that offense, he had continued in his practice of stealing but that nevertheless, during the America Revolution, he had “ferved my Country faithfully.” –Served his country faithfully until, that is, in the 6th Connecticut Regiment commanded by Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs,



his enlistment bounty money had been wrongfully withheld! — whereupon, about 10 or 12 days before the surrender of General Burgoyne (which would have been in this timeframe), while his unit was at Peeck’s Kill, a military base on the east side of the Hudson River (Peekskill, New York), he had deserted. (Smith would thus miss out on an opportunity to spend the following horrible winter in army quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE THE PERIOD OF OCTOBER 5TH TO 7TH, 1777 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS AN EXTENDED



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TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAYS, TOMORROWLAND, ARE BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

October 6, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Forts Clinton and Montgomery on the Hudson River.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 7, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Stillwater, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 7, Tuesday-17, Friday: People were trying to kill each other on Bemis Heights near Saratoga, [New York](#). Gates, Arnold, Morgan, and General Ebenezer Learned defeated and captured General Burgoyne's forces. Arnold was wounded in the leg.

British and Hessians captured Fort Montgomery and Fort Constitution, near West Point on the Hudson River.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

9th, 10th Month: [Mary Rotch](#) was born in a [Quaker](#) family on [Nantucket Island](#) — William Rotch, Jr. and Elizabeth Rodman Rotch. There were five older siblings, Sarah Rotch (Arnold), William Rodman Rotch, Joseph Rotch, Thomas Rotch, and Mary Rotch (Fleeming) (Emerson). (The father William Rotch, Jr. was a well-to-do shipowner and merchant in the whaling trade. At one point during the [Revolutionary War](#), he would render innocuous a shipment of bayonets by pitching them into the harbor.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

[Patrick Henry](#) got married a 2d time, with Dorothea Spotswood Dandridge.

October 13, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Esopus and at Kingston, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Joseph Emerson](#) was born in Hollis, [New Hampshire](#), which is right across the state line from Pepperell, Massachusetts (since his father Deacon/Captain Daniel Emerson was a grandson of the Reverend Daniel Emerson and Hannah Emerson, he would be a 2d cousin to [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#)).

October 15, Wednesday: Governor Clinton arrived at Esopus (Kingston), New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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October 16, Thursday: Articles of Convention Between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major General Gates.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

READ THE FULL TEXT



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October 17, Friday: [Moses Greenleaf Junior](#) was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts to Lydia Parsons Greenleaf in the absence of [Captain Moses Greenleaf](#), who was then in the Revolutionary army.¹⁰⁹

The British invasion force of 5,700 surrendered to the Americans near Saratoga, [New York](#), ending their plan to sever New England from the other colonies. General Burgoyne handed over his sword to the American revolutionary forces under General Gates on the Hudson River.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

109. Per Vital Records of Newburyport, Massachusetts to the end of the year 1849, in the list of births, on page 168 under family name Greenleaf: "Moses, s. Moses and Lydia, Oct. 17, 1777."

The Reverend Jonathan Greenleaf (a younger brother of [Moses Greenleaf](#)) would be born on September 4, 1785 in Newburyport and would die in Brooklyn, New York on April 24, 1865. He would be licensed to preach in 1814, and would be pastor at Wells, Maine, in 1815-1828. He would then take charge of the Mariner's Church, Boston, remove to New York in 1833, and edit the [Sailor's Magazine](#). He would also be secretary of the Seamen's Friend Society, initially in Boston and then in New York, until 1841. He would in 1843 organize the Wallabout Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, and would be its pastor until his death. Bowdoin College would in 1824 award him the degree of MA, and Princeton College would in 1863 award him the degree of DD. The reverend would publish [SKETCHES OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF MAINE](#) (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1821); [HISTORY OF NEW YORK CHURCHES](#) (New York, 1846); and [GENEALOGY OF THE GREENLEAF FAMILY](#) (1854).

Professor Simon Greenleaf (another younger brother of [Moses Greenleaf](#)): would be born on December 5, 1783 in Newburyport and would die in Cambridge, Massachusetts on October 6, 1853. He would remove with his father to Maine when a child, and in 1801 begin the study of law in New Gloucester, Maine, with Ezekiel Whitman, afterward chief justice of the state. In 1806 he would begin to practice in Standish, but in the same year would remove to Gray. He would go to Portland in 1818, and in 1820, after the admission of Maine to the Union, and the establishment of a Supreme Court, would become its reporter, holding the office till 1832. He would be appointed Royal Professor of Law in the Harvard Law School in 1833, and in 1846, on the death of Judge Story, would be transferred to the Dane professorship. He would resign in 1848. The professor would be for many years president of the Massachusetts Bible society. Harvard would in 1834 award him the degree of LLD. His works would be [ORIGIN AND PRINCIPLES OF FREEMASONRY](#) (Portland, 1820); [FULL COLLECTION OF CASES, OVERRULED, DENIED, DOUBTED, OR LIMITED IN THEIR APPLICATION](#) (1821; 3d ed., by E. Hammond, New York, 1840, afterward expanded to 3 vols.); [REPORTS OF CASES IN THE SUPREME COURT OF MAINE, 1820-'31](#) (9 vols., Hallowell and Portland, 1822-1835; digest, Portland, 1835; revised ed., 8 vols., Boston, 1852); [TREATISE ON THE LAW OF EVIDENCE](#) (3 vols., 1842-1853; 14th ed., with large additions by Simon Greenleaf Crosswell, 1883); [EXAMINATION OF THE TESTIMONY OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS, BY THE RULES OF EVIDENCE ADMINISTERED IN COURTS OF JUSTICE, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL OF JESUS](#) (1846; London, 1847); and an enlarged edition of William Cruise's [DIGEST OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND RESPECTING REAL PROPERTY](#), adapted to American practice (3 vols., 1849-1850). He would also publish his inaugural discourse on entering upon his professorship (Boston, 1834), and one on the life and character of Joseph Story (1845).

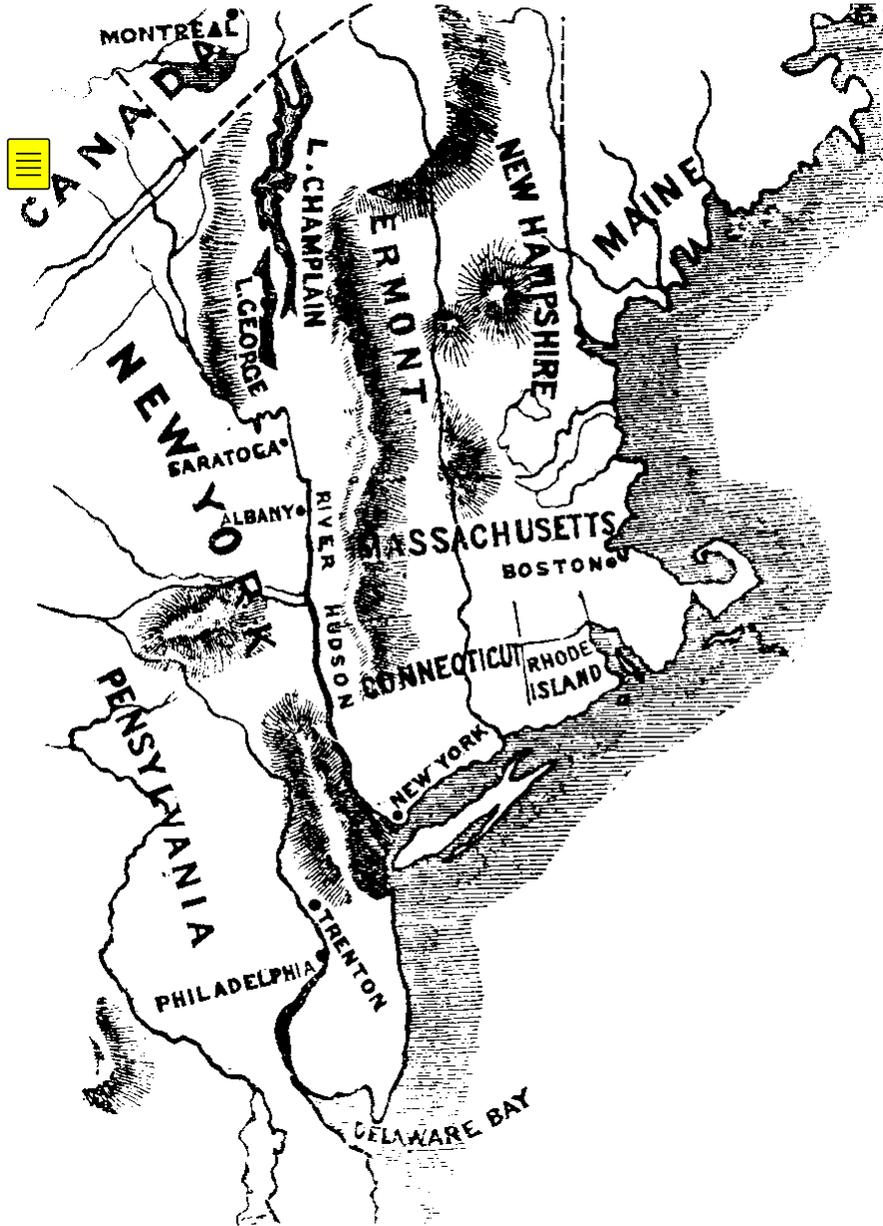
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[William Dorrell](#) was one of the 3,500 redcoats present at the surrender, a 6-footer at about the age of 25.



[Quaker](#) conscripts, a total of 14, were taken to Colonel [George Washington](#)'s winter encampment at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania and there muskets were tied onto their backs because they declined to hold them in their hands. They did not deviate from the peace testimony, but insisted and continued to insist that this whole thing about warfare, and about the spirit of war that inspired it, was a whole lot of foolishness, and eventually their tormentors gave up and these cowardly resistors were sent back home to resume their lives as productive citizens.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

“Even of those great conflicts, in which hundreds of

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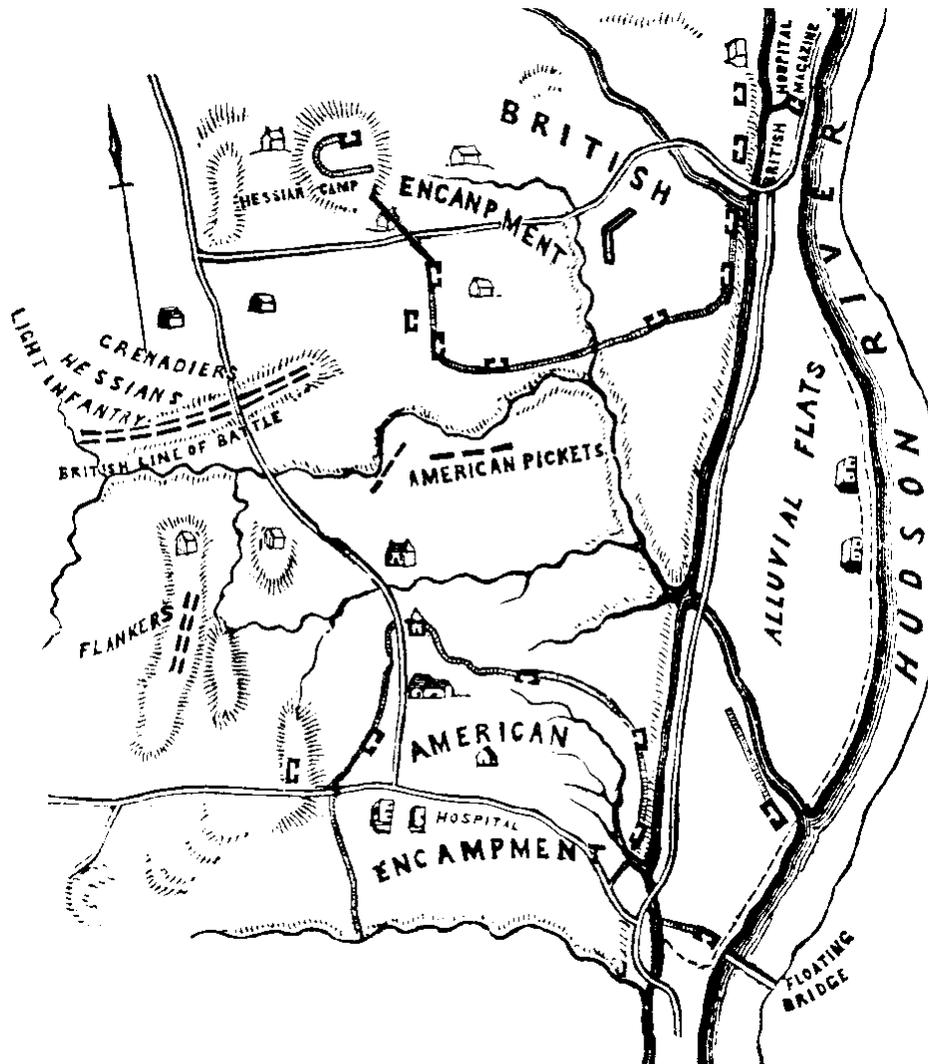
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thousands have been engaged and tens of thousands have fallen, none has been more fruitful of results than this surrender of thirty-five hundred fighting-men at Saratoga. It not merely changed the relations of England and the feelings of Europe towards these insurgent colonies, but it has modified, for all times to come, the connection between every colony and every parent state."

—Lord Mahon.





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"Brilliant generalship in itself is a frightening thing – the very idea that the thought processes of a single brain of a Hannibal or a Scipio can play themselves out in the destruction of thousands of young men in an afternoon."



– Victor Davis Hanson, *CARNAGE AND CULTURE: LANDMARK BATTLES IN THE RISE OF WESTERN POWER* (NY: Doubleday, 2001)



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Of the four great powers that now principally rule the political destinies of the world, France and England are the only two whose influence can be dated back beyond the last century and a half. The third great power, Russia, was a feeble mass of barbarism before the epoch of Peter the Great; and the very existence of the fourth great power, as an independent nation, commenced within the memory of living men. By the fourth great power of the world I mean the mighty commonwealth of the western continent, which now commands the admiration of mankind. That homage is sometimes reluctantly given, and accompanied with suspicion and ill will. But none can refuse it. All the physical essentials for national strength are undeniably to be found in the geographical position and amplitude of territory which the United States possess; in their almost inexhaustible tracts of fertile, but hitherto untouched, soil; in their stately forests, in their mountain-chains and their rivers, their beds of coal, and stores of metallic wealth; in their extensive sea-board along the waters of two oceans, and in their already numerous and rapidly increasing population. And, when we examine the character of this population, no one can look on the fearless energy, the sturdy determination, the aptitude for local self government, the versatile alacrity, and the unresting spirit of enterprise, which characterize the Anglo-Americans, without feeling that he here beholds the true moral elements of progressive might.

Three quarters of a century have not yet passed away since the United States ceased to be mere dependencies of England. And even if we date their origin from the period, when the first permanent European settlements, out of which they grew, were made on the western coast of the North Atlantic, the increase of their strength is unparalleled, either in rapidity or extent. The ancient Roman boasted, with reason, of the growth of Rome from humble beginnings to the greatest magnitude which the world had then ever witnessed. But the citizen of the United States is still more justly entitled to claim this praise. In two centuries and a half his country has acquired ampler dominion than the Roman gained in ten. And, even if we credit the legend of the band of shepherds and outlaws with which Romulus is said to have colonized the Seven Hills, we find not there so small a germ of future greatness, as we find in the group of a hundred and five ill-chosen and disunited emigrants who founded Jamestown in 1607, or in the scanty band of the Pilgrim Fathers, who, a few years later, moored their bark on the wild and rock-bound coast of the wilderness that was to become New England. The power of the United States is emphatically the "Imperium quo neque ab exordio ullum fere minus, neque incrementis tote orbe amplius humana potest memoria recordari." - Eutropius.

Nothing is more calculated to impress the mind with a sense of the rapidity with which the resources of the American Republic advance, than the difficulty which the historical inquirer finds in ascertaining their precise amount. If he consults the most recent works, and those written by the ablest investigators of



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the subject, he finds in them admiring comments on the change which the last few years, before those books were written, had made; but when he turns to apply the estimates in those books to the present moment, he finds them wholly inadequate. Before a book on the subject of the United States has lost its novelty, those states have outgrown the description which it contains. The celebrated work of the French statesman, De Tocqueville, appeared about fifteen years ago. In the passage which I am about to quote, it will be seen that he predicts the constant increase of the Anglo-American power, but he looks on the Rocky Mountains as their extreme western limit for many years to come. He had evidently no expectation of himself seeing that power dominant along the Pacific as well as along the Atlantic coast. He says: "The distance from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico extends from the 47th to the 30th degree of latitude, a distance of more than 1200 miles, as the bird flies. The frontier of the United States winds along the whole of this immense line; sometimes falling within its limits, but more frequently extending far beyond it into the waste. It has been calculated that the Whites advance every year a mean distance of seventeen miles along the whole of this vast boundary. Obstacles, such as an unproductive district, a lake, or an Indian nation unexpectedly encountered, are sometimes met with. The advancing column then halts for a while; its two extremities fall back upon themselves, and as soon as they are reunited they proceed onwards. This gradual and continuous progress of the European race towards the Rocky Mountains has the solemnity of a Providential event: it is like a deluge of men rising unabatedly, and daily driven onwards by the hand of God.

"Within this first line of conquering settlers towns are built, and vast estates founded. In 1790 there were only a few thousand pioneers sprinkled along the valleys of the Mississippi: and at the present day these valleys contain as many inhabitants as were to be found in the whole Union in 1790. Their population amounts to nearly four millions. The city of Washington was founded in 1800, in the very center of the Union; but such are the changes which have taken place, that it now stands at one of the extremities; and the delegates of the most, remote Western States are already obliged to perform a journey as long as that from Vienna to Paris.

"It must not, then, be imagined that the impulse of the British race in the New World can be arrested. The dismemberment of the Union, and the hostilities which might ensue, the abolition of republican institutions, and the tyrannical government which might succeed it, may retard this impulse, but they cannot prevent it from ultimately fulfilling the destinies to which that race is reserved. No power upon earth can close upon the emigrants that fertile wilderness, which offers resources to all industry and a refuge from all want. Future events, of whatever nature they may be, will, not deprive the Americans of their climate or of their



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inland seas, or of their great rivers, or of their exuberant soil. Nor will bad laws, revolutions, and anarchy be able to obliterate that love of prosperity and that spirit of enterprise which seem to be the distinctive characteristics of their race, or to extinguish that knowledge which guides them on their way.

"Thus, in the midst of the uncertain future, one event at least is sure. At a period which may be said to be near (for we are speaking of the life of a nation), the Anglo-Americans will alone cover the immense space contained between the Polar regions and the Tropics, extending from the coast of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean; the territory which will probably be occupied by the Anglo-Americans at some future time, may be computed to equal three quarters of Europe in extent. The climate of the Union is upon the whole preferable to that of Europe, and its natural advantages are not less great; it is therefore evident that its population will at some future time be proportionate to our own. Europe, divided as it is between so many different nations, and torn as it has been by incessant wars and the barbarous manners of the Middle Ages, has notwithstanding attained a population of 410 inhabitants to the square league. What cause can prevent the United States from having as numerous a population in time?

"The time will therefore come when one hundred and fifty millions of men will be living in North America, equal in condition, the progeny of one race, owing their origin to the same cause, and preserving the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and imbued with the same opinions, propagated under the same forms. The rest is uncertain, but this is certain; and it is a fact new to the world, a fact fraught with such portentous consequences as to baffle the efforts even of the imagination."

Let us turn from the French statesman writing in 1535, to an English statesman, who is justly regarded as the highest authority on all statistical subjects, and who described the United States only seven years ago, Macgregor tells us-

"The States which, on the ratification of independence, formed the American Republican Union, were thirteen, viz.:-

"Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

"The foregoing thirteen states (the whole inhabited territory of which, with the exception of a few small settlements, was confined to the region extending



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between the Allegheny mountains and the Atlantic) were those which existed at the period when they became an acknowledged separate and independent federal sovereign power. The thirteen stripes of the standard or flag of the United States, continue to represent the original number. The stars have multiplied to twenty-six, [Fresh stars have dawned since this was written.] according as the number of States have increased.

"The territory of the thirteen original States of the Union, including Maine and Vermont, comprehended a superficies of 371,124 English square miles; that of the whole United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 120,354; that of France, including Corsica, 214,910; that of the Austrian Empire, including Hungary and all the Imperial States; 257,540 English square miles.

"The present superficies of the twenty-six constitutional States of the Anglo-American Union, and the district of Columbia, and territories of Florida, include 1,029,025 square miles; to which if we add the northwest, or Wisconsin territory, east of the Mississippi, and bounded by Lake Superior on the north, and Michigan on the east, and occupying at least 100,000 square miles, and then add the great western region, not yet well-defined territories, but at the most limited calculation comprehending 700,000 square miles, the whole unbroken in its vast length and breadth by foreign nations, comprehends a portion of the earth's surface equal to 1,729,025 English, or 1,296,770 geographical square miles."

We may add that the population of the States, when they declared their independence, was about two millions and a half; it is now twenty-three millions.

I have quoted Macgregor, not only on account of the clear and full view which he gives of the progress of America to the date when he wrote, but because his description may be contrasted with what the United States have become even since his book appeared. Only three years after the time when Macgregor thus wrote, the American President truly stated:-

"Within less than four years the annexation of Texas to the Union has been consummated; all conflicting title to the Oregon territory, south of the 49th degree of north latitude, adjusted; and New Mexico and Upper [California](#) have been acquired by treaty. The area of these several territories contains 1,193,061 square miles, or 763,559,040 acres; while the area of the remaining twenty-nine States, and the territory not yet organized into States east of the Rocky Mountains, contains 2,059,513 square miles, or 1,318,126,058 acres. These estimates show that the territories recently acquired, and over which our exclusive jurisdiction and dominion have been extended, constitute a country more than half as large as all that



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which was held by the United States before their acquisition. If Oregon be excluded from the estimate, there will still remain within the limits of Texas, New Mexico, and California, 851,595 square miles, or 545,012,720 acres; being an addition equal to more than one-third of all the territory owned by the United States before their acquisition; and, including Oregon, nearly as great an extent of territory as the whole of Europe, Russia only excepted. The Mississippi, so lately the frontier of our country, is now only its center. With the addition of the late acquisitions, the United States are now estimated to be nearly as large as the whole of Europe. The extent of the sea-coast of Texas on the Gulf of Mexico is upwards of 400 miles; of the coast of Upper California, on the Pacific, of 970 miles; and of Oregon, including the Straits of Fuca, of 650 miles; making the whole extent of sea coast on the Pacific 1620 miles; and the whole extent on both the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico, 2020 miles. The length of the coast on the Atlantic, from the northern limits of the United States, round the Capes of Florida to the Sabine on the eastern boundary of Texas, is estimated to be 3100 miles, so that the addition of seacoast, including Oregon, is very nearly two-thirds as great as all we possessed before; and, excluding Oregon, is an addition of 1370 miles; being nearly equal to one-half of the extent of coast which we possessed before these acquisitions. We have now three great maritime fronts—on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific, making, in the whole, an extent of sea-coast exceeding 5000 miles. This is the extent of the seacoast of the United States, not including bays, sounds, and small irregularities of the main shore, and of the sea islands. If these be included, the length of the, shore line of coast, as estimated by the superintendent of the Coast Survey, in his report, would be 33,063 miles.”

The importance of the power of the United States being then firmly planted along the Pacific applies not only to the New World, but to the Old. Opposite to San Francisco, on the coast of that ocean, lie the wealthy but decrepit empires of China and Japan. Numerous groups of islets stud the larger part of the intervening sea, and form convenient stepping-stones for the progress of commerce or ambition. The intercourse of traffic between these ancient Asiatic monarchies, and the young Anglo-American Republic, must be rapid and extensive. Any attempt of the Chinese or Japanese rulers to check it, will only accelerate an armed collision. The American will either buy or force his way. Between such populations as that of China and Japan on the one side, and that of the United States on the other — the former haughty, formal, and insolent, the latter bold, intrusive, and unscrupulous — causes of quarrel must,



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sooner or later, arise. The results of such a quarrel cannot be doubted. America will scarcely imitate the forbearance shown by England at the end of our late war with the Celestial Empire; and the conquests of China and Japan, by the fleets and armies of the United States, are events which many now living are likely to witness. Compared with the magnitude of such changes in the dominion of the Old World, the certain ascendancy of the Anglo-Americans over Central and Southern America, seems a matter of secondary importance. Well may we repeat De Tocqueville's words, that the growing power of this commonwealth is, "Un fait entierement nouveau dans le monde, et dont l'imagination elle-meme ne saurait saisir la portee." [These remarks were written in May 1981, and now, in May 1853, a powerful squadron of American war-steamers has been sent to Japan, for the ostensible purpose of securing protection for the crews of American vessels shipwrecked on the Japanese coasts, but also evidently for important ulterior purposes.]

An Englishman may look, and ought to look, on the growing grandeur of the Americans with no small degree of generous sympathy and satisfaction. They, like ourselves, are members of the great Anglo-Saxon nation, "whose race and language are now overrunning the world from one end of it to the other." And whatever differences of form of government may exist between us and them; whatever reminiscences of the days when, though brethren, we strove together, may rankle in the minds of us, the defeated party; we should cherish the bonds of common nationality that still exist between us. We should remember, as the Athenians remembered of the Spartans at a season of jealousy and temptation, that our race is one, being of the same blood, speaking the same language, having an essential resemblance in our institutions and usage's, and worshipping in the temples of the same God. All this may and should be borne in mind. And yet an Englishman can hardly watch the progress of America, without the regretful thought that America once was English, and that, but for the folly of our rulers, she might be English still. It is true that the commerce between the two countries has largely and beneficially increased; but this is no proof that the increase would not have been still greater, had the States remained integral portions of the same great empire. By giving a fair and just participation in political rights, these, "the fairest possessions" of the British crown, might have been preserved to it. "This ancient and most noble monarchy" [Lord Chatham] would not have been dismembered; nor should we see that which ought to be the right arm of our strength, now menacing us in every political crisis, as the most formidable rival of our commercial and maritime ascendancy.

The war which rent away the North American colonies of England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in



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disaster and shame. But the contemplation of it cannot be evaded by the historian, however much it may be abhorred. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind, than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777; a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection; and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, ensured the independence of the United States, and the formation of that transatlantic power which, not only America, but both Europe and Asia, now see and feel. Still, in proceeding to describe this "decisive battle of the world," a very brief recapitulation of the earlier events of the war may be sufficient; nor shall I linger unnecessarily on a painful theme.

The five northern colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, usually classed together as the New England colonies, were the strongholds of the insurrection against the mother-country. The feeling of resistance was less vehement and general in the central settlement of New York; and still less so in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the other colonies of the south, although everywhere it was formidably active. Virginia should, perhaps, be particularized for the zeal which its leading men displayed in the American cause; but it was among the descendants of the stern Puritans that the spirit of Cromwell and Vane breathed in all its fervor; it was from the New Englanders that the first armed opposition to the British crown had been offered; and it was by them that the most stubborn determination to fight to the last, rather than waive a single right or privilege, had been displayed. In 1775, they had succeeded in forcing the British troops to evacuate Boston; and the events of 1716 had made New York (which the royalists captured in that year) the principal basis of operations for the armies of the mother-country.

A glance at the map will show that the Hudson river, which falls into the Atlantic at New York, runs down from the north at the back of the New England States, forming an angle of about forty-five degrees with the line of the coast of the Atlantic, along which the New England states are situate. Northward of the Hudson, we see a small chain of lakes communicating with the Canadian frontier. It is necessary to attend closely to these geographical points, in order to understand the plan of the operations which the English attempted in 1777, and which the battle of Saratoga defeated.

The English had a considerable force in Canada, and in 1776 had completely repulsed an attack which the Americans had made upon that province. The British ministry resolved to avail themselves, in the next year, of the advantage which the occupation of Canada gave them, not merely for the purpose of defense, but for the purpose; of striking a vigorous and crushing blow against the revolted colonies. With this view, the army in Canada was largely reinforced. Seven thousand veteran troops were sent out from England, with a corps of artillery abundantly supplied, and led by select. and experienced



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officers. Large quantities of military stores were also furnished for the equipment of the Canadian volunteers, who were expected to join the expedition. It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson river. The British army in New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany, a town on that river. By these operations all communication between the northern colonies and those of the center and south would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England; and when this was done, it was believed that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Their principal army, under Washington, was occupied in watching over Pennsylvania and the south. At ally rate it was believed that, in order to oppose the plan intended for the new campaign, the insurgents must risk a pitched battle, in which the superiority of the royalists, in numbers, in discipline, and in equipment, seemed to promise to the latter a crowning victory. Without question the plan was ably formed; and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the re-conquest or submission of the thirteen United States must, in all human probability, have followed; and the independence which they proclaimed in 1776 would have been extinguished before it existed a second year. No European power had as yet. come forward to aid America. It is true that England was generally regarded with jealousy and ill-will, and was thought to have acquired, at the treaty of Paris, a preponderance of dominion which was perilous to the balance of power; but though many were willing to wound, none had yet ventured to strike; and America, if defeated in 1777, would have been suffered to fall unaided.

In Lord Albemarle's "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham" is contained the following remarkable state paper, drawn up by King George III himself respecting the plan of Burgoyne's expedition. The original is in the king's own hand.

"REMARKS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR FROM CANADA.

"The outlines of the plan seem to be on a proper foundation. The rank and file of the army now in Canada (including the 11th Regiment of British, M'Clean's. corps, the Brunswick's and Hanover), amount to 10,527; add the eleven additional companies and four hundred Hanover Chasseurs, the total will be 11,443.

"As sickness and other contingencies must be expected, I should think not above 7000 effectives can be spared over Lake Champlain; for it would be highly imprudent to run any risk in Canada.

"The fixing the stations of those left in the province may not be quite right, though the plan proposed may be recommended. Indians must be employed, and this measure must be avowedly directed, and Carleton must be in the



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strongest manner directed that the Apollo shall be ready by that day, to receive Burgoyne.

"The magazines must be formed with the greatest expedition, at Crown Point.

"If possible, possession must be taken of Lake George, and nothing but an absolute impossibility of succeeding in this, can be an excuse for proceeding by South Bay and Skeenborough.

"As Sir W. Howe does not think of acting from Rhode Island into the Massachusetts, the force from Canada must join him in Albany.

"The diversion on the Mohawk River ought at least to be strengthened by the addition of the four hundred Hanover Chasseurs.

"The Ordnance ought to furnish a complete proportion of entrenching tools.

"The provisions ought to be calculated for a third more than the effective soldiery, and the General ordered to avoid delivering these when the army can be subsisted by the country. Bourgoyne certainly greatly undervalues the German recruits.

"The idea of carrying the army by sea to Sir W. Howe, would certainly require the leaving a much larger part of it in Canada, as in that case the rebel army would divide that province from the immense one under Sir W. Howe. I greatly dislike this last idea."

Burgoyne had gained celebrity by some bold and dashing exploits in Portugal during the last war, he was personally as brave an officer as ever headed British troops; he had considerable skill as a tactician; and his general intellectual abilities and acquirements were of a high order. He had several very able and experienced officers under him, among whom were Major-General Phillips and Brigadier-General Frazer. His regular troops amounted, exclusively of the corps of artillery, to about seven thousand two hundred men, rank and file. Nearly half of these were Germans. He had also an auxiliary force of from two to three thousand Canadians. He summoned the warriors of several tribes of the Red Indians near the western lakes to join his army. Much eloquence was poured forth, both in America and in England, in denouncing the use of these savage auxiliaries. Yet Burgoyne seems to have done no more than Montcalm, Wolfe, and other French, American, and English generals had done before him. But, in truth, the lawless ferocity of the Indians, their unskillfulness in regular action, and the utter impossibility of bringing them under any discipline, made their services of little or no value in times of difficulty: while the indignation which their outrages inspired, went far to rouse the whole population of the invaded districts into active hostilities

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against Burgoyne's force.



Burgoyne assembled his troops and confederates near the river Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain. He then, on the 21st of June, 1777, gave his Red Allies a war-feast, and harangued them on the necessity of abstaining from their usual cruel practices against unarmed people and prisoners. At the same time he published a pompous manifesto to the Americans, in which he threatened the refractory with all the horrors of war, Indian as well as European. The army proceeded by water to Crown Point, a fortification which the Americans held at the northern extremity of the inlet by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. He landed here without opposition; but the reduction of Ticonderoga, a fortification about twelve miles to the south of Crown Point, was a more serious matter, and was supposed to be the critical part of the expedition. Ticonderoga commanded the passage along the lakes, and was considered to be the key to the route which Burgoyne wished to follow. The English had been repulsed in an attack on it in the war with the French in 1758 with severe loss. But Burgoyne now invested it with great skill; and the American General, St. Clair, who had only an ill equipped army of about three thousand men, evacuated it on the 5th of July. It seems evident that a different course would have caused the destruction or capture of his whole army; which, weak as it was, was the chief force then in the field for the protection of the New England states. When censured by some of his countrymen for abandoning Ticonderoga, St. Clair truly replied, "that he had lost a post, but saved a province." Burgoyne's troops pursued the retiring Americans, gained several advantages over them, and took a large

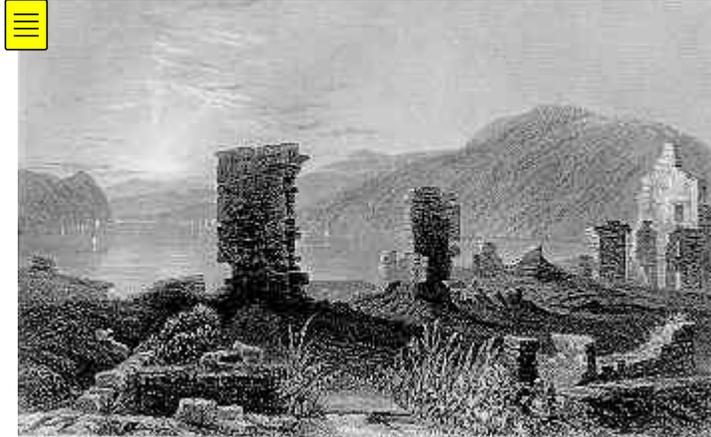
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part of their artillery and military stores.



The loss of the British in these engagements was trifling. The army moved southward along Lake George to Skenesborough; and thence, slowly, and with great difficulty, across a broken country, full of creeks and marshes, and clogged by the enemy with felled trees and other obstacles, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson river, the American troops continuing to retire before them.

Burgoyne reached the left bank of the Hudson river on the 30th of July. Hitherto he had overcome every difficulty which the enemy and the nature of the country had placed in his way. His army was in excellent order and in the highest spirits; and the peril of the expedition seemed over, when they were once on the bank of the river which was to be the channel of communication between them and the British army in the south. But their feelings, and those of the English nation in general when their successes were announced, may best be learned from a contemporary writer. Burke, in the "Annual Register" for 1777, describes them thus:-

"Such was the rapid torrent of success, which swept everything away before the northern army in its onset. It is not to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their good fortune, and deemed that and their prowess to be irresistible; if they regarded their enemy with the greatest contempt; considered their own toils to be nearly at an end; Albany to be already in their hands; and the reduction of the northern provinces to be rather a matter of some time, than an arduous task full of difficulty and danger.

"At home, the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all those who hoped or wished the unqualified subjugation, and unconditional submission of the colonies. The loss in reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal consequences, than even that of ground, of posts, of artillery, or of men. All the contemptuous and most degrading charges



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which had been made by their enemies, of their wanting the resolution and abilities of men, even in their defense of whatever was dear to them, were now repeated and believed. Those who still regarded them as men, and who had not yet lost all affection to them as brethren, who also retained hopes that a happy reconciliation upon constitutional principles, without sacrificing the dignity or the just authority of government on the one side, or a dereliction of the rights of freemen on the other, was not even now impossible, notwithstanding their favorable dispositions in general, could not help feeling upon this occasion that the Americans sunk not a little in their estimation. It was not difficult to diffuse an opinion that the war in effect was over; and that any further resistance could serve only to render the terms of their submission the worse. Such were some of the immediate effects of the loss of those grand keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the lakes."

The astonishment and alarm which these events produced among the Americans were naturally great but in the midst of their disasters none of the colonists showed any disposition to submit. The local governments of the New England States, as well as the Congress, acted with vigor and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was sent to take the command of the army at Saratoga; and Arnold, a favorite leader of the Americans, was dispatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army. Burgoyne's employment of the Indians now produced the worst possible effects. Though he labored hard to check the atrocities which they were accustomed to commit, he could not prevent the occurrence of many barbarous outrages, repugnant both to the feelings of humanity and to the laws of civilized warfare. The American commanders took care that the reports of these excesses should be circulated far and wide, well knowing that they would make the stern New Englanders not droop, but rage. Such was their effect; and though, when each man looked upon his wife, his children, his sisters, or his aged parents, the thought of the merciless Indian "thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child," of "the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating the mangled victims of his barbarous battles," [Lord Chatham's speech on the employment of Indians in the war.] might raise terror in the bravest breasts; this very terror produced a directly contrary effect to causing submission to the royal army. It was seen that the few friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were liable to be the victims of the indiscriminate rage of the savages; [See in the "Annual Register" for 1777, page 117, the "Narrative of the Murder of Miss M'Crea, the daughter of an American loyalist."] and thus "the inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting: they had no means of security left, but by abandoning their habitations and taking up arms. Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defense of those



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connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army seemed to be entirely wasted, the spirit of the country produced a much greater and more formidable force."

While resolute recruits, accustomed to the use of firearms, and all partially trained by service in the provincial militias, were thus flocking to the standard of Gates and Arnold at Saratoga; and while Burgoyne was engaged at Fort Edward in providing the means for the further advance of his army through the intricate and hostile country that still lay before him, two events occurred, in each of which the British sustained loss, and the Americans obtained advantage, the moral effects of which were even more important than the immediate result of the encounters. When Burgoyne left Canada, General St. Leger was detached from that province with a mixed force of about one thousand men, and some light field-pieces, across Lake Ontario against Fort Stanwix: which the Americans held. After capturing this, he was to march along the Mohawk river to its confluence with the Hudson, between Saratoga and Albany, where his force and that of Burgoyne were to unite. But, after some successes, St. Leger was obliged to retreat, and to abandon his tents and large quantities of stores to the garrison. At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster, he experienced one still more severe in the defeat of Colonel Baum with a large detachment of German troops at Bennington, whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need. The Americans, augmented by continual accessions of strength, succeeded, after many attacks, in breaking this corps, which fled into the woods, and left its commander mortally wounded on the field: they then marched against a force of five hundred grenadiers and light infantry, which was advancing to Colonel Baum's assistance, under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman; who, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to retreat on the main army. The British loss in these two actions exceeded six hundred men: and a party of American loyalists, on their way to join the army, having attached themselves to Colonel Baum's corps, were destroyed with it.

Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. It was impossible any longer to keep up his communications with Canada by way of the lakes, so as to supply his army on his southward march; but having by unremitting exertions collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and, marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of SARATOGA, about sixteen miles from Albany. The Americans had fallen back from Saratoga, and were now strongly posted near Stillwater, about half way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no farther.



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Meanwhile Lord Howe, with the bulk of the British army that had lain at New York, had sailed away to the Delaware, and there commenced a campaign against Washington, in which the English general took Philadelphia, and gained other showy, but unprofitable successes. But Sir Henry Clinton, a brave and skillful officer, was left with a considerable force at New York; and he undertook the task of moving up the Hudson to cooperate with Burgoyne. Clinton was obliged for this purpose to wait for reinforcements which had been promised from England, and these did not arrive till September. As soon as he received them, Clinton embarked about 3000 of his men on a flotilla, convoyed by some ships of war under Commander Hotham, and proceeded to force his way up the river, but it was long before he was able to open any communication with Burgoyne.

The country between Burgoyne's position at Saratoga and that of the Americans at Stillwater was rugged, and seamed with creeks and water-courses; but after great labor in making bridges and temporary causeways, the British army moved forward. About four miles from Saratoga, on the afternoon of the 19th of September, a sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing, under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy, under Gates and Arnold. The conflict lasted till sunset. The British remained masters of the field; but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men); and the spirits of the Americans were greatly raised by having withstood the best regular troops of the English army. Burgoyne now halted again, and strengthened his position by fieldwork's and redoubts; and the Americans also improved their defenses. The two armies remained nearly within cannon-shot of each other for a considerable time, during which Burgoyne was anxiously looking for intelligence of the promised expedition from New York, which, according to the original plan, ought by this time to have been approaching Albany from the south. At last, a messenger from Clinton made his way, with great difficulty, to Burgoyne's camp, and brought the information that Clinton was on his way up the Hudson to attack the American forts which barred the passage up that river to Albany. Burgoyne, in reply, on the 30th of September, urged Clinton to attack the forts as speedily as possible, stating that the effect of such an attack, or even the semblance of it, would be to move the American army from its position before his own troops. By another messenger, who reached Clinton on the 5th of October, Burgoyne informed his brother general that he had lost his communications with Canada, but had provisions which would last him till the 20th. Burgoyne described himself as strongly posted, and stated that though the Americans in front of him were strongly posted also, he made no doubt of being able to force them, and making his way to Albany; but that he doubted whether he could subsist there, as the country was drained of provisions. He wished Clinton to meet him there, and to keep open a communication with New York. Burgoyne had over-estimated his resources, and in the very beginning of October found difficulty and distress pressing him hard.



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The Indians and Canadians began to desert him; while, on the other hand, Gates's army was continually reinforced by fresh bodies of the militia. An expeditionary force was detached by the Americans, which made a bold, though unsuccessful, attempt to retake Ticonderoga. And finding the number and spirit of the enemy to increase daily, and his own stores of provision to diminish, Burgoyne determined on attacking the Americans in front of him, and by dislodging them from their position, to gain the means of moving upon Albany, or at least of relieving his troops from the straitened position in which they were cooped up.

Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than 6000 men. The right of his camp was on some high ground a little to the west of the river; thence his entrenchment's extended along the lower ground to the bank of the Hudson, the line of their front being nearly at a right angle with the course of the stream. The lines were fortified with redoubts and field-works, and on a height on the flank of the extreme right a strong redoubt was reaped, and entrenchment's, in a horse-shoe form, thrown up. The Hessians, under Colonel Breyman, were stationed here, forming a flank defense to Burgoyne's main army. The numerical force of the Americans was now greater than the British, even in regular troops, and the numbers of the militia and volunteers which had joined Gates and Arnold were greater still.

General Lincoln, with 2000 New England troops, had reached the American camp on the 29th of September. Gates gave him the command of the right wing, and took in person the command of the left wing, which was composed of two brigades under Generals Poor and Leonard, of Colonel Morgan's rifle corps, and part of the fresh New England Militia. The whole of the American lines had been ably fortified under the direction of the celebrated Polish General, Kosciusko, who was now serving as a volunteer in Gates's army. The right of the American position, that is to say, the part of it nearest to the river, was too strong to be assailed with any prospect of success: and Burgoyne therefore determined to endeavor to force their left. For this purpose he formed a column of 1500 regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders. He headed this in person, having Generals Philips, Reidesel, and Fraser under him. The enemy's force immediately in front of his lines was so strong that he dared not weaken the troops who guarded them, by detaching any more to strengthen his column of attack.

It was on the 7th of October that Burgoyne led his column forward; and on the preceding day, the 6th, Clinton had successfully executed a brilliant enterprise against the two American forts which barred his progress up the Hudson. He had captured them both, with severe loss to the American forces opposed to him; he had destroyed the fleet which the Americans had been forming on the Hudson, under the protection of their forts; and the upward river was laid open to his squadron. He had also, with admirable skill and industry, collected in small vessels, such as could float within a few miles of Albany, provisions sufficient to supply Burgoyne's army for six months.



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He was now only a hundred and fifty-six miles distant from Burgoyne; and a detachment of 1700 men actually advanced within forty miles of Albany. Unfortunately Burgoyne and Clinton were each ignorant of the other's movements; but if Burgoyne had won his battle on the 7th, he must on advancing have soon learned the tidings of Clinton's success, and Clinton would have heard of his. A junction would soon have been made of the two victorious armies, and the great objects of the campaign might yet have been accomplished. All depended on the fortune of the column with which Burgoyne, on the eventful 7th of October, 1777, advanced against the American position. There were brave men, both English and German, in its ranks; and in particular it comprised one of the best bodies of grenadiers in the British service.

Burgoyne pushed forward some bodies of irregular troops to distract the enemy's attention; and led his column to within three quarters of a mile from the left of Gates's camp, and then deployed his men into line. The grenadiers under Major Ackland, and the artillery under Major Williams, were drawn up on the left; a corps of Germans, under General Reidesel, and some British troops under General Phillips, were in the center, and the English Light Infantry, and the 24th regiment, under Lord Balcarres and General Fraser, were on the right. But Gates did not wait to be attacked; and directly the British line was formed and began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused General Poor's brigade of New York and New Hampshire troops, and part of General Leonard's brigade, to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left, and at the same time sent Colonel Morgan, with his rifle corps and other troops, amounting to 1500, to turn the right of the English. The grenadiers under Ackland sustained the charge of superior numbers nobly. But Gates sent, more Americans forward, and in a few minutes the action became general along the center, so as to prevent the Germans from detaching any help to the grenadiers. Morgan, with his riflemen, was now pressing Lord Balcarres and General Fraser hard, and fresh masses of the enemy were observed advancing from their extreme left, with the evident intention of forcing the British right, and cutting off its retreat. The English light infantry and the 24th now fell back, and formed an oblique second line, which enabled them to baffle this maneuver, and also to succor their comrades in the left wing, the gallant grenadiers, who were overpowered by superior numbers, and, but for this aid, must have been cut to pieces.

The contest now was fiercely maintained on both sides. The English cannon were repeatedly taken and retaken; but when the grenadiers near them were forced back by the weight of superior numbers, one of the guns was permanently captured by the Americans, and turned upon the English. Major Williams and Major Ackland were both made prisoners, and in this part of the field the advantage of the Americans was decided. The British center still held its ground; but now it was that the American general Arnold appeared upon the scene, and did more for his countrymen



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than whole battalions could have effected. Arnold, when the decisive engagement of the 7th of October commenced, had been deprived of his command by Gates, in consequence of a quarrel between them about the action of the 19th of September. He had listened for a short time in the American camp to the thunder of the battle, in which he had no military right to take part, either as commander or as combatant. But his excited spirit could not long endure such a state of inaction. He called for his horse, a powerful brown charger, and springing on it, galloped furiously to where the fight seemed to be the thickest. Gates saw him, and sent an aide-de-camp to recall him; but Arnold spurred far in advance, and placed himself at the head of three regiments which had formerly been under him, and which welcomed their old commander with joyous cheers. He led them instantly upon the British center; and then galloping along the American line, he issued orders for a renewed and a closer attack, which were obeyed with alacrity, Arnold himself setting the example of the most daring personal bravery, and charging more than once, sword in hand, into the English ranks. On the British side the officers did their duty nobly; but General Frazer was the most eminent of them all restoring order wherever the line began to waver, and infusing fresh courage into his men by voice and example. Mounted on an iron-gray charger, and dressed in the full uniform of a general officer, he was conspicuous to foes as well as to friends. The American Colonel Morgan thought that the fate of the battle rested on this gallant man's life, and calling several of his best marksmen round him, pointed Frazer out, and said: "That officer is General Frazer; I admire him, but he must die. Our victory depends on it. Take your stations in that clump of bushes, and do your duty." Within five minutes, Frazer fell mortally wounded, and was carried to the British camp by two grenadiers. Just previously to his being struck by the fatal bullet, one rifle-ball had cut the crupper of his saddle, and another had passed through his horse's mane close behind the ears. His aide-de-camp had noticed this, had said:

"It is evident that you are marked out for particular aim; would it not be prudent for you to retire from this place?"

Frazer replied:

"My duty forbids me to fly from danger;"

and the next moment he fell. Burgoyne's whole force was now compelled to retreat towards their camp; the left and center were in complete disorder, but the light infantry and the 24th checked the fury of the assailants, and the remains of the column with great difficulty effected their return to their camp; leaving six of their cannons in the possession of the enemy, and great numbers of killed and wounded on the field; and especially a large proportion of the artillery men, who had stood to their guns until shot down or bayoneted beside them by the advancing Americans.

Burgoyne's column had been defeated, but the action was not yet

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over. The English had scarcely entered the camp when the Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with remarkable impetuosity, rushing in upon the entrenchment's and redoubts through a severe fire of grape-shot and musketry. Arnold especially, who on this day appeared maddened with the thirst of combat and carnage, urged on the attack against a part of the entrenchment's which was occupied by the light infantry under Lord Balcarres. But the English received him with vigor and spirit. The struggle here was obstinate and sanguinary. At length, as it grew towards evening, Arnold, having forced all obstacles, entered the works with some of the most fearless of his followers. But in this critical moment of glory and danger, he received a painful wound in the same leg which had already been injured at the assault on [Québec](#). To his bitter regret he was obliged to be carried back. His party still continued the attack, but the English also continued their obstinate resistance, and at last night fell, and the assailants withdrew from this quarter of the British entrenchment's. But in another part the attack had been more successful. A body of the Americans, under Colonel Brooke, forced their way in through a part of the horse-shoe entrenchment's on the extreme right, which was defended by the Hessian reserve under Colonel Breyman. The Germans resisted well, and Breyman died in defense of his post; but the Americans made good the ground which they had won, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. They had by establishing themselves on this point, acquired the means of completely turning the right flank of the British, and gaining their rear. To prevent this calamity, Burgoyne effected during the night an entire change of position. With great skill he removed his whole army to some heights near the river, a little northward of the former camp, and he there drew up his men, expecting to be attacked on the following day. But Gates was resolved not to risk the certain triumph which his success had already secured for him. He harassed the English with skirmishes, but attempted no regular attack. Meanwhile he detached bodies of troops on both sides of the Hudson to prevent the British from recrossing that river, and to bar their retreat. When night fell, it became absolutely necessary for Burgoyne to retire again, and, accordingly, the troops were marched through a stormy and rainy night towards Saratoga, abandoning their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their baggage, to the enemy.

Before the rear-guard quitted the camp, the last sad honors were paid to the brave General Frazer, who expired on the day after the action.

He had, almost with his last breath, expressed a wish to be buried in the redoubt which had formed the part of the British lines where he had been stationed, but which had now been abandoned by the English, and was within full range of the cannon which the advancing Americans were rapidly placing in position to bear upon Burgoyne's force. Burgoyne resolved, nevertheless, to comply with the dying wish of his comrade; and the interment



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took place under circumstances the most affecting that have ever marked a soldier's funeral. Still more interesting is the narrative of Lady Ackland's passage from the British to the American camp, after the battle, to share the captivity and alleviate the sufferings of her husband, who had been severely wounded, and left in the enemy's power. The American historian, Lossing, has described both these touching episodes of the campaign, in a spirit that does honor to the writer as well as to his subject. After narrating the death of General Frazer on the 8th of October, he says that "It was just at sunset, on that calm October evening. that the corpse of General Frazer was carried up the hill to the place of burial within the 'great redoubt.' It was attended only by the military members of his family and Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain; yet the eyes of hundreds of both armies followed the solemn procession, while the Americans, ignorant of its true character, kept up a constant cannonade upon the redoubt. The chaplain, unawed by the danger to which he was exposed, as the cannon-balls that struck the hill threw the loose soil over him, pronounced the impressive funeral service of the Church of England with an unfaltering voice. The growing darkness added solemnity to the scene. Suddenly the irregular firing ceased, and the solemn voice of a single cannon, at measured intervals, boomed along the valley, and awakened the responses of the hills. It was a minute gun fired by the Americans in honor of the gallant dead. The moment the information was given that the gathering at the redoubt was a funeral company, fulfilling, at imminent peril, the last-breathed wishes of the noble Frazer, orders were issued to withhold the cannonade with balls, and to render military homage to the fallen brave.

"The case of Major Ackland and his heroic wife presents kindred features. He belonged to the grenadiers, and was an accomplished soldier. His wife accompanied him to Canada in 1776; and during the, whole campaign of that year, and until his return to England after the surrender of Burgoyne, in the autumn of 1777, endured all the hardships, dangers, and privations of an active campaign in an enemy's country. At Chambly, on the Sorel, she attended him in illness, in a miserable hut; and when he was wounded in the battle of Hubbardton, Vermont, she hastened to him at Henesborough from Montreal, where she had been persuaded to remain, and resolved to follow the army hereafter. Just before crossing the Hudson, she and her husband had had a narrow escape from losing their lives in consequence of their tent accidentally taking fire.

"During the terrible engagement of the 7th October, she heard all the tumult and dreadful thunder of the battle in which her husband was engaged; and when, on the morning of the 8th, the British fell back in confusion to their new position, she, with the other women, was obliged to take refuge among the dead and dying; for the tents were all struck, and hardly a shed was left



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standing. Her husband was wounded, and a Prisoner in the American camp. That gallant officer was shot through both legs. When Poor and Learned's troops assaulted the grenadiers and artillery on the British left, on the afternoon of the 7th, Wilkinson, Gates's adjutant-general, while pursuing the flying enemy when they abandoned their battery, heard a feeble voice exclaim 'Protect me, sir, against that boy.' He turned and saw a lad with a musket taking deliberate aim at a wounded British officer, lying in a corner of a low fence. Wilkinson ordered the boy to desist, and discovered the wounded man to be Major Ackland. He had him conveyed to the quarters of General Poor (now the residence of Mr. Neilson) on the heights, where every attention was paid to his wants.

"When the intelligence that he was wounded and a prisoner reached his wife, she was greatly distressed, and, by the advice of her friend, Baroness Reidesel, resolved to visit the American camp, and implore the favor of a personal attendance upon her husband. On the 9th she sent a message to Burgoyne by Lord Petersham, his aide-de-camp, asking permission to depart. 'Though I was ready to believe,' says Burgoyne, 'that patience and fortitude, in a supreme degree, were to be found, as well as every other virtue, under the most tender forms, I was astonished at this proposal. After so long an agitation of spirits, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely want of food, drenched in rains for twelve hours together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking as delivering herself to an enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assistance I was able to give was small indeed. I had not even a cup of wine to offer her. All I could furnish her with was an open boat, and a few lines, written upon dirty wet paper, to General Gates, recommending her to his protection.' The following is a copy of the note sent by Burgoyne to General Gates — 'Sir, — Lady Harriet Ackland, a lady of the first distinction of family, rank, and personal virtues, is under such concern on account of Major Ackland, her husband, wounded and a prisoner in your hands, that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection. Whatever general impropriety there may be in persons of my situation and yours to solicit favors, I cannot see the uncommon perseverance in every female grace, and the exaltation of character of this lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligations. I am, sir, your obedient servant, J. Burgoyne.' She set out in an open boat upon the Hudson, accompanied by Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain, Sarah Pollard, her waiting-maid, and her husband's valet, who had been severely



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wounded, while searching for his master upon the battlefield. It was about sunset when they started, and a violent storm of rain and wind, which had been increasing since the morning, rendered the voyage tedious and perilous in the extreme. It was long after dark when they reached the American out-posts; the sentinel heard their oars, and hailed them. Lady Harriet returned the answer herself. The clear, silvery tones of a woman's voice amid the darkness, filled the soldier on duty with superstitious fear, and he called a comrade to accompany him to the river bank. The errand of the voyagers was made known, but the faithful guard, apprehensive of treachery, would not allow them to land until they sent for Major Dearborn. They were invited by that officer to his quarters, where every attention was paid to them, and Lady Harriet was comforted by the joyful tidings that her husband was safe. In the morning she experienced parental tenderness from General Gates, who sent her to her husband, at Poor's quarters, under a suitable escort. There she remained until he was removed to Albany."

Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga; and hemmed in by the enemy, who refused any encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate. The fortitude of the British army during this melancholy period has been justly eulogized by many native historians, but I prefer quoting the testimony of a foreign writer, as free from all possibility of partiality. Botta says:

"It exceeds the power of words to describe the pitiable condition to which the British army was now reduced. The troops were worn down by a series of toil, privation, sickness, and desperate fighting. They were abandoned by the Indians and Canadians; and the effective force of the whole army was now diminished by repeated and heavy losses, which had principally fallen on the best soldiers, and the most distinguished officers, from ten thousand combatants to less than one-half that number. Of this remnant, little more than three thousand were English.

"In these circumstances, and thus weakened, they were invested by an army of four times their own number, whose position extended three parts of a circle round them; who refused to fight them, as knowing their weakness, and who, from the nature of the ground, could not be attacked in any part. In this helpless condition, obliged to be constantly under arms, while the enemy's cannon played on every part of their camp, and even the American rifle-balls whistled in many parts of the lines, the troops of Burgoyne retained their customary firmness, and while sinking under a hard necessity, they showed themselves worthy of a better fate. They could



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not be reproached with an action or a word, which betrayed a want of temper or of fortitude."

At length the 13th of October arrived, and as no prospect of assistance appeared, and the provisions were nearly exhausted, Burgoyne, by the unanimous advice of a council of war, sent a messenger to the American camp to treat of a convention. General Gates in the first instance demanded that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed that the British should ground their arms. Burgoyne replied,

"This article is inadmissible in every extremity; sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter."

After various messages, a convention for the surrender of the army was settled, which provided that

"The troops under General Burgoyne were to march out of their camp with the honors of war, and the artillery of the entrenchment's, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery were to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage was to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest."

The articles of capitulation were settled on the 15th of October; and on that very evenings a messenger arrived from Clinton with an account of his successes, and with the tidings that part of his force had penetrated as far as Esopus, within fifty miles of Burgoyne's camp. But it was too late. The public faith was pledged; and the army was, indeed, too debilitated by fatigue and hunger to resist an attack if made; and Gates certainly would have made it, if the convention had been broken off. Accordingly, on the 17th, the convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. By this convention 5790 men surrendered themselves as prisoners. The sick and wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4689.

The British sick and wounded who had fallen into the hands of the Americans after the battle of the 7th, were treated with exemplary humanity; and when the convention was executed, General Gates showed a noble delicacy of feeling. which deserves the highest degree of honor. Every circumstance was avoided which could give the appearance of triumph. The American troops remained within their lines until the British had piled their arms; and when this was done, the vanquished officers and soldiers were received with friendly kindness by their victors, and their immediate wants were promptly and liberally supplied. Discussions and disputes afterwards arose as to some of the terms of the convention; and the American Congress refused for



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a long time to carry into effect the article which provided for the return of Burgoyne's men to Europe; but no blame was imputable to General Gates or his army, who showed themselves to be generous as they had proved themselves to be brave. Gates, after the victory, immediately dispatched Colonel Wilkinson to carry the happy tidings to Congress. On being introduced into the hall, he said,

"The whole British army has laid down its arms at Saratoga; our own, full of vigor and courage, expect your order. It is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need for their service."

Honors and rewards were liberally voted by the Congress to their conquering general and his men,

"and it would be difficult (says the Italian historian) to describe the transports of joy which the news of this event excited among the Americans. They began to flatter themselves with a, still more happy future. No one any longer felt any doubt about their achieving their independence. All hoped, and with good reason, that a success of this importance would at length determine France, and the other European powers that waited for her example, to declare themselves in favor of America. There could no longer be any question respecting the future; since there was no longer the risk of espousing the cause of a people too feeble to defend themselves."

The truth of this was soon displayed in the conduct of France. When the news arrived at Paris of the capture of Ticonderoga, and of the victorious march of Burgoyne towards Albany, events which seemed decisive in favor of the English, instructions had been immediately dispatched to Nantz, and the other ports of the kingdom, that no American privateers should be suffered to enter them, except from indispensable necessity, as to repair their vessels, to obtain provisions, or to escape the perils of the sea. The American commissioners at Paris, in their disgust and despair, had almost broken off all negotiations with the French government; and they even endeavored to open communications with the British ministry. But the British government, elated with the first successes of Burgoyne, refused to listen to any overtures for accommodation. But when the news of Saratoga reached Paris, the whole scene was changed. Franklin and his brother commissioners found all their difficulties with the French government vanish. The time seemed to have arrived for the House of Bourbon to take a full revenge for all its humiliations and losses in previous wars. In December a treaty was arranged, and formally signed in the February following, by which France acknowledged the Independent United States of America. This was, of course, tantamount to a declaration of war with England. Spain soon followed France; and before long Holland took the same course. Largely aided by French fleets and troops, the Americans vigorously maintained the war against the armies which England, in spite of her European foes, continued



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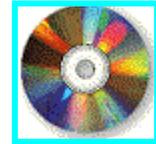
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to send across the Atlantic. but the struggle was too unequal to be maintained by this country for many years: and when the treaties of 1783 restored peace to the world. the independence of the United States was reluctantly recognized by their ancient parent and recent enemy, England.



"A victory described in detail is indistinguishable from a defeat."

— Jean-Paul Sartre



"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

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October 22, Wednesday: Slightly more than 500 Rhode Islanders under the command of Colonel [Christopher Greene](#) and about 1,200 Hessian mercenaries under the command of Count von Donop were attempting to kill one another at Fort Mercer near Red Bank, New Jersey.



**UPON THIS SPOT
ON OCTOBER 22, 1777
COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE
OF THE FIRST RHODE ISLAND CONTINENTALS
WITH FOUR HUNDRED OFFICERS AND MEN
OF THE FIRST AND SECOND RHODE ISLAND
REGIMENTS SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDED
FORT MERCER
AGAINST AN ASSAULT OF TWO THOUSAND
HESSIANS IN THE BRITISH SERVICE
THE ATTACKING FORCE WAS DISASTROUSLY
DEFEATED WITH THE LOSS OF ITS COMMANDER**



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COUNT VON DONOP THIRTY-SIX OFFICERS AND NEARLY SIX HUNDRED MEN THE AMERICAN LOSS WAS THIRTY-SEVEN

October 22, Wednesday: Concerto for three pianos K.242 by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was performed for the initial time, in Augsburg, the composer at one keyboard.

A Hessian attempt to free the Delaware River below Philadelphia failed when their attack on Fort Mercer, New Jersey was beaten back with heavy losses.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 23, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 1, Saturday: Missa Sancti Hieronymi for chorus, oboes, bassoons, trombones and organ by Michael Haydn was performed for the initial time, in Salzburg.

Henry Laurens replaced John Hancock as president of the Congress of the United States.

Joseph Bradley Varnum wrote in his diary that his man “Zeal” (revolutionary fifer Barzillai Lew) had been selected as “a fifer and fiddler for the grand appearance the day that Burgoyne’s Famous Army is to be brought in. A Wonderful Show ...” With wages from his military service, Barzillai and Dinah would purchase farmland on the far side of the Merrimack River. They would build a house near Varnum Avenue and Totman Road, then named Zeal Road after them. They served as musicians at the Pawtucket Society Church on Mammoth Road. Barzillai and Dinah Bowman Lew had sixteen children. Some worked on the Middlesex Canal, some farmed in Pawtucketville, while others moved to Andover, Boston, or Charlestown. The Lew Family would be noted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well educated, skilled, and talented musicians. It is said that “no family in Middlesex County from Lowell to Cambridge could produce so much good music.”



In November, 1777, and at several other times, the town [[Concord](#)] voted to provide for the families of those engaged in



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the continental army. 1,210 pounds was paid for this purpose before September 1779.¹¹⁰

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 3, Monday: Amos Baker enlisted in the militia company of Captain Simon Hunt, part of the regiment of Colonel Eleazer Brooks, to guard in Cambridge for 5 months a collection of British and German prisoners of war who had surrendered with General Burgoyne at Saratoga.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 10, Monday-15, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 15, Saturday: Agreement by the Congress in Philadelphia on our Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.



READ THE FULL TEXT

110. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 20, Thursday: William Pitt spoke in the House of Commons: "I know that the conquest of English America was an impossibility. You cannot, I venture to say it, you cannot conquer America.... [The war was] unjust in its principles, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms-never-never-never."

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 21, Friday: In the face of overwhelming odds, US forces abandon Ft. Mercer, New Jersey on the Delaware River below Philadelphia and destroyed it.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 24, Monday: A Bedford [BEDFORD](#), Massachusetts financial record indicates that this town had detached a few of its militiamen to oppose the British in [Rhode Island](#):

November 24, 1777, the town [Bedford [BEDFORD](#)] raised £377 3s. 3d. to pay the following bounties to the soldiers for services



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performed that year as reported by a committee.¹¹¹

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

| | | | |
|--|------|------|-----|
| For the Continental soldiers' hire | £236 | 10s. | 0d. |
| For the bounty to the Rhode Island men | 22 | 10 | 0 |
| For the bounty to the men who went to Bennington | 48 | 0 | 0 |
| For one man to guard the Continental stores | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| For three 30 day men to join the Continental army | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| For allowance for hiring the Continental men | 4 | 11 | 0 |
| For fire-arms, lead, and flints for a town stock | 35 | 12 | 3 |
| | £377 | 3 | 3 |

November 27, Thursday: The Continental Congress named John Adams to join Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee as a commissioner to France to win a French alliance.

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111. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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November 28, Friday: [Concord](#) sent 23 of its citizen soldiers to assist the revolutionary guard at Cambridge for five months with the safeguarding of the British troops surrendered by General Burgoyne, at an expense of £207 plus an enlistment bounty of £9.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹¹²

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | £20 | £880 |
| <p>These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord. Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years' service. The forty-four names follow.</p> <p>Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants.</p> | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |
| <p>Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton, 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White's MS. says, "July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island]," and gives the names of twenty-nine.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |



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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey. | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |
| This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign. | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind. | | | | | |

November 30, Sunday: Samuel Baker was discharged from the militia company of Captain George Minot in the regiment of Colonel Samuel Bullard, having served for 3 months and 25 days during the Saratoga campaign that had led to the surrender of General Burgoyne. Town record indicate that he was paid for service at Saratoga.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 1, Monday: Friedrich Wilhelm Augustus von Steuben arrived in Portsmouth, [New Hampshire](#). He had come at the urging of Benjamin Franklin and would prove highly valuable in turning the United States Army into something a little bit more than a rabble.

December 4, Thursday: [Jeanne-Françoise-Julie-Adélaïde Bernard](#) was born in Lyon, France.

MADAME RÉCAMIER

112. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

December 4, Thursday: News of the British surrender at Saratoga reached Benjamin Franklin in Paris. He then spent the night drafting a communique and transcribing it by way of his letter copier, to be delivered in the morning to various foreign embassies.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 5, Friday-8, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 6, Saturday: M. Gérard of the French Foreign Ministry met with Benjamin Franklin in Paris to draft a treaty of friendship and trade between the nation of France and the nation of the United States of America.

People were trying to kill each other at Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 7, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Edge Hill, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 10, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other on Long Island.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 11, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Gulph's Mills, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 17, Wednesday: Emperor Joseph II decreed the creation of a Singspiel company in Vienna tied to the company producing spoken plays at the Burgtheater, Vienna. This would be directed by Ignaz Umlauf.

France recognized the independence of the United States of America.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 19th, Friday: According to BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS OF THE TOWN OF [CONCORD](#), MASSACHUSETTS (Groton, 1894), Ephraim Robbins of Groton and Thankful Ball of Concord was joined in marriage by Eph' Wood Esq.

Colonel [George Washington](#) settled his militias for the winter a day's travel to the northwest of Philadelphia at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1778

Per [New York](#)'s 1st Militia Act, all persons working either for the new state government or for the new national structure were exempt from conscription. If, however a [Quaker](#) needed to obey the Peace Testimony, the price of his exemption from military service would be £10 per year. Non-commissioned coroners were exempted from this year through 1782. The owner of a mill was automatically exempted but ferrymen would need to obtain a license from the governor or the commander-in-chief before being considered exempt.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In [Rhode Island and Providence Plantations](#), William Greene was in charge.

The attorney [John Collins](#) was elected a member of the 2d Continental Congress.

The Reverend [Manasseh Cutler](#) became chaplain of a brigade raised by General Jonathan Titcomb. This unit would be part of General John Sullivan's expedition to [Rhode Island](#). He would soon, in order to support his family, take up the study of medicine. He would study the treatment of smallpox.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

James Madison slapped together, out of some 210 proposed limitations to the powers of the new federal government, a list of his top ten. The first amendment to the constitution would read as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Kurt Vonnegut has commented on this, that what we have here is what should have been at least three separate amendments, and maybe as many as five, hooked together willy-nilly in one big Dr. Seuss animal of a nonstop sentence.

It is as though a starving person, rescued at last, blurted out all the things he or she had dreamed of eating while staying barely alive on bread and water.... I said to a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union that Madison's First Amendment wasn't as well written as it might have been. "Maybe he didn't expect us to take him so seriously," he said.

Vonnegut has also commented as follows:

The free-speech provisions of the First Amendment guarantee all of us not only benefits but pain. (As the physical fitness experts tell us, "No pain, no gain.") Much of what other Americans say or publish hurts me a lot, makes me want to throw up. Tough luck for me.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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What Kurt Vonnegut has failed to notice here, is that the free-speech provisions of the First Amendment meant nothing whatever at the time. At that time, and continuing on through the 19th Century, there was zero theorization of what freedom of speech might involve, and no freedoms of speech were as such being protected. It would not be until well into the 20th Century that this gesture in the First Amendment toward something to be called “freedom of speech” would be picked up and run with. During Thoreau’s entire lifetime, there was no issue whatever of constitutional freedom of speech. None whatever. The entire issue was no more than moot:



“I know of no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America.”

– Alexis de Tocqueville



Note also that there was no provision made in this Bill of Rights, for any right of the citizen to cast a ballot. This wasn’t a democracy, it was a republic, and anyway, nobody was thinking at the time of any such right. Obviously, only adults could vote. Obviously, only males could vote. Obviously, only property owners could vote. Obviously, only white people could vote. Obviously, only those who had been resident in a local community for a good period of time could vote. If you happened to survive all those various tests, and if you could persuade the other adult nontransient white males of property in your long-term community to allow you to vote (which was not at all a foregone conclusion), then you could vote, maybe, maybe you could vote maybe not. If for any of these reasons you were intercepted on your way to the ballot box, maybe you would or maybe you would not have a grievance, but for sure none of your “constitutional rights” were being violated.



“There is only one way to accept America and that is in hate; one must be close to one’s land, passionately close in some way or other, and the only way to be close to America is to hate it; it is the only way to love America.”

– Lionel Trilling



There is in existence a 13 inch by 9 1/4 inch map compiled by William Gordon, representing the seat of the revolutionary war in Massachusetts, which dates to this year.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

It was chiefly taken from Pelham’s map for the country and Lieutenant Page’s map for the harbor.¹¹³ Also, the map of Boston that had been prepared in 1774 by the Geographer to the King of England, Mr. Thomas Jefferys, was reissued in Paris in the *ATLAS AMERIQUEIN SEPTENTRIONAL*.

MAPS OF BOSTON

113. In 1806, this would be copied by Chief Justice Marshall at 14 inches by 9 inches for incorporation into his life of Washington.

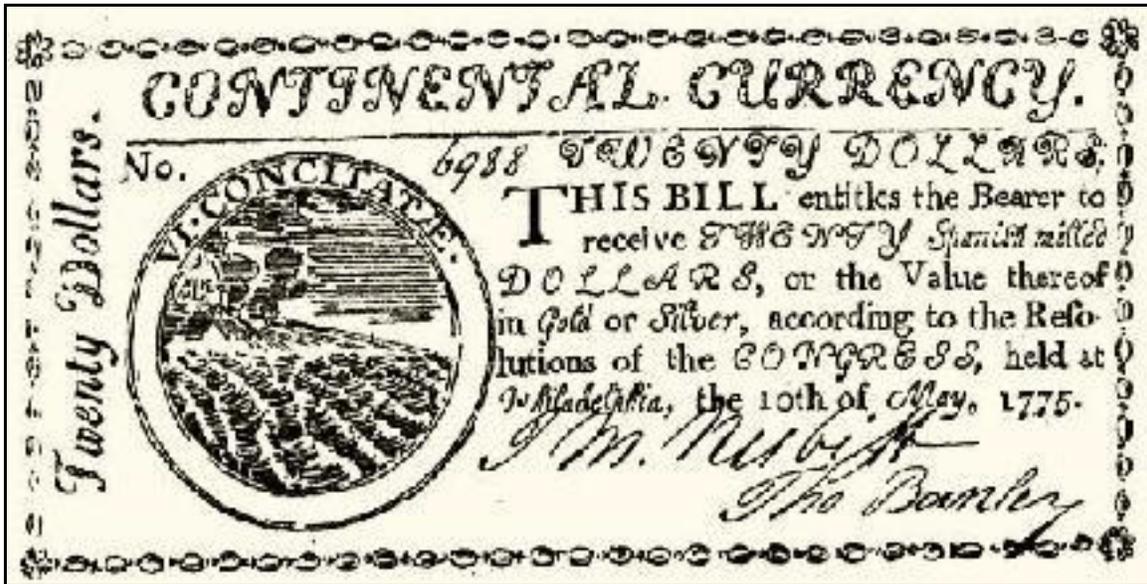
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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The paper money issued by the Continental Congress, known as “Continental,” included various denominations increasing in \$5 amounts up to a bill that said it was worth \$80. Some states were issuing money stated in pounds, shillings, and pence. By this point such paper money had in many cases depreciated to 33 1/3% of its face value, so that a \$20 bill such as the one pictured below might be exchangeable perhaps for \$6.68 in metal coins. A common expression was “Not worth a Continental,” sometimes augmented by “Not worth a Continental damn.”



By the following year, when this paper currency was scheduled to be redeemed, it would have plummeted to merely 2 1/2% of its face value, so that this \$20 bill would be finally exchangeable for merely 50 cents in coins. (This paper, like the paper issued by the Confederacy, eventually would become worthless — except for some residual curiosity or nostalgic or antiquary or resentment value.)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

In the newly formed Continental Army, Lieutenant Frederick Gotthold Enslin made an attempt at sodomy and was brought before a court-martial.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[Rhode Island privateering](#) during the Revolutionary War:



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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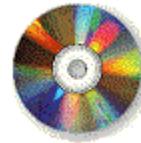
| | |
|------|----|
| 1776 | 57 |
| 1777 | 17 |
| 1778 | 17 |
| 1779 | 39 |
| 1780 | 13 |
| 1781 | 9 |
| 1782 | 26 |
| 1783 | 17 |

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



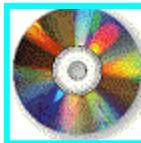
"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812



"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when Rhode Island first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65¹¹⁴



France declared war on England, becoming the ally of America.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

France: Treaties of 1778 and Associated Documents.

READ THE FULL TEXT

114. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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In Paris, [Benjamin Franklin](#) concluded treaties of defensive alliance, and of amity and commerce, and was received at court. Jean-Antoine Houdon produced the famous marble bust of Franklin. An ideologist of a historical theory of progress, the economist Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, *baron de l-Aulne*, managed to out-fulsome everyone with a declamation that Franklin “had snatched the lightning from the skies and would snatch the sceptre from tyrants”¹¹⁵:



Thoreau was aware that Franklin had become an American myth, a kind of archetype of self-help. In A WEEK he had ironically referred to Franklin as the prototype for an entry in a biographical dictionary:

Son of ——— and ———. He aided the Americans to gain their independence, instructed mankind in economy, and drew down lightning from the clouds.

Here he uses Franklin to illustrate that biography is essentially a personalized version of mythology.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Dartmouth](#) was destroyed by the British. [Paul Cuffe](#) and an older brother, David Cuffe, began to make trips at night and during bad weather, carrying needed supplies in a small boat to outlying islands — until pirates took their boat and cargo from them. Paul would build another boat and resume this risky business of running the British blockade.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



1st War of Disunion, 1776-1783

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project

115. Although this motto would become in its most widely distributed and memorized form *Eripuit caelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis* and would become in that form for many Americans of the 19th Century without a classical education the only Latin they knew, as of 1778, with the future of America’s relationship with George III still uncertain, the future tense seems to have been utilized for the second part of it, and thus it probably was, rather, at this point something like *Eripuit caelo fulmen mox sceptrum tyrannis*.

1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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The French constructed earthwork fortifications on Georges Island, just to the north of the shipping channel into Boston Harbor known as Nantasket Roads.





1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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General John Sullivan and General Lafayette won a partial victory, but not enough to oust the British.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January: [General Benedict Arnold](#), his leg saved, was released from an Albany, [New York](#) hospital.



[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January: The [New York State](#) legislature convened in Poughkeepsie, meeting at the Van Kleeck House. They acted to strengthen the powers of the state and to ratify the Articles of Confederation.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 8, Thursday: In Paris, the French government advised the envoy Benjamin Franklin that they would agree to an alliance, and to recognition of the United States of America, in the event of a war breaking out between France and Great Britain.

Pardon Crandall was born in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#), the son of Christopher Crandall, grandson of James W. Crandall, great-grandson of Joseph Crandall, great-great-grandson of Joseph Crandall, and great-great-great-grandson of John Crandall, and would die on July 20, 1838 in Canterbury, Connecticut. He would get married with Esther Carpenter on December 19, 1799 in Hopkinton, Rhode Island. I have as yet been unable to generate any record of involvement with any [Quakers](#) on the part of this family of origin (the records of the [South Kingstown](#) Monthly Meeting, pre-split, would be the logical place, since that meeting was set off in 1743 and continued to 1842 and was the only record-keeping meeting anywhere near Westerly), although we do know that their daughter [Prudence Crandall](#) would be educated at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) boarding school of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) in [Providence](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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January 15, Thursday: When a major fire destroyed many buildings on Broad, Elliott, and Tradd Streets in [Charleston, South Carolina](#), British loyalists came under suspicion.

At about this point the [USS Providence](#) sailed from Georgetown, [North Carolina](#), again heading toward the island of New Providence in the Bahamas but this time sailing alone.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 27, Tuesday: The crew of the [USS Providence](#) went ashore to spike the guns of the forts overlooking New Providence (Nassau) in the Bahamas of the Caribbean, in the process discovering military stores including 1,600 pounds of powder, and rescuing 30 American prisoners. They recaptured five prize vessels which had been brought in by the British, and seized a 16-gun British vessel.

Roland, a tragédie lyrique by Niccolò Piccinni to words of Marmontel after Quinault, was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opéra. This was Piccinni's first French opera. The rehearsals had been so horrendous that Piccinni had made plans to leave for [Naples](#) on the following day. As it turned out, the performance, attended by Queen [Marie Antoinette](#), was a success. Reviews would be generally positive.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

**ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.**

January 29, Thursday: Rear-Admiral John Byron was promoted to Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

British general John Burgoyne began making plans for the conquest of the colonies.

General Benjamin Lincoln's division of the Continental Army encamped at Dobbs Ferry.

People were trying to kill each other in Augusta, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 30, Friday: The prize vessels captured by the [USS Providence](#) at Nassau were loaded with cargo and manned and sailed away. The *Providence*, accompanied by her 16-gun prize, would put into [New Bedford](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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February 6, Tuesday: On this day, in London, Britain was declaring war on France, while in the Foreign Ministry in Paris, France (represented by the Comte de Vergennes) was signing a treaty of aid and commerce, and an alliance, with the United States of America (represented by envoys Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin). Are you ready for the 1st international treaty signed by representatives of the United States of America? –since the United States was known to be the enemy of France’s enemy –and since the enemy of one’s enemy is one’s friend –it follows that from this point forward the United States was going to be declared by France to be their friend. Unless and until.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

There was an exchange of notes referring to Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with France.

READ THE FULL TEXT1

READ THE FULL TEXT2

With the signing of such treaty documents in Paris, the United States of America achieved the official recognition of France.

READ THE FULL TEXT

In a related piece of business news: at the Russian Court in St. Petersburg, Achille in Sciro, a *dramma per musica* by Giovanni Paisiello to words of Metastasio, was being performed for the initial time.

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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February 9, Friday: The government of France recognized the independence of the United States of America from the British colonial empire.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly ordered that a “Regiment” (that is, a segregated military group) of [slaves](#) be raised. This group would never exceed 100 enlistees. Out of their love of liberty, they pledged to slaves, not only Negro slaves but also mulatto slaves and native American slaves, who served the troops of General Washington’s army throughout the course of the revolution “all the bounties, wages and encouragements of other troops” — assuming of course that the colonies won against England. The “Black Regiment” would be mustered under the command of a white officer, Colonel [Christopher Greene](#), in order to replace white



members of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment who had been killed in earlier campaigns. Slaves who provided acceptable services were to be immediately discharged from the service of their master or mistress, and at the successful culmination of the war were to be [manumitted](#). Trust us, to the victors would belong the spoils. Richard Cozzens, Pomp Reaves, Felix Holbrook, and other free blacks from [Providence](#) also volunteered to

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serve in all-black companies under white officers in the 1st Rhode Island Regiment.





1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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Here, by way of illustration, is a list of [slaves](#) from Kings County of [Rhode Island](#) enlisted in the Continental Army, together with the names of their masters, and how much in Pounds their masters were saying that each one of them was worth on the open market:

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

| Date | Slave's Name | Master's Name | Value |
|-------------|---------------------|---|-------|
| February 25 | Dick Champlain | Stephen Champlain, South Kingstown | £130 |
| February 25 | Jack Champlain | Stephen Champlain, South Kingstown | 110 |
| April 2 | Jack Fones | Daniel Fones, North Kingstown | 100 |
| April 3 | Cudjo Carpenter | Heirs of Ann (widow), South Kingstown | 120 |
| April 3 | Ceaser Wells | James Wells, Jr., Hopkinton | 100 |
| April 3 | Cuff Gardiner | Chris. Gardiner, South Kingstown | 120 |
| April 3 | Sharper Gardiner | Benj. Gardiner, South Kingstown | 120 |
| April 3 | Prince Hammond | Wm. Hammond, North Kingstown | 120 |
| April 3 | Quam Tanner | Joshua Tanner, Hopkinton | 120 |
| April 3 | Prince Bent | John Bent, Hopkinton | 120 |
| April 11 | York Champlain | Robert Champlain, South Kingstown | 120 |
| April 23 | Isaac Rodman | Daniel Rodman, South Kingstown | 120 |
| April 24 | Brittan Saltonstall | Dudley Saltonstall, Westerly | 105 |
| May 8 | James Clarke | Gideon Clarke, South Kingstown | 120 |
| May 8 | Mintel Gardiner | Henry Gardiner, South Kingstown | 110 |
| May 8 | Moses Updike | Lodowick Updike, North Kingstown | 93 |
| May 8 | Ceaser Updike | Lodowick Updike, North Kingstown | 120 |
| May 8 | Garrett Perry | Benj. Perry, South Kingstown | 120 |
| May 8 | Sampson Saunders | Steph'n Saunders Heirs, Westerly | 90 |
| May 8 | Ruttee Gardiner | Nick's Gardiner, Exeter | 30 |
| May 28 | Ceaser Sheldon | Palmer Sheldon, South Kingstown | 120 |
| May 29 | Fortune Watson | Sam'l Watson, North Kingstown | 120 |
| June 6 | Ceaser Rose | John Rose, South Kingstown | 120 |
| June 6 | Edward Rose | John Rose, South Kingstown | 120 |
| June 6 | Peter Hazard | Rob't, of Rich. Hazard, South Kingstown | 110 |
| June 6 | Primus Babcock | Samuel Babcock, Hopkinton | 120 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| Date | Slave's Name | Master's Name | Value |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------|
| July 2 | Prince Rodman | Rob't Rodman, Jr., South Kingstown | 120 |
| July 2 | Mingo Rodman | William Rodman, South Kingstown | 120 |
| July 2 | Jacob Hazard | Carder Hazard, South Kingstown | 110 |
| July 16 | Primus Gardiner | Nich's Gardiner, South Kingstown | 105 |
| July 16 | Peter Hazard | Joseph Hazard, South Kingstown | 120 |
| July 16 | Mingo Robertson | Sylv'r Robinson, South Kingstown | 120 |
| July 16 | William Greene | Henry Greene, South Kingstown | 120 |
| July 31 | Prince Vaughn | Jonathan Vaughn, North Kingstown | 114 |
| September 5 | July Champlain | Stephen Champlain, South Kingstown | 120 |
| September 28 | Hercules Gardiner | Ezekiel Gardiner, North Kingstown | 60 |
| September 28 | Philon Phillips | Chris. Phillips, North Kingstown | 120 |
| October 14 | Newport Champlain | Jeffrey Champlain, South Kingstown | 120 |

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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February 14, Wednesday: The US ship *Ranger* took the recently adopted Stars-and-Stripes flag overseas for the 1st time, as it flew this flag while arriving in a port of France.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

The Slave Enlistment Bill of [Rhode Island](#): “It is voted and resolved, that every able-bodied Negro, mulatto, or Indian man [slave](#) in this state, may enlist into either of the said 2 battalions, to serve during the continuance of the present war with Great Britain. That every slave, so enlisting, shall be entitled to, and receive all the bounties, wages and encouragements, allowed by the Continental Congress, to any soldier enlisting into their service. It is further voted and resolved, that every slave, so enlisting shall, upon passing muster before Colonel [Christopher Greene](#), be immediately discharged from the service of his master or mistress, and be absolutely FREE, as though he had never been encumbered with any kind of servitude or slavery...”

[MANUMISSION](#)

Joseph Brown and his cousin Nicholas Power together owned a man named Prince whom they had at work on a farm in Grafton, Massachusetts. Prince would come to Providence and enlist in accordance with this Slave Enlistment Bill, but when his owners would learn of what he had done they would petition the General Assembly and their Prince would be sent back to his slave labors. (In May the assembly would revoke this offer, after several hundred persons of color were assembled for service.)

February 23, Friday: [Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben](#) arrived at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania to begin training the United States Army. For the miracle he was going to perform, he would be created Inspector General.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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March: Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, Member of the British Parliament, had sailed with his 400-man 71st Highland Regiment into Boston Harbor aboard 5 vessels, entirely unaware that the port had come under the control of the American rebels. He, his servants, and his staff had initially been quartered in Reading and allowed freedom of movement, but when news arrived that the captive Colonel Ethan Allen was being mistreated by the British, he was locked up in the wooden jail in [Concord](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

After a letter from General George Washington inquiring into conditions for this important prisoner, the Boston Council moved Campbell to a room in the jailer's tavern where he had a servant and was allowed to use the yard. Campbell had continued to protest that he needed to be in a pleasanter, better provisioned, more livable town than Concord. When he gave his word not to attempt to escape, he was allowed parole of Concord town limits. He was allowed to visit shops and homes, and was closely attended by Dr. Minot's daughter Mrs. Merrick. At the end of this month he was allowed to travel to New-York to be exchanged for Colonel Ethan Allen. He would regret that, by reason of the fortunes of war, his enforced residence at Concord had not been made less irksome.

The town [[Concord](#)] voted, in March, 1778, to procure at an expense of 285 pounds, "shirts, shoes, and stockings, equal to the number of soldiers in the continental army, or the seventh part of the male inhabitants of the town [Concord] over 16 years of age:" 60 were assigned to Concord, 19 to Bedford, 28 to [Acton](#), and 28 to Lincoln. Captain Joseph Hosmer was the receiver for the whole county.¹¹⁶

March: [New York](#)'s Secretary of State and various county clerks were advised to pack up all government records, taking into account that it might very well become necessary to evacuate them.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

116. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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March 3, Tuesday: [Concord](#) sent 22 of its citizen soldiers for 3 months, to help guard the surrendered British troops of General Burgoine at Cambridge, at a salary expense of £220 not including an enlistment bounty of £10.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹¹⁷

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| March 3, 1778 | 22 | 3 months | Guard at Cambridge | £10 | £220 |
| Resolutions were passed February 7th, for four hundred men [above], and March 11th and 13th, each for five hundred more to guard the stores at Boston . These men were called out for that purpose, and were under the command of General Heath. Thomas Barret was Captain a part of the time; Daniel Harrington, the other part; Elisha Jones and Asa Green, Lieutenants. They were under Col. Jonathan Reed. | | | | | |
| April 12, 1778 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 18 | 198 |
| These [the above] men were raised for the defence of Rhode Island under Gen. Spencer. The officers of the regiment were John Jacobs, Colonel; Frederick Pope, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abishai Brown, Major. They were chosen February 27th. Thaddeus Blood of Concord was Ensign in this campaign. The committee chosen by the town to hire them, were Col. James Barrett, Col. John Buttrick, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Jonas Heywood, Esq., and John Cuming, Esq. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army | 130 | 1300 |
| These [the above] men were Oliver Buttrick, Benjamin Gould, Jason Bemis, William Diggs, Joseph Plummer, Cesar Kettle, David White, Benjamin Perkins, Jeremiah Hunt, Jr., and John Stratten. These were hired by the town, as in the last, and all subsequent campaigns. These were part of two hundred men. Acton and Lincoln furnished five each, and Bedford, three. They marched first to Rhode Island , and afterwards to New York. They were to serve nine months from the time they arrived at Fishkill. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 9 | 8 months | Guard at North River | 100 | 900 |
| Their names [the above] were William Burrows, (a Lieutenant), Reuben Parks, Timothy Merriam, Jeremiah Williams, Jonathan Curtis, Jacob Ames, Timothy Hoar, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Cleisby. | | | | | |
| June 23, 1778 | 8 | 6 months | Guard at Cambridge | 15 | 120 |
| These [the above] men guarded the prisoners to the new barracks built at Rutland. Ephraim Wood was appointed to superintend their removal. | | | | | |
| June 27, 1778 | 26 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | 30 | 780 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] men were sent to reinforce General Sullivan. John Buttrick was Lieutenant-Colonel, and was wounded at Sullivan's retreat. Samuel Jones and Emerson Cogswell were lieutenants under Capt. Francis Brown, of Lexington. Thaddeus Blood was Ensign in the State troops at the same time. Benjamin Prescott was Surgeon. One Sergeant and three Corporals were from Concord . | | | | | |
| September 6, 1778 | 7 | 4 months | Rhode Island | 73½ | 514½ |
| The town received the order, September 10th, and held a meeting the next day, when a committee was chosen to hire them [the above]. They were paid £23 per month, including the public wages. The men were, Timothy Killock, Charles Shepherd, Daniel Wheat, Timothy Wetherbee, Jesse Parkins, Thomas Hodgman, and Silas Parlin. | | | | | |
| September 19, 1778 | 46 | | To march to Boston | \$3 | \$138 |
| This [the above] constituted one third of the militia, required to march to Boston at a minute's warning. They volunteered under Col. Cuming, and were to receive \$5 bounty, and \$15 per month, including the pay allowed by the public. The orders were countermanded and they did not march. This is the only instance in all the campaigns of the men not marching when called. | | | | | |

March 16, Monday: The British Parliament adopted Lord North's plans for reconciliation with the colonies.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Voltaire's tragedy *Irène* was produced at the Théâtre-Français, Paris. The 84-year-old philosopher was present, having returned during the previous month from an exile of 27 years.

March 18, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Quintan's Bridge, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Rufus Hosmer was born in [Concord](#), son of the Hon. Joseph Hosmer.

March 19, Thursday: Constitution of South Carolina.

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

117. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

March 20, Friday: King Louis XVI of France received envoys Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane at Versailles as representatives of an equal, sister nation. The treaties of February 6 were made public.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Georg Benda resigned a Kapelldirector to Duke Ernst II of Saxe-Gotha.

March 21, Saturday: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 5.

READ THE FULL TEXT

People were trying to kill each other at Hancock's Bridge, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 7, Tuesday: In the course of a speech in the House of Lords in which he was calling for conciliation with the American colonies that would avoid their independence, former Prime Minister Sir William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, collapsed (he would die within a month).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 8, Wednesday: John Adams arrived in Paris, replacing Silas Deane in the United States mission.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Antonio Salieri departed from Vienna, to return to [Italy](#) for the 1st time in 12 years.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

April 12, Sunday: [William Hazlitt](#) was born at Maidstone in Kent, England, a son of an Irish Unitarian Preacher. His father, because he supported the American Revolution, would need to retreat with his family back to Ireland. William would however receive his education at the New Unitarian College at Hackney, near London.

[Concord](#) sent 11 of its citizen soldiers to help [Rhode Island](#) defend itself against the depredations of the mother country, at a cost of £198 in salary over and above £18 as an initial incentive.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹¹⁸

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| March 3, 1778 | 22 | 3 months | Guard at Cambridge | £10 | £220 |
| Resolutions were passed February 7th, for four hundred men [above], and March 11th and 13th, each for five hundred more to guard the stores at Boston . These men were called out for that purpose, and were under the command of General Heath. Thomas Barret was Captain a part of the time; Daniel Harrington, the other part; Elisha Jones and Asa Green, Lieutenants. They were under Col. Jonathan Reed. | | | | | |
| April 12, 1778 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 18 | 198 |
| These [the above] men were raised for the defence of Rhode Island under Gen. Spencer. The officers of the regiment were John Jacobs, Colonel; Frederick Pope, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abishai Brown, Major. They were chosen February 27th. Thaddeus Blood of Concord was Ensign in this campaign. The committee chosen by the town to hire them, were Col. James Barrett, Col. John Buttrick, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Jonas Heywood, Esq., and John Cuming, Esq. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army | 130 | 1300 |
| These [the above] men were Oliver Buttrick, Benjamin Gould, Jason Bemis, William Diggs, Joseph Plummer, Cesar Kettle, David White, Benjamin Perkins, Jeremiah Hunt, Jr., and John Stratten. These were hired by the town, as in the last, and all subsequent campaigns. These were part of two hundred men. Acton and Lincoln furnished five each, and Bedford, three. They marched first to Rhode Island , and afterwards to New York. They were to serve nine months from the time they arrived at Fishkill. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 9 | 8 months | Guard at North River | 100 | 900 |
| Their names [the above] were William Burrows, (a Lieutenant), Reuben Parks, Timothy Merriam, Jeremiah Williams, Jonathan Curtis, Jacob Ames, Timothy Hoar, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Cleisby. | | | | | |
| June 23, 1778 | 8 | 6 months | Guard at Cambridge | 15 | 120 |
| These [the above] men guarded the prisoners to the new barracks built at Rutland. Ephraim Wood was appointed to superintend their removal. | | | | | |
| June 27, 1778 | 26 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | 30 | 780 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| <p>These [the above] men were sent to reinforce General Sullivan. John Buttrick was Lieutenant-Colonel, and was wounded at Sullivan's retreat. Samuel Jones and Emerson Cogswell were lieutenants under Capt. Francis Brown, of Lexington. Thaddeus Blood was Ensign in the State troops at the same time. Benjamin Prescott was Surgeon. One Sergeant and three Corporals were from Concord.</p> | | | | | |
| September 6, 1778 | 7 | 4 months | Rhode Island | 73½ | 514½ |
| <p>The town received the order, September 10th, and held a meeting the next day, when a committee was chosen to hire them [the above]. They were paid £23 per month, including the public wages. The men were, Timothy Killock, Charles Shepherd, Daniel Wheat, Timothy Wetherbee, Jesse Parkins, Thomas Hodgman, and Silas Parlin.</p> | | | | | |
| September 19, 1778 | 46 | | To march to Boston | \$3 | \$138 |
| <p>This [the above] constituted one third of the militia, required to march to Boston at a minute's warning. They volunteered under Col. Cuming, and were to receive \$5 bounty, and \$15 per month, including the pay allowed by the public. The orders were countermanded and they did not march. This is the only instance in all the campaigns of the men not marching when called.</p> | | | | | |

April 13, Monday: A French fleet commanded by the Comte d'Estaing set off from Toulon for New-York: 12 men-of-war and 4 frigates.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 17, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Bristol, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

118. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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April 20, Monday: [Concord](#) sent 10 more of its citizen soldiers marching off toward [Rhode Island](#), following after the squad of 11 it had sent off a week earlier. These additional troops were at a cost of £1300 in salary over and above £130 as an initial incentive, because their period of enlistment was to be 9 months. The town also enlisted 9 to serve in the guard at North River for 6 months, at a cost of £900 in salary over and above £100 as an initial incentive.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹¹⁹

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| March 3, 1778 | 22 | 3 months | Guard at Cambridge | £10 | £220 |
| Resolutions were passed February 7th, for four hundred men [above], and March 11th and 13th, each for five hundred more to guard the stores at Boston . These men were called out for that purpose, and were under the command of General Heath. Thomas Barret was Captain a part of the time; Daniel Harrington, the other part; Elisha Jones and Asa Green, Lieutenants. They were under Col. Jonathan Reed. | | | | | |
| April 12, 1778 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 18 | 198 |
| These [the above] men were raised for the defence of Rhode Island under Gen. Spencer. The officers of the regiment were John Jacobs, Colonel; Frederick Pope, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abishai Brown, Major. They were chosen February 27th. Thaddeus Blood of Concord was Ensign in this campaign. The committee chosen by the town to hire them, were Col. James Barrett, Col. John Buttrick, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Jonas Heywood, Esq., and John Cuming, Esq. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army | 130 | 1300 |
| These [the above] men were Oliver Buttrick, Benjamin Gould, Jason Bemis, William Diggs, Joseph Plummer, Cesar Kettle, David White, Benjamin Perkins, Jeremiah Hunt, Jr., and John Stratten. These were hired by the town, as in the last, and all subsequent campaigns. These were part of two hundred men. Acton and Lincoln furnished five each, and Bedford, three. They marched first to Rhode Island , and afterwards to New York. They were to serve nine months from the time they arrived at Fishkill. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 9 | 8 months | Guard at North River | 100 | 900 |
| Their names [the above] were William Burrows, (a Lieutenant), Reuben Parks, Timothy Merriam, Jeremiah Williams, Jonathan Curtis, Jacob Ames, Timothy Hoar, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Cleisby. | | | | | |
| June 23, 1778 | 8 | 6 months | Guard at Cambridge | 15 | 120 |
| These [the above] men guarded the prisoners to the new barracks built at Rutland. Ephraim Wood was appointed to superintend their removal. | | | | | |
| June 27, 1778 | 26 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | 30 | 780 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] men were sent to reinforce General Sullivan. John Buttrick was Lieutenant-Colonel, and was wounded at Sullivan's retreat. Samuel Jones and Emerson Cogswell were lieutenants under Capt. Francis Brown, of Lexington. Thaddeus Blood was Ensign in the State troops at the same time. Benjamin Prescott was Surgeon. One Sergeant and three Corporals were from Concord . | | | | | |
| September 6, 1778 | 7 | 4 months | Rhode Island | 73½ | 514½ |
| The town received the order, September 10th, and held a meeting the next day, when a committee was chosen to hire them [the above]. They were paid £23 per month, including the public wages. The men were, Timothy Killock, Charles Shepherd, Daniel Wheat, Timothy Wetherbee, Jesse Parkins, Thomas Hodgman, and Silas Parlin. | | | | | |
| September 19, 1778 | 46 | | To march to Boston | \$3 | \$138 |
| This [the above] constituted one third of the militia, required to march to Boston at a minute's warning. They volunteered under Col. Cuming, and were to receive \$5 bounty, and \$15 per month, including the pay allowed by the public. The orders were countermanded and they did not march. This is the only instance in all the campaigns of the men not marching when called. | | | | | |

April 22, Wednesday: 30 men from [Captain John Paul Jones's USS Ranger](#) raided Whitehaven, Cumbria, England, spiking the guns of 2 forts and setting 3 ships on fire.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 24, Friday evening: Off Carrickfergus, Ireland, [Captain John Paul Jones's USS Ranger](#) captured *HMS Drake*.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May: 50 Oneida Indians arrived at Valley Forge and almost immediately would participate in an action under General [LaFayette](#), at Barren Hill.

The number of men furnished by [Concord](#) for actual service in the war of the Revolution was very great in proportion to her population; but how great cannot now [1835] be fully estimated. From the commencement of the war till May, 1778, unless voluntary enlistments could be procured, the militia officers were called upon to make drafts. These drafts were often made on the property, and sometimes included females and persons ordinarily exempted from military duty, who were obliged to hire a man. These were hired in or out of town, as was most convenient. From this time the town [Concord] by its committees,

119. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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or in classes, procured men.¹²⁰

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 1, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Crooked Billet, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 2-6: Ratification of the Treaties with [France](#): Debates in Congress.

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 4, Sunday: Congress ratified a Treaty of Alliance with [France](#), which brought formal recognition of American independence, and financial and military assistance.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 8, day: People were trying to kill each other at Bordentown, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The town of Lincoln was keeping careful track of its expenditures on the American revolution.

| Date. | Men. | Places. | Service | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|---------------|------|------------------|---------------------|----|----|----|------|----|----|
| 1775 | 32 | at Cambridge | 8 months, hired at | 8 | 0 | 0 | =256 | 0 | 0. |
| 1776 | 7 | at Cambridge | 2 months, hired at | 2 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 0. |
| 1776 | 7 | at Canada | 12 months, hired at | 18 | 0 | 0 | 126 | 0 | 0. |
| 1776 | 6 | at the Southward | 12 months, hired at | 12 | 0 | 0 | 72 | 0 | 0. |
| 1776 and 1777 | 6 | at Boston | 12 months, hired at | 4 | 0 | 0 | 24 | 0 | 0. |
| 1776 | 19 | at Ticonderoga | 5 months, hired at | 12 | 10 | 0 | 237 | 10 | 0. |
| 1776 | 4 | at Ticonderoga | 4 months, hired at | 15 | 0 | 0 | 60 | 0 | 0. |
| 1776 | 5 | at Roxbury | 4 months, hired at | 6 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0. |

120. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| Date. | Men. | Places. | Service | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|---------------|------|------------------|--------------------|----|----|----|-------|----|----|
| 1776 and 1777 | 17 | at Dorchester | 3 months, hired at | 1 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 0. |
| 1776 | 12 | at New-York | 2 months, hired at | 6 | 0 | 0 | 72 | 0 | 0. |
| 1776 and 1777 | 8 | at New-York | 3 months, hired at | 9 | 0 | 0 | 72 | 0 | 0. |
| 1777 | 4 | at Providence | 2 months, hired at | 4 | 10 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 0. |
| 1777 | 10 | at Saratoga | 3 months, hired at | 11 | 5 | 0 | 112 | 10 | 0. |
| 1777 | 12 | at Saratoga | 1 months, hired at | 3 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 0. |
| 1777 and 1778 | 9 | at Cambridge | 5 months, hired at | 7 | 10 | 0 | 67 | 10 | 0. |
| 1777 | 26 | Continental Army | 3 years | 30 | 0 | 0 | 780 | 0 | 0. |
| 1777 | 8 | at Worthington | | 1 | 10 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0. |
| | | | | | | | £2006 | 10 | 0. |

These bounties were paid by the town [of Lincoln], beside many other charges for the public service. When it is recollected that the town did not then contain more than 187 male inhabitants over 16 years of age, and that several enlisted into the army not included in the above estimate, it will appear that Lincoln contributed a large proportion of men to promote the great revolution. I have no means of ascertaining the precise number furnished subsequently to the above dates, but the town always contributed promptly all required; though it was supposed at the time the burden was not justly proportionate to other towns. A petition was presented to the council early in 1778, to obtain some relief. In this petition it is said, "The large farm of Dr. Charles Russell, now in the hands of the public, greatly augments the tax on the town, and consequently the number of men required." Several officers were furnished for the army from this town. The Hon. Eleazer Brooks was at Ticonderoga, in 1776, as a Colonel, and the Hon. Samuel Hoar, as a Lieutenant, and both were at the taking of Burgoyne. The former [Hon. Eleazer Brooks] was at Dorchester Heights in 1777. On the 4th of September, of that year [1777], Brig.-General Prescott sent an order to Col. Brooks to have his enlisted men formed into companies and to meet in [Concord](#) the following Saturday, to appoint his field-officers. He wrote in this order, that "he never received one of greater importance," and entreated him "not to fail paying attention to it, as he valued his own reputation or the salvation of the country." These orders, like all others, were promptly obeyed. Col. Pierce, Capt. Samuel Farrar, and others, were also distinguished in the service. March, 1778, £3880 were granted to pay soldiers; and in 1780 it was voted, "that each person that furnishes one cotton shirt for the continental soldiers, shall received out of the town treasury, £4¹/₂; and each person that furnishes a pair of shoes



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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for the same purpose shall have £3¹/₂; and each person that furnishes one pair of socks shall receive £2." On the 2d of June, £18,000 were granted to hire men for the war; and in September, £15,840 for the same object, and £8,500 to purchase beef for the army. On the following January, £16,240 more were granted for the same object. During 1781, large sums were raised to hire men, buy clothing, and for other public objects, till this town [of Lincoln], like many others, became exceedingly embarrassed. Such are a few items selected from the proceedings of the town [of Lincoln] in relation to the Revolution. They are sufficient to show the undeviating and devoted patriotism of the town; a patriotism not consisting in resolves only, but in a series of noble sacrifices of self-interest for the general good, alike honorable to it as a town and to the individuals composing it, and worthy of being remembered and imitated.¹²¹

May 17, Saturday: Having been delayed by bad weather in the Mediterranean, the French fleet commanded by the Comte d'Estaing passed through the Strait of Gibraltar and entered the Atlantic Ocean.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 20, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Barren Hill, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On this day, in the Atlantic, the French fleet of the Comte d'Estaing opened its sealed orders. The envelope contained among other things a formal declaration of war against England. The fleet was to perform some act of assistance to the American rebels on the continent and then proceed to the West Indies to perform some other action "advantageous to the Americans, glorious for the arms of the King, and fitted to show the protection which his Majesty extends to his allies." Along the way they were to take, as opportunity arose, enemy merchant vessels as prizes.

May 25, Sunday: A British force of 500 men, including Hessian troops, marched through [Warren](#) and down the main street of [Bristol, Rhode Island](#) (now known as Hope Street), setting fire to many buildings and taking several citizens as prisoners to [Newport](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The posh residence of the family of Captain [Mark Anthony DeWolf](#) at the south corner of Burton and Hope streets was one of the 19 torched (the DeWolfs had fled to a farm in Swansea). Most of the houses burnt were the barracks of American troops or homes of prominent "rebels." (Bristol now boasts the oldest continuous 4th-of-July celebration in America. First staged in 1785, it was begun by Bristolians who had taken part in the revolution.)

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

After the failure of the American drive to recapture [Newport, Rhode Island](#), [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), who had

121. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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become known as “The Universal Friend,” and some of her associates, obtained General John Sullivan’s permission and the British commander’s permission to pass through the military lines and pay a visit to England. It has been suspected that her agenda was to pay an evangelical visit to King George III.



This agenda would fail of accomplishment, but she would succeed in winning over Judge William Potter of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). He would in 1780 create a sanctuary for her and her little group of admirers on his estate at [Little Rest](#) (now [Kingston](#)).

Universal Friend would be going on preaching trips escorted by her father. Eventually her father would be replaced at her side, first by Judge Potter and then by her cadre of women friends. Her caravan –usually 12, riding two by two behind her spirited horse with her seated on a stunning white leather and blue velvet saddle– would find its way to Philadelphia and Worcester in Pennsylvania. Meetinghouses would be established, initially in South Kingston at the home of Judge Potter and then also in New Milford, Connecticut.¹²²

The town of [Acton](#) was keeping tabs on how much the revolution was costing them:

| | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| 4 men | Rhode Island | 2¼ months | May and June | at £6=£24 |
| 4 men | Northern Army | 4 months | Aug. to Dec. | at £24=£96 |
| 4 men | Northern Army | 1½ months | Oct. and Nov. | at £9=£36 |
| 4 men | Cambridge | 5 months | Nov. to April | at £12=£48 |
| 6 men | Cambridge | 3 months | April to July | at £7¼=£43½ |

A full estimate of the services cannot be made. This town had the honor of furnishing several officers during the revolutionary war. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Faulkner and Captain Simon Hunt were in the battle at White Plains, and at other times were also engaged in actual service. The constitution was adopted by more than two thirds of the votes of the town.¹²³

122. We are tempted to disrespect such a person as a mere self-deluded religious poseur — but in all fairness, if we do so there are any number of posturing males, cut from the same broadcloth, even today on the tube, whom we should also “diss.”

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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May 28, Wednesday: At the head of a division, the *Marquis de Lafayette* commanded during the retreat from Barren Hill.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

On page 315 of Volume 19 of the property transactions of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Joshua Hacker, Yeoman, [manumitted](#) Discharged Liberated and Set free as a full and perfect Freeman a certain Mollato Man, Andrew

123. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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Hacker, from all Bondage [Slavery](#) and Servitude whatsoever forever hereafter:

Know all Men by these Presents That I Joshua Hacker of Providence in the county of Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Yeoman Do hereby Manumit Discharge Liberate and Set free a certain Mollato Man called Andrew Hacker from all Bondage Slavery and Servitude whatsoever forever hereafter: And I do hereby Request all Persons to consider and use accordingly the said Andrew Hacker as a full and perfect Freeman. In Witness whereof I the said Joshua Hacker have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Twenty Eighth Day of May in the Year of our LORD One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Eight

*Witness Thos. Thayer }
Sally Hacker }*

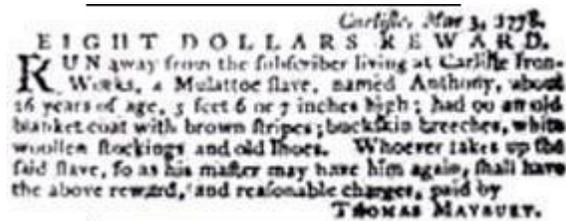
Joshua Hacker ((L.S.))

*The foregoing is a True Copy: Recorded this 3rd Day of June A.D. 1778 }
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk _____ }*

May 30, Friday: Goaded by the British, 300 Iroquois burned Cobleskill, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

There was a notice in the [Pennsylvania Gazette](#) that a reward of \$8, plus reasonable expenses, was being offered by Thomas Maybury for the capture and return of his Mulattoe [slave](#) Anthony: "EIGHT DOLLARS REWARD. Runaway from the subscriber living at Carlisle Iron Works, a Mulattoe slave, named Anthony, about 26 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high; had on an old blanket coat with brown stripes; buckskin breeches, white woolen stockings and old shoes. Whoever takes up the said slave, so as his master may have him again, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by Thomas Maybury."



May 31, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 1, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Cobleskill, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The voters of the town of [Concord](#) concurred in the choice of its 1st Parish Church members, in electing the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#) as the new town minister, to fill the shoes of the deceased Reverend [William Emerson](#).

On the 11th of May, 1778, Mr. [Ezra Ripley](#) was unanimously chosen pastor on the part of the church, in which the town concurred on the 1st of June following, 94 to 1. He was ordained, November 11, 1778. In the religious services on the occasion, the Rev. Josiah Bridge of E. Sudbury made the first prayer; the Rev. Jason



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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Haven of Dedham preached from 2 Timothy ii. 2; the Rev. Josiah Dana of Barre "prayed after sermon"; the Rev. Ebenezer Bridge of Chelmsford "prayed before and gave the charge"; and the Rev. Jonas Clark of Lexington gave the right hand of fellowship. The council was composed of these gentlemen, and delegates from their respective churches; and also the churches of the Rev. Eli Forbes of Gloucester, the Rev. Peter Thatcher of Malden, the Rev. Jonathan Newell of Stow, and the Rev. Moses Adams of Acton. The town agreed to give Mr. Ripley £550 currency as a settlement, and £100 as an annual salary, founded on the prices of articles of produce, - rye at 4s. per bushel, corn at 3s.; beef at 2½d. per pound, and pork at 4d.; the salary to rise and fall according to the variation of the prices of these articles. He was also to enjoy all the ministerial perquisites, and to be provided with 30 cords of firewood. A salary thus established was found to be attended with much uncertainty; and some years to fall short of £100. This was the occasion of much embarrassment. The town ascertained that the real value of the £550, when paid, was but £40, and the first year's salary £41; and in 1785, £200 were specially granted to make up the deficiency. In 1793, £100 were also granted. In 1812 the contract was very properly altered; and instead of this uncertain income it was agreed to give him \$750 as his permanent salary, which, with his firewood, estimated at \$100, and the perquisites \$15, gave him the annual salary of \$865. At the ordination of his colleague, in 1830, he relinquished \$250 of his salary and 10 cords of wood.¹²⁴

June 6, Saturday: A 3-man commission headed by Frederick Howard, Earl of Carlisle arrived in Philadelphia. They had been delegated by Prime Minister Lord North to attempt to reconcile the American colonies to the British crown.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 13, Saturday: The Carlisle Peace Commission sent proposals for reconciliation from Philadelphia to the Continental Congress in York, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

General John Sullivan had arrested a couple of brothers of the [Quaker](#) faith for refusing to participate in any manner in military activities, and their case had been brought before the colony of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations's Council of War. When Quaker elders had appeared before the Council, it had only been to inform the Council that they would cooperate in no manner.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

They would not, for instance, sign any certificates that this person or that person was a member of the Society and therefore entitled to exemption from military service. Exasperated in the face of such intransigence, Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen, the chairman of the Council of War, wrote to Friend [Moses Brown](#):

124. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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I call upon you Moses and the whole Society of Friends ...
to show the shadow of injustice or inequity in the law.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

**BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS,
AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER,
THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT
ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT
MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE
IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST
MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS
HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL
THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A
MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.**

June 17, Wednesday: The United States Congress rejected the proffered British conciliation.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

June 18, Thursday: After holding the city of Philadelphia for 9 months, the British troops under Sir Henry Clinton evacuated in favor of [New-York](#). American civilian families began to return to Philadelphia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Symphony K.297 by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was performed publicly for the first time, at a Concert spirituel, Paris, and was “exceptionally successful.” Unfortunately, the composer’s mother was too ill to attend.

June 19, Friday: General [George Washington](#)’s troops finally marched away from Valley Forge, entering Philadelphia. General Benedict Arnold was appointed military governor.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

While in Paris with her son Wolfgang Amadeus, Maria Anna Mozart took to bed suffering from what was probably an infection of the [typhoid fever](#) bacterium *Salmonella typhimurium*.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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June 23, day: [Concord](#) sent 8 more of its citizen soldiers to help escort surrendered British soldiers from Cambridge to new barracks at Rutland, for 6 months at a cost of £120 in salary over and above £15 as an initial incentive.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹²⁵

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| March 3, 1778 | 22 | 3 months | Guard at Cambridge | £10 | £220 |
| Resolutions were passed February 7th, for four hundred men [above], and March 11th and 13th, each for five hundred more to guard the stores at Boston . These men were called out for that purpose, and were under the command of General Heath. Thomas Barret was Captain a part of the time; Daniel Harrington, the other part; Elisha Jones and Asa Green, Lieutenants. They were under Col. Jonathan Reed. | | | | | |
| April 12, 1778 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 18 | 198 |
| These [the above] men were raised for the defence of Rhode Island under Gen. Spencer. The officers of the regiment were John Jacobs, Colonel; Frederick Pope, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abishai Brown, Major. They were chosen February 27th. Thaddeus Blood of Concord was Ensign in this campaign. The committee chosen by the town to hire them, were Col. James Barrett, Col. John Buttrick, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Jonas Heywood, Esq., and John Cuming, Esq. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army | 130 | 1300 |
| These [the above] men were Oliver Buttrick, Benjamin Gould, Jason Bemis, William Diggs, Joseph Plummer, Cesar Kettle, David White, Benjamin Perkins, Jeremiah Hunt, Jr., and John Stratten. These were hired by the town, as in the last, and all subsequent campaigns. These were part of two hundred men. Acton and Lincoln furnished five each, and Bedford, three. They marched first to Rhode Island , and afterwards to New York. They were to serve nine months from the time they arrived at Fishkill. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 9 | 8 months | Guard at North River | 100 | 900 |
| Their names [the above] were William Burrows, (a Lieutenant), Reuben Parks, Timothy Merriam, Jeremiah Williams, Jonathan Curtis, Jacob Ames, Timothy Hoar, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Cleisby. | | | | | |
| June 23, 1778 | 8 | 6 months | Guard at Cambridge | 15 | 120 |
| These [the above] men guarded the prisoners to the new barracks built at Rutland. Ephraim Wood was appointed to superintend their removal. | | | | | |
| June 27, 1778 | 26 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | 30 | 780 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| <p>These [the above] men were sent to reinforce General Sullivan. John Buttrick was Lieutenant-Colonel, and was wounded at Sullivan's retreat. Samuel Jones and Emerson Cogswell were lieutenants under Capt. Francis Brown, of Lexington. Thaddeus Blood was Ensign in the State troops at the same time. Benjamin Prescott was Surgeon. One Sergeant and three Corporals were from Concord.</p> | | | | | |
| September 6, 1778 | 7 | 4 months | Rhode Island | 73½ | 514½ |
| <p>The town received the order, September 10th, and held a meeting the next day, when a committee was chosen to hire them [the above]. They were paid £23 per month, including the public wages. The men were, Timothy Killock, Charles Shepherd, Daniel Wheat, Timothy Wetherbee, Jesse Parkins, Thomas Hodgman, and Silas Parlin.</p> | | | | | |
| September 19, 1778 | 46 | | To march to Boston | \$3 | \$138 |
| <p>This [the above] constituted one third of the militia, required to march to Boston at a minute's warning. They volunteered under Col. Cuming, and were to receive \$5 bounty, and \$15 per month, including the pay allowed by the public. The orders were countermanded and they did not march. This is the only instance in all the campaigns of the men not marching when called.</p> | | | | | |

June 27, Saturday: Le jugement de Midas, an opéra-comique by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry to words of d'Hèle after O'Hara, was performed publicly for the initial time, at the Théâtre Italien, Paris.

The United States Congress adjourned in York, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Concord](#) funded 26 of its citizen soldiers in [Rhode Island](#) for 6 weeks at a cost of £780 in salary over and above £30 as an initial incentive.

125. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹²⁶

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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June 28, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other in and around the Freehold Court House near Monmouth, New Jersey east of Trenton. What happened was that the American general Charles Lee had been ordered to prevent the British forces under General Sir Henry Clinton from crossing [New Jersey](#). Lee delayed, however, and after a little skirmishing, ordered a retreat. During the nondescript skirmishing which constituted this desultory and unsatisfactory "Battle of Monmouth" a cannonball took off the leg of Joseph Cox of Lexington, and killed Edmund and George Munroe of [Concord](#). General George Washington would later intercept the advance of these British troops, and force them to withdraw. He would then court-martial General Lee and suspend him from command for one year. (Private Cox would not get his leg back.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 1, Wednesday-4, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Wyoming, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

126. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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July 2, Thursday: Ezra Ross, a single man of Ipswich, was hanged at Worcester for involvement in the murder of a Mr. Spooner (at the instigation of the wife Mr. Spooner had abandoned).

The day of his execution was kept as a season of fasting and prayer for his untimely end, in his native parish.

The United States Congress convened in Philadelphia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: From his headquarters in Brunswick, New Jersey, General George Washington directed his army to put “green boughs” in their hats, issued them a double allowance of rum, and ordered an artillery salute; at Princeton, New Jersey, a cannon taken from Burgoyne’s army fired the artillery salute; in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, guns were fired and there were “sky rockets” but, as candles were scarce, there couldn’t be much indoor partying; at Passy in France, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin hosted a dinner for “the American Gentlemen and ladies, in and about Paris”; the first Independence Day oration was delivered by David Ramsay in Charleston, South Carolina before “a Publick Assembly of the Inhabitants”; on Kaskaskia Island in Illinois, which had been under British rule, George Rogers Clark rang a liberty bell as he and his Revolutionary troops took over without firing a shot; near Plymouth in England, in the Mill Prison, Charles Herbert of Newburyport, Massachusetts and other captured Americans celebrated their nation’s freedom by attaching prison-made American flags to their hats.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Meanwhile, Loyalists and Indians were destroying Wyoming, Pennsylvania, killing 360 militiamen.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In Paris, at 2:00AM, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote to Abbé Bullinger, a family friend in Salzburg, informing him that Frau Mozart had died probably of typhoid fever.

July 5, Sunday: Sir Henry Clinton’s forces embarked in barges at New Jersey’s Sandy Hook, heading for New-York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

People were trying to kill each other at Vincennes, Indiana.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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July 7, Tuesday: The French fleet from Toulon came to anchor at the mouth of the Delaware River, where they found that they had missed the British forces under Lord Howe, which had already gone to refuge at New-York. When the French commander would be informed, truly or falsely, that ships of this size could not pass over the bar into that harbor, he ordered his fleet to sail on to Aquidneck Island, and attempt in conjunction with the Revolutionary general John Sullivan and hopefully some 10,000 [Rhode Islanders](#) to capture the English force of nearly 6,000 soldiers at [Newport](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 8, Wednesday: General George Washington set up his headquarters at West Point.¹²⁷

After an encounter between a French ship and a British ship off Brest resulted in the flight of the British and the grounding of the French, the French fleet was ordered to sea. War had been initiated.

A French fleet arrived in Delaware Bay.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 9, Thursday: The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union were signed in Philadelphia by Massachusetts, [Rhode Island and Providence Plantations](#), Connecticut, [New York](#), Pennsylvania, [Virginia](#), and South Carolina. The citizens of the various former American colonies of Great Britain would be asked to sign an Affirmation of Allegiance and Fidelity to the new state governments thus formed.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 10, Friday: France declared war on Great Britain.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 17, Friday: The Continental Congress in York, Pennsylvania, in the person of its president Henry Laurens, responded in the negative to the Carlisle Peace Commission. There would indeed be peace between the two nations, but not until the British government was willing to recognize the independence of the United States of America.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 20, Monday: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote to his father from Paris, "Well, what were you hearing about the war? For the last three days I have been dreadfully sad and depressed. True, it doesn't really concern me, but I am so sensitive, that I immediately feel interested in any matter. I hear that the Emperor has been defeated.... Second, it was said the King had attacked the Emperor and completely surrounded him and that if General Laudon had not come to his rescue with eighteen hundred cuirassiers, he would have been taken prisoner; that sixteen hundred cuirassiers had been killed and Laudon himself shot dead. Today, however, I was told that the Emperor had invaded Saxony with forty thousand men; but I don't know whether this was true...."

American forces took Vincennes (Indiana).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

127. West Point is not west of anything in particular. It was named after an early owner.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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July 29, Wednesday: The French fleet came to anchor opposite [Newport, Rhode Island](#). The plan was for General John Sullivan to bring his revolutionary militiamen onto the island under the protection of the French naval artillery. The French ships would then advance up the channel and set marines ashore at the docks to assist in subduing the town. However, the militia didn't show up in time to fulfil this plan.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 8, Saturday: The French fleet commanded by the Comte d'Estaing forced its way up the middle passage into the Narragansett Bay.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Canadians and Indians laid siege to Boonesboro (Kentucky).

August 13, Thursday: The storm at sea began to abate. The French fleet had been somewhat damaged but the English fleet had escaped.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The militia company of Jacob Baker, Jr. reported him as having deserted (he would, nevertheless, be paid by the town of [Concord](#) for "a sixth part of a three years Camp in the Continental Army").

August 20, Thursday: The siege of Boonesboro was lifted.

The French fleet put into [Newport](#) harbor of the [Narragansett Bay](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 21, Friday: Fearful that the English ships would return and attack, the French fleet sailed from the [Newport](#) harbor of the [Narragansett Bay](#) to [Boston](#), in order to make necessary storm repairs there.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

25th, 8th Month: The siege of [Aquidneck Island](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Quaker meeting at [Portsmouth](#) recorded: "*The communication between us and [Friends](#) at [Newport](#) being obstructed this meeting is adjourned to the 9th day of next month at the breaking up of the Meeting for Worship at Portsmouth.*"¹²⁸

RHODE ISLAND

128. As part of the defensive work in preparation for battle, the British forces on the island in this year sank 13 of their older ships across the mouth of the harbor. One of these appears to have been, actually, what remained of a proud ship that Captain Cook had used during his explorations, *Endeavour* (renamed *Lord Sandwich*, and in its last days used as a prison hulk containing captured American rebels). Coincidentally, also finding its way to the bottom of the harbor here would be Captain Cook's *Resolution*, renamed in its later existence *La Liberte*.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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August 29, Saturday: In [Rhode Island](#), people were trying to kill each other at a place on [Aquidneck Island](#) variously known as Quaker Hill and as Butts Hill, near [Portsmouth](#). During this struggle, now grandly known as “The Battle of Rhode Island,” the local black unit was opposing Hessian mercenary troops. The *Marquis de Lafayette* would describe the general engagement of this day as the “best fought action of the war.”

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The all-Black battalion fought a battle with the Hessians during the American Revolution. The battle is referred to as the “Battle of [Rhode Island](#)”. When the 1776 enlistments were about up, the RI General Assembly voted to raise two regiments numbering 1,430 men combined. The recruiting did not go well. In spite of additional bounties offered, by February 1777, only 50 men had enlisted in the two regiments. As veterans of 1776 returned home, the situation improved a bit. By March, the two regiments had a total of about 400 men. (Various excuses have been advanced to explain this poor showing. RI had an estimated 1,200 men serving on ships, mostly privateers, and another 1,800 serving in the state’s brigade, keeping an eye on [Newport](#)). General [Washington](#) ordered the 1st and 2nd RI to join him despite the lack of strength. On Washington’s suggestion, [Christopher Greene](#) was appointed commander of the 1st RI. Because he was still a prisoner at this time (he was captured during the Arnold expedition to Quebec), Lt. Colonel Comstock was put in command until Greene could join his unit. Upon arrival in the American encampment, the RI regiments were brigaded with the 4th and 8th Connecticut and the four units were placed under the command of General Varnum, who used some political clout at home to get a promotion to brigadier. During the summer of 1777, the two RI regiments peaked in strength at 600 men combined. At this point, [Christopher Greene](#) managed to join his regiment. In October and November of 1777, the RI units fought in the battle at Red Bank. After the battle, Greene evaded the British and got the two RI units back to Valley Forge for winter camp. In camp, the RI officers, concerned about the very low numbers in the ranks, came up with the idea of raising a regiment from slaves. [Washington](#) wrote Gov. Cooke of [Rhode Island](#) asking his opinion of the scheme. The governor expressed cautious optimism and said 300 men could be expected. So the troops of the 1st RI were transferred to the 2nd RI, numbering 400 as a result. This regiment served at Monmouth under Lee. Greene and his staff were sent back to RI to raise a black regiment to fill the ranks of the depleted 1st RI. The General Assembly voted that every able bodied Negro, Mulatto and Indian slave could enlist for the duration of the war. Bounties and wages would be the same as those of free men. Once enlisted and approved of by the officers of the regiment, the recruits would be free. At this time, there was a Black and Indian population of 3,331 in [Rhode Island](#). The scheme, which did compensate owners, produced less than 200 men. Seeing how expensive the plan was becoming, the Assembly cut off recruiting of slaves on June 10, 1778. This incarnation of the 1st RI first saw action in the battle of [Rhode Island](#) in August 1778. The Continental troops that fought in the battle (1st and 2nd RI; Sherburne’s, Webb’s and Jackson’s and Livingston’s)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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remained in RI for the winter of 1778-79. On October 25, 1779, the British evacuated [Newport](#). All the Continental units in RI were ordered to march. However, at the last minute, the 1st [Rhode Island](#) was told to stay in the state and guard the wharves and streets of [Newport](#). The 1st RI remained home into 1780. In July of that year, Rochambeau arrived in [Newport](#) with 4,000 French troops. An officer with Rochambeau, von Clausen, provides us with a description of one of the Black soldiers wearing a cast-off French waistcoat with long sleeves and red cuffs, as well as the waved helmet with bluish plumes. In October of 1781, Congress reconstructed the army again. The 1st RI, the 2nd RI, and Sherburne's battalion were all merged into one regiment called the 1st [Rhode Island](#). [Christopher Greene](#) maintained command, with subordinates Jeremiah Olney and Ebenezer Flagg. Sherburne, Isreal Angell and Ward were all forced to retire. The merger took place at West Point. Although authorized for 650 men, the actual strength was about 450 men. In May of 1781 the 1st RI was stationed along the Croton River, north of Manhattan. On the 14th, a raiding party of Delancey's refugees surprised the Rhode Islanders at two points. To make the story shorter, [Christopher Greene](#) and Flagg were killed. Lt. Colonel Jeremiah Olney assumed command. Coggeshall Olney and John Dexter were promoted to major and made his subordinates. Though the official designation was still the 1st RI, it became known as Olney's battalion. The 1st RI was one of the first to head south to Yorktown. It was brigaded with New Jersey troops under Colonel Dayton, and placed in Lincoln's division. Stephen Olney's light infantry detached from the regiment and were given to Lafayette's Division of Light Infantry. In February of 1782, the regiment numbered 31 officers and 413 men. The regiment was disbanded in November 1783 when Congress decided to consolidate all regiments with less than 500 men and the state refused to spend additional recruiting money.

Major General John Sullivan reporting upon the Battle of [Rhode Island](#) shortly after its conclusion, specifically commended the portion of the Continental line which included the First [Rhode Island](#) Regiment as: "entitled to a proper share of the day's honors." The ability of this portion of the line to hold fast was crucial to the successful retreat of Continental forces from [Newport](#) to the mainland. The failure of the storm-damaged ships carrying French reinforcements to arrive by sea led to a concentrated British attempt to destroy the six battalions commanded by Sullivan. The success of Sullivan's strategic retreat was evident in the low casualty rate and the preservation of equipment despite the aggressive charges made by British regulars and Hessian forces. The British specifically expected to breach the Continental line where the inexperienced [Rhode Island](#) soldiers were stationed. Recently recruited and trained, [Newport](#) was the first campaign for the unit in late August of 1778. In spite of several charges by seasoned British forces, the regiment tenaciously held position and inflicted heavy casualties upon the British.



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While the First [Rhode Island](#)'s acknowledged courage in battle was central to the days events, the composition and origins of the regiment are of special interest. The First [Rhode Island](#) Regiment in August of 1778 was a nearly all-black unit made up largely of recently freed slaves. Commended for valor by commanders in its own day, and a frequent reference for abolitionists in the nineteenth century for "deeds of desperate valor," the First [Rhode Island](#) has been largely forgotten in our own. It is important, however, when considering the Revolution to understand that men fought not only for the idea of political liberty, but also for personal liberty.

The American Revolution yields many examples of military service by African American men on both sides of the conflict. While as many as 10,000 were recruited, primarily in the South, by the British promises of freedom in return for service, at least 5,000 black men served the American effort. Black men served in the Continental Army in every enlisted position from infantryman to cook.

Black sailors used their considerable experience at sea in the Continental Navy as able seamen and pilots. Black soldiers were present at the Battles of Lexington and Concord, Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, Saratoga, and virtually every other battle of the Revolutionary War. Individuals such as Salem Poor, Peter Salem, and Crispus Attucks were commended for gallantry or died in defense of the Patriot cause. A Hessian officer wrote in 1777 of the American army that "no regiment is to be seen in which there are not Negroes in abundance; and among them there are able bodied, strong and brave fellows."

Commanded by Colonel [Christopher Greene](#), the regiment at the time of the Battle of [Rhode Island](#) was as close to a "segregated" unit as it would ever be. Recruited to meet the quota of the Continental Congress for two regiments from the state to augment the Continental line, initial recruitment efforts were concentrated upon enrolling slaves. The regiment, however, was never entirely composed of former slaves or even African-Americans. White men, free blacks, and a few Narragansett Indians were present from the beginning. Over time, the unit resembled most of the Continental forces with a mix of whatever recruits could be found. That the majority of the men in this regiment were African American through most of the war was due to the terms of enlistment for former slaves.

Policy regarding African American military service (particularly that of slaves) from the colonial period through the Revolution shifted from philosophical opposition to practical acceptance in times of need. Between 1775 and 1778 policy changed from formal exclusion of any black man to acceptance of those free men already under arms to active recruitment not only of free black men but slaves. Catalysts for



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this change were the British offer of freedom in exchange for service and the desperate conditions of the Continental Army.

As General [George Washington](#) (at the insistence of both his generals and members of Congress) issued an order barring black enlistment in the Continental Army in November of 1775, Lord Dunmore, the British royal governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation offering freedom in exchange for service to indentured servants and slaves. The promise of freedom was effective and the response swift. Within a month of the offer at least 300 enrolled. Many came hundreds of miles on the strength of a rumor of the proclamation. Washington, fearing that the discharged free blacks from the Continental Army would join the Loyalist forces, urged the reenlistment of the free African American men currently serving in the Army. Others, like Alexander Hamilton and General [Nathanael Greene](#), supported the idea of slave enlistment believing that the promise of freedom in exchange for service would draw recruits and ensure their loyalty. By the winter of 1776, Washington was urging the Continental Congress to enroll free blacks under the new quotas they were setting for the states.

The winter of 1777-1778 saw the Continental Army in winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Conditions and prospects for the Americans were bleak. The British occupied major cities, including nearby Philadelphia, and supplies and morale were low. States were having problems raising the quotas of men set by the Congress in 1776. [Rhode Island](#), ordered to supply two of the desired eighty-eight battalions, faced its own defense problems with the occupation of the capital at [Newport](#). The economy, largely supported by the slave trade, shipping, and agriculture was close to collapse from blockade and occupation. All available men were involved in the defense of the rest of the state from British advancement. The recruitment of slaves was the only option, in the view of General James Varnum, for raising any [Rhode Island](#) men for the Continental line.

Varnum urged [Washington](#) to merge the remnants of [Rhode Island](#) two battalions and send the officers of the second to [Rhode Island](#) to recruit slaves. Colonel [Christopher Greene](#), Lt. Colonel Jeremiah Olney and Major Samuel Ward were assigned to the duty. Washington wrote to [Rhode Island](#) governor Nicholas Cooke requesting assistance for the men. The speed in which this transaction -from Varnum's initial letter to Washington on the subject in January of 1778 until legislation passed the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly in February- reflected the dire local and national situation. By February 23, 1778, Cooke notified Washington that the legislature had approved the plan. The General Assembly decreed that the individual slave enrolled in the regiment would "upon his passing muster, he is absolutely made free, and entitled to all the wages, bounties, and encouragements given by Congress to any soldier enlisting."



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The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly permitted "every able-bodied Negro, Mulatto or Indian man slave" to enlist in either of the two state regiments. The legislature, full of men connected to [Rhode Island](#)'s extensive slave trade, provided state support for any former slaves who became sick or injured during their service. This was an alteration of the statutes which fixed responsibility for support on the owner of freed slaves who might otherwise be manumitted when sick or aged. The legislature also provided for compensation to the slave owners of up to \$400.00 in Continental currency. The slaves, then, would be purchased by the state and, contingent upon service in the army for the duration of the war or until properly discharged, freed.

The legislation did not, however, pass without some contention despite the concessions made to slave interests and the military situation facing the state and the nation. Pro-enlistment advocates used classical examples of liberty in exchange for military service by slaves. The opposition came from General Assembly members most involved with the slave trade. They argued that enlistment would lead to insurrection and unrest among those still in bondage led by slaves armed for the war. Additionally, they insisted that slave service was inconsistent with the rhetoric and principles for which the war was being fought. Those opposed to the general enlistment scheme managed to pass legislation in May that would terminate the experiment on June 10, 1778. But, as records show, slave enlistment continued without pause in [Rhode Island](#).

Within a week of the opening of recruitment three men had been enrolled and large numbers attempted to join. Most of those who are identified in the records by geographic designation came, as would be expected, from the southern counties of the state where by far the most slaves were held. A few, like Pero Mowey of Smithfield and Primus Brown of Johnston, came from small farming towns in the northern part of the state. As potential soldiers gathered at the recruitment centers in large numbers, local white men attempted to dissuade enlistment. They exhorted the slaves not to enlist as the Continental Army intended to use them in the most vulnerable and dangerous advance positions and that, if captured, the men faced the sure fate of being sold into slavery in the Caribbean.

Approximately 250 men ignored the advice of the agitators, passed the enrollment committee and joined the First [Rhode Island](#) Regiment. Like other African American recruits they saw service as enlisted men. In the state militias and the Continental Army, black enlisted men were often assigned positions related to personal service for officers or as foragers, cooks, and waiters. The predominance of black men in the [Rhode Island](#) unit, however, provided additional opportunities for service in other specialties such as infantry positions. The contingent nature of their service also undoubtedly contributed to the comparatively low rates of



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"unofficial absences" or outright desertions found among their white fellow enlistees. Other factors such as familiarity with rough conditions and the lack of some of the most common reasons for white desertion such as concern for the welfare of a family, farm, or business undoubtedly played a role. But, the reward of personal liberty for service undoubtedly was the primary factor. The white soldier enlisted usually for a short tour of duty (often only three months) and faced unfamiliar temporary restrictions on his personal liberty and separation from his community. The former slave soldier, familiar with restrictions on his liberty, faced his service with the promise of an ultimate and unfamiliar permanent freedom.

The First [Rhode Island](#) was commanded by the men sent by [Washington](#) to recruit them. Colonel [Christopher Greene](#) commanded the unit from its formation in 1778 until his death at Points Bridge in 1781 when the command was assumed by Lt. Colonel Jeremiah Olney. In all, the unit saw five years of service and was a part of the Continental line at the battles which included Fort Oswego, Saratoga, Red Bank, and Yorktown. The regiment was an active part of the American effort, and in the Battle of [Rhode Island](#) and at Points Bridge, they were particularly noticed for their effectiveness in the field.

Like white enlisted men, the black soldiers of the First [Rhode Island](#) Regiment who were demobilized at Saratoga in June of 1783 were left to find their own way home as best they could. Their commander, Lt. Colonel Olney left them with an address full of praise for their "valor and good conduct" and regret that men for whom he felt "the most affectionate regard and esteem" should be left with pay owed to them. Olney pledged to them his continued "interest in their favor." There is evidence that Olney was true to his word. He assisted men who fought attempts to re-enslave them and wrote in support of claims for pensions from the government or wages owed from the state. Each American soldier who left the army at Saratoga that day did so with the knowledge that he was a citizen of a free country. For many of the men of the First [Rhode Island](#) Regiment freedom had not only political meaning, but personal meaning as well.

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Although, as I pointed out above, the *Marquis de Lafayette* would describe the general engagement of this day as the “best fought action of the war,” the inscription on this pewter medallion covering the events of August 1778 in the Narragansett Bay of “ROHDE YLAND” depict the “AMERICAANE” soldiers as “D’vlugtende” or running away from British naval forces:





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29th, 8th Month: Although the “Battle of Rhode Island” was taking place on the “Quaker Hill” of [Aquidneck Island](#), it is interesting to note that this event so significant to other Rhode Islanders would go entirely unmentioned in any local [Quaker](#) meeting minutes. What would be mentioned about this day, however, would be the sad fact that during the build-up for this “Battle of Rhode Island,” a Tory home near [Bristol, Rhode Island](#) had had to be abandoned — and later Friend Sarah Trask, wife of Ebenezer Trask, was found to have in her possession some objects from that home. When Friend Sarah would prove to be unwilling to express contrition for her conduct she would be [disowned](#) by her [Friends](#) meeting.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Battles we could put up with –they having nothing to do with us –but theft was a no-no.)

August 31, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Indian Field and Bridge, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 4, Friday: The 1st naval engagement of the Revolutionary War began in Buzzards Bay and at [Martha's Vineyard](#) as Admiral Gambier, succeeding Lord Howe in command of the North American station, had Captain Fanshawe take out the British frigate *Carysfort* and a fleet of some 44 other vessels with a detachment of 4,000 soldiers under General Grey, to intercept American coastal shipping. At New Bedford, Fair Haven, and Holmes's Hole the expedition would destroy about 20 sizeable vessels, 70 smaller ones, numerous boats, and 26 storehouses.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A treaty of friendship and commerce was signed by representatives of the United States of America and the Netherlands.

September 5, Saturday: The British landed at Clark's Cove and put [New Bedford](#) to the torch. Nearly all the shipping, 20 shops, and 22 houses were destroyed.¹²⁹

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

This, of course, was outrageous, since all we Americans were doing was petitioning for our liberty! Meanwhile, in [The Pennsylvania Packet](#):

TO BE SOLD, A LIKELY healthy **Negro** Wench, with two male children. For particulars enquire of the **Printer**.

SLAVERY

FRANKLIN

129. Since the William C. Taber House at 363 Main Street in [New Bedford](#) is said to date to this year, it might appear that its construction had not as yet been completed.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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September 6, Sunday: [Concord](#) funded 7 of its citizen soldiers in [Rhode Island](#) for 4 months at a pay rate of £23 per month, at a total cost of £514½ in salary over and above £73½ as an initial incentive.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹³⁰

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| March 3, 1778 | 22 | 3 months | Guard at Cambridge | £10 | £220 |
| Resolutions were passed February 7th, for four hundred men [above], and March 11th and 13th, each for five hundred more to guard the stores at Boston . These men were called out for that purpose, and were under the command of General Heath. Thomas Barret was Captain a part of the time; Daniel Harrington, the other part; Elisha Jones and Asa Green, Lieutenants. They were under Col. Jonathan Reed. | | | | | |
| April 12, 1778 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 18 | 198 |
| These [the above] men were raised for the defence of Rhode Island under Gen. Spencer. The officers of the regiment were John Jacobs, Colonel; Frederick Pope, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abishai Brown, Major. They were chosen February 27th. Thaddeus Blood of Concord was Ensign in this campaign. The committee chosen by the town to hire them, were Col. James Barrett, Col. John Buttrick, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Jonas Heywood, Esq., and John Cuming, Esq. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army | 130 | 1300 |
| These [the above] men were Oliver Buttrick, Benjamin Gould, Jason Bemis, William Diggs, Joseph Plummer, Cesar Kettle, David White, Benjamin Perkins, Jeremiah Hunt, Jr., and John Stratten. These were hired by the town, as in the last, and all subsequent campaigns. These were part of two hundred men. Acton and Lincoln furnished five each, and Bedford, three. They marched first to Rhode Island , and afterwards to New York. They were to serve nine months from the time they arrived at Fishkill. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 9 | 8 months | Guard at North River | 100 | 900 |
| Their names [the above] were William Burrows, (a Lieutenant), Reuben Parks, Timothy Merriam, Jeremiah Williams, Jonathan Curtis, Jacob Ames, Timothy Hoar, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Cleisby. | | | | | |
| June 23, 1778 | 8 | 6 months | Guard at Cambridge | 15 | 120 |
| These [the above] men guarded the prisoners to the new barracks built at Rutland. Ephraim Wood was appointed to superintend their removal. | | | | | |
| June 27, 1778 | 26 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | 30 | 780 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| <p>These [the above] men were sent to reinforce General Sullivan. John Buttrick was Lieutenant-Colonel, and was wounded at Sullivan's retreat. Samuel Jones and Emerson Cogswell were lieutenants under Capt. Francis Brown, of Lexington. Thaddeus Blood was Ensign in the State troops at the same time. Benjamin Prescott was Surgeon. One Sergeant and three Corporals were from Concord.</p> | | | | | |
| September 6, 1778 | 7 | 4 months | Rhode Island | 73½ | 514½ |
| <p>The town received the order, September 10th, and held a meeting the next day, when a committee was chosen to hire them [the above]. They were paid £23 per month, including the public wages. The men were, Timothy Killock, Charles Shepherd, Daniel Wheat, Timothy Wetherbee, Jesse Parkins, Thomas Hodgman, and Silas Parlin.</p> | | | | | |
| September 19, 1778 | 46 | | To march to Boston | \$3 | \$138 |
| <p>This [the above] constituted one third of the militia, required to march to Boston at a minute's warning. They volunteered under Col. Cuming, and were to receive \$5 bounty, and \$15 per month, including the pay allowed by the public. The orders were countermanded and they did not march. This is the only instance in all the campaigns of the men not marching when called.</p> | | | | | |

(Does this add up? If they paid these guys £23 per month each as asserted, and there were 7 guys as asserted, then their monthly payroll would need to amount to £161, would it not? And if these 7 guys were in Rhode Island for 4 months as asserted, at that monthly budget of £161, the total would need to come to £644, would it not, rather than £514½? Perhaps the explanation of this will be that the £644 must have been inclusive of an amount of "public wages" that, having been already elsewhere budgeted, was being omitted from the additional £514½ being budgeted?)

September 14, Monday: British forces occupied St. Pierre and Miquelon.

The Continental Congress designated [Benjamin Franklin](#) as their sole minister to France (hitherto the American envoys had been a 3-man team).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 16, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at West Chester, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

130. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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September 19, Saturday: Henry Peter Brougham was born to a poor family in Edinburgh. His paternal grandfather was Lord Buchan and his maternal grandmother the sister of Principal Robertson, the historian.

[Concord](#) funded 46 of its citizen soldiers to march to [Boston](#) — which would need to be paid for because contracted, although the march in question would actually never be needed.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹³¹

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| March 3, 1778 | 22 | 3 months | Guard at Cambridge | £10 | £220 |
| Resolutions were passed February 7th, for four hundred men [above], and March 11th and 13th, each for five hundred more to guard the stores at Boston . These men were called out for that purpose, and were under the command of General Heath. Thomas Barret was Captain a part of the time; Daniel Harrington, the other part; Elisha Jones and Asa Green, Lieutenants. They were under Col. Jonathan Reed. | | | | | |
| April 12, 1778 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 18 | 198 |
| These [the above] men were raised for the defence of Rhode Island under Gen. Spencer. The officers of the regiment were John Jacobs, Colonel; Frederick Pope, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abishai Brown, Major. They were chosen February 27th. Thaddeus Blood of Concord was Ensign in this campaign. The committee chosen by the town to hire them, were Col. James Barrett, Col. John Buttrick, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Jonas Heywood, Esq., and John Cuming, Esq. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army | 130 | 1300 |
| These [the above] men were Oliver Buttrick, Benjamin Gould, Jason Bemis, William Diggs, Joseph Plummer, Cesar Kettle, David White, Benjamin Perkins, Jeremiah Hunt, Jr., and John Stratten. These were hired by the town, as in the last, and all subsequent campaigns. These were part of two hundred men. Acton and Lincoln furnished five each, and Bedford, three. They marched first to Rhode Island , and afterwards to New York. They were to serve nine months from the time they arrived at Fishkill. | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 9 | 8 months | Guard at North River | 100 | 900 |
| Their names [the above] were William Burrows, (a Lieutenant), Reuben Parks, Timothy Merriam, Jeremiah Williams, Jonathan Curtis, Jacob Ames, Timothy Hoar, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Cleisby. | | | | | |
| June 23, 1778 | 8 | 6 months | Guard at Cambridge | 15 | 120 |
| These [the above] men guarded the prisoners to the new barracks built at Rutland. Ephraim Wood was appointed to superintend their removal. | | | | | |
| June 27, 1778 | 26 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | 30 | 780 |



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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| These [the above] men were sent to reinforce General Sullivan. John Buttrick was Lieutenant-Colonel, and was wounded at Sullivan's retreat. Samuel Jones and Emerson Cogswell were lieutenants under Capt. Francis Brown, of Lexington. Thaddeus Blood was Ensign in the State troops at the same time. Benjamin Prescott was Surgeon. One Sergeant and three Corporals were from Concord . | | | | | |
| September 6, 1778 | 7 | 4 months | Rhode Island | 73½ | 514½ |
| The town received the order, September 10th, and held a meeting the next day, when a committee was chosen to hire them [the above]. They were paid £23 per month, including the public wages. The men were, Timothy Killock, Charles Shepherd, Daniel Wheat, Timothy Wetherbee, Jesse Parkins, Thomas Hodgman, and Silas Parlin. | | | | | |
| September 19, 1778 | 46 | | To march to Boston | \$3 | \$138 |
| This [the above] constituted one third of the militia, required to march to Boston at a minute's warning. They volunteered under Col. Cuming, and were to receive \$5 bounty, and \$15 per month, including the pay allowed by the public. The orders were countermanded and they did not march. This is the only instance in all the campaigns of the men not marching when called. | | | | | |

October 1, Thursday: Publication, in London, of William Faden's engraving "Boston, its Environs and Harbour, with the Rebel Works raised against that Town in 1775, from the observations of Lieutenant Page, of his Majesty's Corps of Engineers, and from the plans of Captain Montessor."

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

MAPS OF BOSTON

October 6, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Chestnut Creek, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 15, Thursday: The Council of Massachusetts appointed Colonel Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln a Brigadier-General.

People were trying to kill each other at Mincock Island (Egg Harbor), New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

131. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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October 20, Tuesday: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 6.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

November 16, Monday: There were still 3 militiamen of Bedford, Massachusetts, fighting the British in [Rhode Island](#), and that town sent another man, John Reed:

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 16, 1778, the town [Bedford] allowed the accounts of the military officers and committee for hiring soldiers, amounting to £1746 16s. 3d. The following bounties for services the year previous were also allowed.¹³²

| | | | |
|---|-----------|-----|-----|
| 3 men, 2 months to Rhode Island , May 1, 1777, | no bounty | | |
| 8 men, 2 months to Bennington, August 21, 1777, each £15 | £120 | 0s. | 0d. |
| 8 men, 30 days "to take and guard the troops," September 1777, £2 | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 men, 3 months "to Boston with Captain Farmer," February 1778, £12 | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| 8 men, 3 months "to Cambridge with Captain Moore," April 1, 1778, £11 | 88 | 0 | 0 |
| John Reed, to Rhode Island | 9 | 0 | 0 |

November 19, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Spencer's Hill (Bulltown Swamp), Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 21, Saturday: Publication of [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 7.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

November 24, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Medway Church, Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 27, Friday: The Carlisle Peace Commission departed from North America to return to Britain, unable to accomplish their mission of persuading the American colonists not to make themselves independent.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

132. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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December 9, Wednesday: The town of [Concord](#) had in 1777 collected a special war tax after incurring extraordinary expenses amounting to £2,161. At this point it needed to go back to the well for another round of war financing, this time in the amount of £5,192.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 10, Thursday: John Jay replaced Henry Laurens as President of the Congress of the United States of America.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 15, Tuesday: Royal Navy ships defeated the French off St. Lucia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 17, Thursday: British and Indians retook Vincennes (Indiana) from the American revolutionary forces.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 25, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Young's House, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 28, Monday: At the conclusion of a 2-week struggle, British forces captured St. Lucia from the French.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 29, Tuesday: People tried to kill each other on Brewton Hill in Georgia, and as a result Savannah was occupied by the forces of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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1779

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood, John Buttrick, and George Minott were Selectmen.

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood was again Town Clerk.

In [Concord](#), Abijah Bond was again Town Treasurer.

Joseph Hosmer was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

[Concord](#)'s revolutionary Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety was renewed.

The committee of correspondence, etc., chosen March, 1776 [for [Concord](#)], were [John Cuming](#), Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. Jonas Heywood, Capt. Joseph Hosmer, James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Capt. George Minot. In 1777, Colonel John Buttrick, Josiah Merriam, Isaac Hubbard, Capt. Abishai Brown, Capt. David Wheeler, Mr. Ephraim Potter, and Lieut. Nathan Stow. In 1778, [John Cuming](#), Esq., Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam. These were re-elected in 1779, 1780, 1781 & 1782. In 1783, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Wood, and Lieut. Joseph Hayward. This committee was not chosen afterwards.¹³³

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The property of the wealthy Philipse family, including Philipsburg Manor in Sleepy Hollow, [New York](#), was confiscated because the family had been loyal to the king of England. Everything, including every one of their numerous [slaves](#), now belonged to somebody else — some one or another of the victorious Freedom Fighters who had struck a blow for human dignity.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color — the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



— Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

133. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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An invention important to the development of the cloth industry occurred during this year. Samuel Compton developed a mule. Because this development would have an impact on the demand for bales of [cotton](#) as a raw material for cloth, it would have an impact on the demand for field labor to grow this cotton, and therefore would eventually have consequences in terms of human [slavery](#) — and in terms of the [international slave trade](#).¹³⁴

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The history of slavery and the slave-trade after 1820 must be read in the light of the industrial revolution through which the civilized world passed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between the years 1775 and 1825 occurred economic events and changes of the highest importance and widest influence. Though all branches of industry felt the impulse of this new industrial life, yet, "if we consider single industries, cotton manufacture has, during the nineteenth century, made the most magnificent and gigantic advances."¹³⁵ This fact is easily explained by the remarkable series of inventions that revolutionized this industry between 1738 and 1830, including Arkwright's, Watt's, Compton's, and Cartwright's epoch-making contrivances.¹³⁶ The effect which these inventions had on the manufacture of cotton goods is best illustrated by the fact that in England, the chief cotton market of the world, the consumption of raw cotton rose steadily from 13,000 bales in 1781, to 572,000 in 1820, to 871,000 in 1830, and to 3,366,000 in 1860.¹³⁷ Very early, therefore, came the query whence the supply of raw cotton was to come. Tentative experiments on the rich, broad fields of the Southern United States, together with the indispensable invention of Whitney's cotton-gin, soon answered this question: a new economic future was opened up to this land, and immediately the whole South began to extend its cotton culture, and more and more to throw its whole energy into this one staple. Here it was that the fatal mistake of compromising with slavery in the beginning, and of the policy of *laissez-faire* pursued

134. Bear in mind that in early periods the Southern states of the United States of America produced no significant amount of [cotton](#) fiber for export — such production not beginning until 1789. In fact, according to page 92 of Seybert's STATISTICS, in 1784 a small parcel of cotton that had found its way from the US to Liverpool had been refused admission to England, because it was the customs agent's opinion that this involved some sort of subterfuge: it could not have originated in the United States.

135. Beer, *GESCHICHTE DES WELTHANDELS IM 19^{TE}EN JAHRHUNDERT*, II. 67.

136. A list of these inventions most graphically illustrates this advance: —

1738, John Jay, fly-shuttle. John Wyatt, spinning by rollers.

1748, Lewis Paul, carding-machine.

1760, Robert Kay, drop-box.

1769, Richard Arkwright, water-frame and throstle. James Watt, steam-engine.

1772, James Lees, improvements on carding-machine.

1775, Richard Arkwright, series of combinations.

1779, Samuel Compton, mule.

1785, Edmund Cartwright, power-loom.

1803-4, Radcliffe and Johnson, dressing-machine.

1817, Roberts, fly-frame.

1818, William Eaton, self-acting frame.

1825-30, Roberts, improvements on mule.

Cf. Baines, *HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE*, pages 116-231; *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, 9th ed., article "Cotton."

137. Baines, *HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE*, page 215. A bale weighed from 375 lbs. to 400 lbs.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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thereafter, became painfully manifest; for, instead now of a healthy, normal, economic development along proper industrial lines, we have the abnormal and fatal rise of a slave-labor large farming system, which, before it was realized, had so intertwined itself with and braced itself upon the economic forces of an industrial age, that a vast and terrible civil war was necessary to displace it. The tendencies to a patriarchal serfdom, recognizable in the age of Washington and Jefferson, began slowly but surely to disappear; and in the second quarter of the century Southern slavery was irresistibly changing from a family institution to an industrial system.

The development of Southern slavery has heretofore been viewed so exclusively from the ethical and social standpoint that we are apt to forget its close and indissoluble connection with the world's cotton market. Beginning with 1820, a little after the close of the Napoleonic wars, when the industry of cotton manufacture had begun its modern development and the South had definitely assumed her position as chief producer of raw cotton, we find the average price of cotton per pound, 8½d. From this time until 1845 the price steadily fell, until in the latter year it reached 4d.; the only exception to this fall was in the years 1832-1839, when, among other things, a strong increase in the English demand, together with an attempt of the young slave power to "corner" the market, sent the price up as high as 11d. The demand for cotton goods soon outran a crop which McCullough had pronounced "prodigious," and after 1845 the price started on a steady rise, which, except for the checks suffered during the continental revolutions and the Crimean War, continued until 1860.¹³⁸ The steady increase in the production of cotton explains the fall in price down to 1845. In 1822 the crop was a half-million bales; in 1831, a million; in 1838, a million and a half; and in 1840-1843, two million. By this time the world's consumption of cotton goods began to increase so rapidly that, in spite of the increase in Southern crops, the price kept rising. Three million bales were gathered in 1852, three and a half million in 1856, and the remarkable crop of five million bales in 1860.¹³⁹

Here we have data to explain largely the economic development of the South. By 1822 the large-plantation slave system had gained footing; in 1838-1839 it was able to show its power in the cotton "corner;" by the end of the next decade it had not only gained a solid economic foundation, but it had built a closed oligarchy with a political policy. The changes in price during the next few years drove out of competition many survivors of the small-farming free-labor system, and put the slave régime in position to dictate the policy of the nation. The zenith of the system and the first inevitable signs of decay came in the years 1850-1860, when the rising price of cotton threw the whole economic energy of the South into its cultivation, leading to a terrible consumption of soil and slaves, to a great increase in the size of plantations, and to increasing power and effrontery on the part of the slave barons.

138. The prices cited are from Newmarch and Tooke, and refer to the London market. The average price in 1855-60 was about 7d.

139. From United States census reports.



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Finally, when a rising moral crusade conjoined with threatened economic disaster, the oligarchy, encouraged by the state of the cotton market, risked all on a political *coup-d'état*, which failed in the war of 1861-1865.¹⁴⁰

The Iroquois nations had decided to side with the British against the American revolutionaries. At this point the revolutionaries invaded their home villages in upstate New York, driving many of them to take permanent refuge in southern Ontario. The *Ongwi Honwi*, superior people, of the Five Nations had at this point declined to fewer than 8,000 individuals. After the success of the Revolution, much of their homeland would need to be surrendered in a series of treaties with New York land speculators.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Alexander Mackenzie](#) went to work in the fur trade for the Finley and Gregory Company, and then for the North West Company.

In Nova Scotia, the Indians of the St. John River region assembled in large numbers and threatened to destroy the English.

CANADA

Until this year Elbridge Gerry sat on and sometimes presided over the congressional board that regulated the Continental finances. At this point there arose a quarrel over the price schedule for suppliers and, himself a supplier, he simply got up and walked out of the Congress. Nominally still a member, for the succeeding 3 years he would not darken their door, choosing instead to engage in trade and [privateering](#) while serving in the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The pay of the postmaster general in Philadelphia was being increased from \$1,000 to \$2,000 to \$5,000, presumably because of the rapid depreciation of the Continental paper currency.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

140. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, THE COTTON KINGDOM.

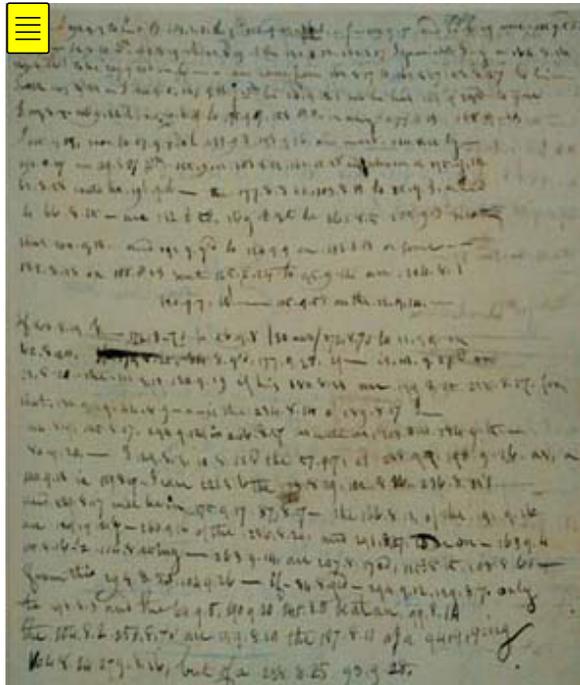


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In Philadelphia, [General Benedict Arnold](#), a member of a very distinguished [Rhode Island](#) family, began a sub rosa correspondence with the British enemy. (The structure from which General Arnold initiated this treasonous correspondence now houses our [Liberty Bell](#). Feel free, Ben, to correspond with the enemy: after all, we **believe** in liberty.)



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Thomas Paine](#) was discovered to have disclosed secret information and was forced to resign as Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in Congress.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

At the age of 14, [Stephen Burroughs](#) ran away to enlist in the army. He would shortly desert, and enter [Dartmouth College](#).

MUMPERY

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

JOHN WHEELOCK (president 1779-1815): John Wheelock assumed the presidency of Dartmouth upon his father's death in 1779. Neither a cleric nor an academic, Dartmouth's second and youngest president was confronted with the task of building up Dartmouth's finances and physical resources after the ravages of the Revolutionary War. While his relationship with the state legislature led to a legal crisis for the College and the controversy surrounding his latter years in office cast a shadow over his administration, Dartmouth made tremendous progress under his leadership. Two of the College's most renowned alumni, Daniel Webster (1801) and Sylvanus Thayer (1807) graduated during his tenure, and he was instrumental in founding the

HDT

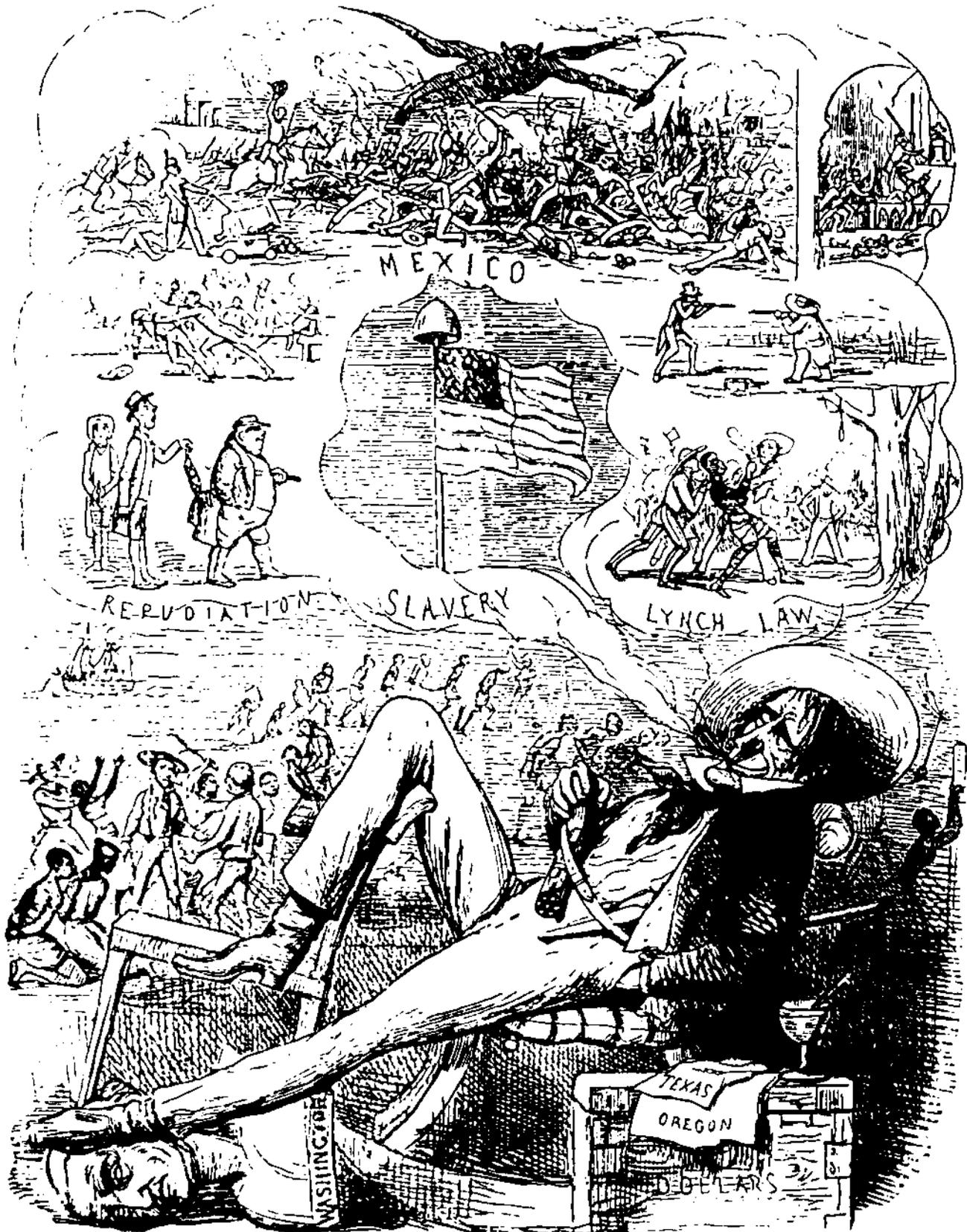
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fourth medical school in the nation in 1797 under Dr. Nathan Smith. John Wheelock also began building the historic Dartmouth Hall, which has become one of the country's best-known collegiate buildings.¹⁴¹



“Thoreau & Hayse” was a shop on the Long Wharf of Boston. [Jean Thoreau](#) was in partnership at first with a Hayse, and later with a Phillips. Their fittings shop was at #43 and #45 on the wharf:



October 1856: Father told me about his father the other night, who died in 1801, aged forty-seven. When the Revolutionary war came on, he was apprentice or journeyman to a cooper in Boston, who employed many hands. He called them together and told them that, on account of the war, his business was ruined, and he had no more work for them. So my father thinks he went into privateering. Yet he remembers his telling him of being employed digging at some defences, when a cannon-ball came and sprinkled sand all over them. After the war he went into business as a merchant, commencing with a single hogshead of sugar. His shop was on Long Wharf. He was a short man, a little taller than Father, stout, and very strong for his size. Levi Melcher, a powerful man, who was his clerk or tender, used to tell my father that he did not believe himself so strong a man as Grandfather, who would never give in to him in handling a hogshead of molasses, —setting it on its head, or the like.



141. All the Dartmouth presidential portraits are in the college's Hood Museum of Art in Hanford, New Hampshire.



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[Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) would add a footnote to this, to the effect that this strong clerk Levi Melcher had been one of his, F.B. Sanborn's, mother's uncles, whom he remembered well, and was of an old New Hampshire family in Rockingham County, and subsequently had made his fortune in the same wartime [privateering](#) business as had [Jean Thoreau](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

It has been alleged that at some point during the revolution, [Henry Thoreau](#)'s paternal grandfather [Jean Thoreau](#) served as a private in a unit under the leadership of fellow [Huguenot Paul Revere](#).¹⁴²

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The primary criticism leveled at John Adams as a delegate to the Massachusetts constitutional convention was that he was so un-American that he ate with a fork. Damn all such effete unAmerican snobs!

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

142. Well, at the least, he may have been in some sort of dustup which also involved [Paul Revere](#) or Riviere. Note that at the onset of the Revolutionary War, when General George Washington had issued a draft order covering "all young men of suitable age to be drafted," there was an exclusionary clause, "except those with conscientious scruples against war." It would appear that Jean did not seek to avail himself of this exclusionary clause — which is to say, conscientious objection was not part of the Thoreau family heritage.

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John Hancock, a Boston banker, was appointed commander of Castle Island in Boston Harbor.



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The Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of Friends warned its members against “seeming” to give approval to war by the witnessing of militia demonstrations and marches. Do not be a spectator at such events, for such spectatorship is a complicit activity!

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

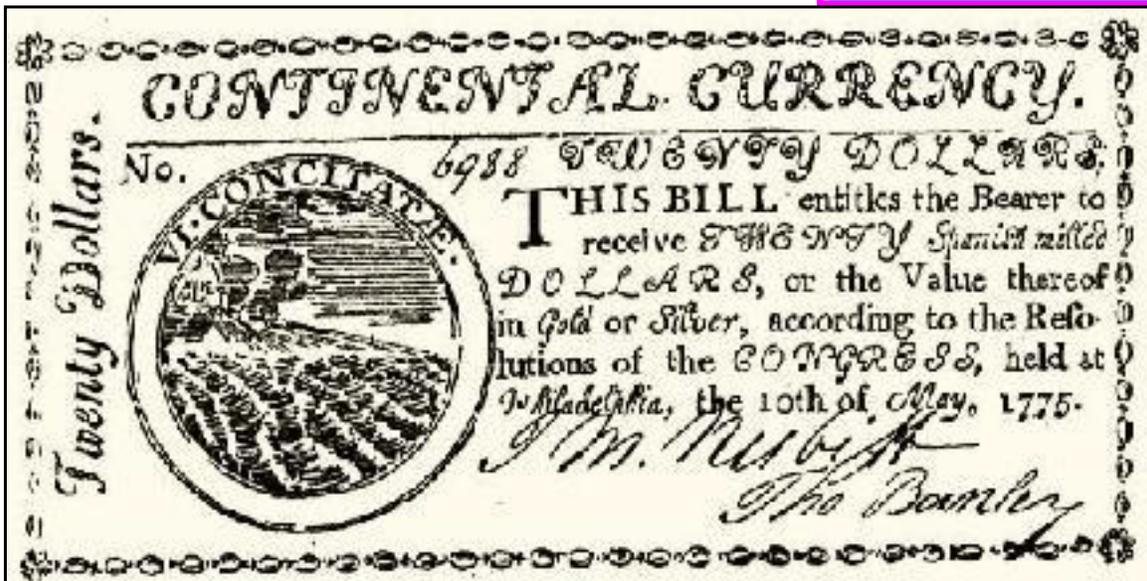
The Pennsylvania assembly also declared that for a [Quaker](#) to accept the Continental paper currency in trade was a dereliction of the Peace Testimony.¹⁴³

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

In New England, however, Friend [Moses Brown](#) was taking the attitude that money in itself being morally neutral, a distinction could not be forced between different forms of money — and generally the New England Quakers would be following his leading.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

The paper money issued by the American Congress, known as “Continental,” included various denominations increasing in \$5 amounts up to a bill that said it was worth \$80. Some states were issuing money stated in pounds, shillings, and pence. This paper currency had originally been scheduled to be redeemed in this year. By this point, however such paper money had plummeted to merely 2 1/2% of its face value, so that a \$5 bill might be exchangeable perhaps for 12 1/2 cents in metal coins.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

A common expression was “Not worth a Continental,” sometimes augmented by “Not worth a Continental damn.” It eventually would become virtually worthless.

143. Any number of Quakers were attempting to refuse to accept the paper money, on the ground that it had a war taint upon it. The Continental revolutionaries would sometimes confiscate all the property of such a currency abstainer. In the case of Friend John Cowgill, not only were his livestock seized, but his children were kicked out of their school, and he was taken under military escort to Dover, [Maryland](#) — where he was paraded through town in a cart with a placard attached to his back.

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Early in the year: Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert du Motier, *marquis de Lafayette*, returned to France. (Later in the year, he would be able to persuade the government of King Louis XVI to send an expeditionary army of 6,000 soldiers to the aid of the insurgent British colonists on the North American continent, to fight under the command of a general named George Washington whom they had defeated during the previous hostilities, the “French and Indian Wars” on that terrain. Because this general had made himself the enemy of their enemy –and because his military skills were such that the French had previously been able to force him to surrender to them– this American general obviously was in need of such assistance.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 9, Saturday: The Marathas soundly defeat British forces at Wadgaon, north of Pune.

People were trying to kill each other at Fort Morris (Sunbury), Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 29, Friday: Augusta, Georgia was occupied by the British.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

February 3, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Port Royal Island and at Beaufort in South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

February 10, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Car’s Fort, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The [Reverend James Fordyce, D.D.](#)’s “THE DELUSIVE AND PERSECUTING SPIRIT OF POPERY;” A SERMON PREACHED IN THE MONKWELL STREET CHAPEL ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY, BEING THE DAY APPOINTED FOR THE GENERAL FAST.

February 14, Sunday: *I filosofi immaginari*, a *dramma giocoso* by Giovanni Paisiello to words of Bertati, was performed for the initial time, at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

People were trying to kill each other at Kettle Creek, Georgia and at Cherokee Ford, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

At the island chain to which the Yorkshireman [Captain James Cook](#) had awarded the name of his patron John Montague, 4th Earl of Sandwich,¹⁴⁴ an attempt was made by a detachment of Marines to entice Chief Kalaniopuu to climb aboard a launch in order to take him to their ship. This was prevented by the islanders, who were rightly suspicious. In the fighting a number were killed. The Captain was killed by Ku’a, a Hawaiian chief who had come to doubt that the Yorkshireman was a reincarnation of the god Orono. Portions of Cook’s ribs and breastbone would be distributed to shrines located around the island. After this loss, Lieutenant William Bligh would become the new English master navigator.

144. The Earl was so enthralled by his constant card games of basset, ombre, and quadrille that he could not bring himself to stop for a proper meal (however, an official biographer has suggested an alternate account — that the original “sandwich” may have amounted to a working lunch consumed while the Earl was preoccupied at his desk in the Admiralty).



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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February 23, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Vincennes, Indiana.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 25, Thursday: Their Indian allies having deserted, the British surrendered Vincennes (Indiana) to the Americans.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 26, Friday: “Carmen saeculare,” an oratorio by François-André Danican-Philidor to words of Horace, was performed for the initial time, at Freemason’s Hall, London. This was extremely successful.

People were trying to kill each other at Horseneck, Connecticut.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

March: In a letter to [George Mason](#) in Virginia which he expected to be shown to [Thomas Jefferson](#), General [George Washington](#) complained that during the present “critical period” while the new nation was “verging ... fast to destruction,” Jefferson was at home at Monticello indulging in mere “idleness and dissipation.” Nevertheless Jefferson would remain at home enjoying himself, contributing nothing whatever to the war effort until after the British were quite gone from this area of the country. Even while serving as Virginia’s governor, Jefferson would inevitably resist all pressure to utilize the state militia, saying that he preferred to hold such forces in readiness to suppress any black servile insurrection. The only positive action that Jefferson ever would take during the war was fleeing. This occurred on June 3, 1781, when General Cornwallis dispatched a cavalry party made up of 250 infantry and dragoons under the leadership of Colonel Banastre Tarleton, and the raiding party went out to the Monticello plantation house to apprehend Jefferson. On that day Jefferson, after burning some sensitive papers and sending his favorite servant Martin Hemings off to hide some valuable items, mounted his favorite horse Caractacus and made his getaway. (In this gentleman’s autobiography, there would of course be no mention of such a flight, presumably for the very same reason that there would of course be no mention of Sally or the rugrats.)

If Tom could get away with it...



[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Of course, Tom can be excused for being a draft-dodger (like William Jefferson Clinton), as he had in this year more important fish that he needed get fried:

A Bill Concerning Slaves

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that no persons shall, henceforth, be slaves within this commonwealth, except such as were so on the first day of this present session of Assembly, and the descendants of the females of them. Negroes and



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mulattoes which shall hereafter be brought into this commonwealth and kept therein one whole year, together, or so long at different times as shall amount to one year, shall be free. But if they shall not depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter they shall be out of the protection of the laws. Those which shall come into this commonwealth of their own accord shall be out of the protection of the laws; save only such as being seafaring persons and navigating vessels hither, shall not leave the same while here more than twenty four hours together.

It shall not be lawful for any person to emancipate a slave but by deed executed, proved and recorded as is required by law in the case of a conveyance of goods and chattels, on consideration not deemed valuable in law, or by last will and testament, and with the free consent of such slave, expressed in presence of the court of the county wherein he resides: And if such slave, so emancipated, shall not within one year thereafter, depart the commonwealth, he shall be out of the protection of the laws. All conditions, restrictions and limitations annexed to any act of emancipation shall be void from the time such emancipation is to take place.

If any white woman shall have a child by a negro or mulatto, she and her child shall depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter. If they fail so to do, the woman shall be out of the protection of the laws, and the child shall be bound out by the Aldermen of the county, in like manner as poor orphans are by law directed to be, and within one year after its term of service expired shall depart the commonwealth, or on failure so to do, shall be out of the protection of the laws.

Where any of the persons before described shall be disabled from departing the commonwealth by grievous sickness, the protection of the law shall be continued to him until such disability be removed: And if the county shall in the mean time, incur any expence in taking care of him, as of other county poor, the Aldermen shall be intitled to recover the same from his former master, if he had one, his heirs, executors and administrators.

No negro or mulatto shall be a witness except in pleas of the commonwealth against negroes or mullatoes, or in civil pleas wherein negroes or mulattoes alone shall be parties.

No slave shall go from the tenements of his master, or other person with whom he lives, without a pass, or some letter or token whereby it may appear that he is proceeding by authority from his master, employer, or overseer: If he does, it shall be lawful for any person to apprehend and carry him before a Justice of the Peace, to be by his order punished with stripes, or not, in his discretion.

No slave shall keep any arms whatever, nor pass, unless with written orders from his master or employer, or in his company, with arms from one place to another. Arms in possession of a slave contrary to this prohibition shall be forfeited to him who will seize them.

Riots, Routs, unlawful assemblies, trespasses and seditious



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speeches by a negro or mullato shall be punished with stripes at the discretion of a Justice of the Peace; and he who will may apprehend and carry him before such Justice.

A question has arisen as to what Tom meant, above, by the phrase “out of the protection of the laws.” When I opined that what it must have meant in practice on the ground was “may be killed without penalty,” a senior Jefferson scholar was just outraged. I was set straight in no uncertain terms. No, what it meant was, such a person “would not be entitled to receive any further Welfare payments.” Gosh, how could I have been so utterly wrong!

We notice above how the law that Tom wrote did not bear on his **personal** situation out at the Monticello plantation. He wrote that “If any white woman shall have a child by a negro or mulatto, she and her child shall depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter,” and that otherwise she would be placing herself “out of the protection of the laws” — meaning merely that such a miscegenator wouldn’t be entitled to Welfare or to Aid for Dependent Children, but he did **not** write that “If any white man [such as himself, for one fine example] shall have a child by a negro or mulatto [such as Tom’s slave girl Sally], he and his child [such as Thomas Jefferson Hemings] shall depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter,” and that otherwise he would be placing himself “out of the protection of the laws” — meaning merely that such a miscegenator wouldn’t be entitled to Welfare or to Aid for Dependent Children.

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March 1, Monday: At Vincennes in the Indian Territory, General George Rogers Clark had triumphed.



The above stamp depicts a British officer surrendering Fort Sackville to the American insurgents, who were known as the “Long Knives.” –So what’s your two cents worth, in regard to this incident?¹⁴⁵



March 3, Wednesday: After taking Augusta, Georgia, a force of British and Loyalists was met by advancing Americans at Briar Creek. Some 300 of these revolutionaries led by General John Ashe were killed. The force of British and Loyalists then proceeded toward Charleston, until the appearance of another large rebel force caused them to head back to Savannah.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

145. Major George Rogers Clark would become notorious for scalping his Woodland Indian prisoners and wining and dining his European prisoners.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



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March 26, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at West Greenwich, Connecticut.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

In England, Amelia D'Arcy, Baroness Conyers' trail for adultery resulted in her being divorced by the *marquis* of Carmarthen.

[GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON](#)

April 12, Monday: France and Spain concluded a treaty of alliance against Great Britain.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

April 20, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Onondaga Castle, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



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April 27, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Middletown, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Concord](#) acknowledged that 5 of its citizen soldiers would need to remain for 6 additional weeks in [Rhode Island](#).

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁴⁶

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|---------------------------------|--------|--------|
| April 27, 1779 | 5 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 8 | 9 months | Continental Army | | 3248 |
| <p>The town chose a committee June 16th, to hire the men [both lines above] for these two campaigns, consisting, of Col. Nathan Barrett, the four commanding officers of the militia companies, the Selectmen, Col. John Cuming, Mr. Jonas Heywood, Capt. David Brown, Capt. Joseph Butler, and James Barrett, Esq. Acton furnished four; Bedford, three; Lincoln, five; and the whole county, two hundred and forty-five in the nine months' campaign. The detachment to Rhode Island took one hundred men more from this county, who were under Col. Jacobs. The 3d Regiment was required to furnish one Sergeant and eleven privates. Thaddeus Blood was a Lieutenant in the United States' service; Jonas Wright was Sergeant.</p> | | | | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 4 | 6 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The town received orders for these men [the above] September 1st and chose the Selectmen, Col. Nathan Barrett, Jonas Heywood, Esq., and the four militia Captains, a committee to procure these and other four militia captains, a committee to procure these and all others, "when small drafts are called," without calling the town together.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1779 | 9 | | Rhode Island | | |
| September 1779 | 4 | | Works at Boston | 12 | 48 |
| <p>These [the above] belonged to a company of thirty-eight men from this and the adjoining towns, under Samuel Heald, Captain; Enoch Kingsbury, Lieutenant; Stephen Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant; and John Jacobs, Colonel. Henry Flint was Sergeant Major. They were discharged in November, and the whole amount of their wages was 10s. 6p. in silver each!</p> | | | | | |
| September 1, 1779 | 20 | 2 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The names of these [the above] men were, Charles Shepherd, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Timothy Wesson, Nathan Page, Asa Piper, Timothy Sprague, Nathaniel Breed, Charles Hanley, John Stratten, Ezekiel Hager, Jeremiah Shepherd, Nathaniel French, Josiah Melvin Jr., Joshua Stevens, Phillip Barrett, Lemuel Wheeler, Chandler Bryant, Daniel Cole. Acton furnished eleven; Bedford, seven; Lincoln, nine; Carlisle, seven. These men were procured by a committee chosen by the town, June 12th, in addition to that chosen in September previous, consisting of John Cuming, Esq., Capt. David Brown, Capt. Andrew Conant, Capt. David Wheeler, Lieut. Stephen Barrett. They were also to procure others, "if the draught does not exceed sixteen; if it does, the town to be called together."</p> | | | | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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May: Pennsylvania Militiaman Moses Van Campen joined Washington's army as a quartermaster. The army would march into [New York State](#) with General John Sullivan. By this month the army had reached Easton, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 1, Saturday: In [Boston](#), the estates of "enemies of Liberty" were forfeited. Do not stop at GO, do not collect \$200. Don't let the doorknob hit you in the butt on your way out. Bon voyage, fall overboard.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 7, Friday: The [USS Providence](#) captured the HMS *Diligent*, a brig of 12 guns, off Sandy Hook. During this engagement the vessel absorbed two broadsides and there had been in addition a volley of muskets, and its mast, rigging, and hull had been chopped up pretty badly. The crippled vessel would be assigned to Commodore Saltonstall's squadron which would sail out of Boston harbor on July 19th and enter Penobscot Bay on July 25th.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 9, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Nelson near Norfolk, Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Jacob Baker, Jr. enlisted as a matross¹⁴⁷ in the company of Captain Donnell in the regiment of Colonel John Crane (on August 13, 1778 he would be reported as having deserted).

May 11, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Charleston Neck, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 11, Tuesday-13, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Coosawhatchie, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 31, Monday: The British under James Clinton took Stony Point and Verplanck Point, on the Hudson River.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

146. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

147. A matross worked in cooperation with a gunner in the artillery. His job was to assist in loading, firing, and sponging the cannons, and to march under arms in guard of the store-wagons.



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June: The Oneida headman Honyere was commissioned as a captain in the US Army.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 1, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Stony Point, Verplanck's Point near Fayette, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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June 8, Tuesday: [Concord](#) budgeted for 8 of its citizen soldiers for 9 additional months in the Continental Army at a total salary expense of \$3,248. The town also allowed for 4 of its citizen soldiers to be in [Rhode Island](#) for 6 additional months.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁴⁸

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|---------------------------------|--------|--------|
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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June 18, Friday: After serving for a decade as the rector of [Perth Academy](#), Robert Hamilton₁ became Professor of Natural Philosophy in [Marischal College and University](#) in Aberdeen, [Scotland](#). In about this timeframe he got married with Ann Mitchell, which union would produce daughters Anne Archibald Hamilton, Helen Hamilton, and Marion Hamilton.

TWO OR THREE ROBERT HAMILTONS

French forces captured the island of St. Vincent.

The expedition of General John Sullivan left Easton, Pennsylvania. Among the men on this expedition was Captain John Ganson.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 19, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Greenwich, Connecticut.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 20, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Stono Ferry, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 21, Monday: Spain declared war on Great Britain, in alliance with France but not with the United States of America (in the course of our preoccupation with the Eastern seaboard, in cooperation with France, we would lose the Louisiana Territory and the West Coast of the continent, to Spain).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Soon the Spanish would lay siege to Gibraltar (the siege would not be lifted until February 1783).

June 28, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Hickory Hill, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The town of Lincoln sent Brigadier-General Eleazer Brooks as their delegate to the convention in Cambridge for the framing of a new constitution, advising him that if the convention came to an agreement on such a document, each of the Massachusetts towns would be needing a printed copy for the instruction of its selectmen.

The town [of Lincoln] guarded their rights with careful jealousy. When the constitution, formed by the State Convention, February 28th, 1778, was submitted to the town, it voted, 39 to 38, to disapprove of it. In May, 1779, it was voted, "that the town will not choose at this time to have a new constitution or

148. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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form of government made"; but on July 28th, the Hon. Eleazer Brooks was chosen a delegate to the convention in Cambridge, "for the sole purpose of framing a new constitution, and the delegate was instructed to cause a printed copy of the form of a constitution, they may agree upon in said convention, to be transmitted to the selectmen of each town." This constitution was submitted to the town, 22d of May, 1780.

"On the 2d Article in the 1st Section of the 1st Chapter in the form of government, voted, that this town disapprove of the said article; 1. Because we think the legislative, executive, and judicial powers ought to be in separate departments and not exercised by the same body or bodies of men, either in whole or in part. 2. Because we judge this article to be repugnant to the 17th and 30th articles in the bill of rights; as also to the 1st article in the frame of government, which we think to be founded in reason.

"On the 2d Article in the 3d Section of the 1st Chapter, voted, that the town disapprove of this article; because we think the mode of representation pointed out in this article is not founded upon the principles of equality as provided by the preceding article. We apprehend that all circumstances ought to be taken into consideration to determine a representation founded in equality, and that neither the number of rateable polls nor any other circumstance, singly considered, determines such a representation. This state is constituted of a great number of distinct and very unequal corporations, which are the immediate constituent parts of the state; and the individuals are only the remote parts in many respects. In all acts of the legislature which respect particular corporations, each corporation has a distinct and separate interest, clashing with the interests of all the rest. And, so long as human nature remains the same it now is, each representative will be under an undue bias in favor of the corporation he represents; therefore any large corporation having a large number of representatives, will have a large and undue influence in determining any question in their own favor. Should the number of rateable polls in any particular corporation increase till they overbalance all the others, they could completely tyrannize over all the rest, and every degree of inequality gives power for the same degree of tyranny. Another circumstance which renders the mode of representation pointed out in this article unequal is, that the small corporations can have no voice in government without being at the whole expense of a full representation; whereas, the large corporations, by dividing the attendance of their representatives, can vastly lessen their expense, and yet, in such cases as respect their particular and separate interests, have a full representation."



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The 3d Article in the Declaration of Rights was accepted 46 to 2; the last clause of the 10th Article, 3d Section, and 1st Chapter was rejected 30 to 11. Voted unanimously to revise the constitution in 7 years by 40 votes, and to accept it with the foregoing exceptions.

The first meeting under the new constitution was held on the first Monday of September, when there were 41 votes cast, all of which but one were for the Hon. John Hancock.¹⁴⁹

July: [New York](#)'s royal governor Tryon led an expedition along the Connecticut coast, burning Fairfield, Norwalk, and ships in New Haven harbor.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 2, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Poundridge and at Bedford in New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



Our national birthday, Monday the 5th of July: As the Fourth was happening to fall this year for the first time on a Sabbath day, our celebrations of nationhood had needed to be postponed for a day.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

People were trying to kill each other at New Haven, Connecticut.

In Boston, the cannon of continental ships fired a "grand salute." In Philadelphia, over the objections of 14 members of the Continental Congress that due to the situation this year celebration would be inappropriate, there was an elegant dinner at the City Tavern followed by a display of fireworks.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 5, Monday: British troops land at New Haven, Connecticut to a barrage of musket fire from forewarned Americans. Overwhelming numbers allow the British, despite losses, to ransack, pillage and burn the town. They go on to burn Fairfield and Norwalk before returning to New York.

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149. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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July 6, Tuesday: The French defeat the British in naval action off Grenada.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

La morte di Didone, a dramma per musica by Ignaz Holzbauer to words of Metastasio, was performed for the first time, in the National Theater, Mannheim.

July 8, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Fairfield, Connecticut.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 9, Friday: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart completes his Symphony K.319 in Salzburg.

British forces destroy Fairfield, Connecticut.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 12, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Norwalk, Connecticut.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 14, Wednesday: Royal Governor James Wright returned to British-occupied Savannah.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 14, Wednesday-17, Saturday: The 1st Massachusetts state convention was held, at [Concord](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A state convention met in [Concord](#), July 14, 1779. The delegates from this town were [John Cuming](#), Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq. [note that this is not Colonel James Barrett, as he had died in April], Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam; from Bedford, Mr. John Merriam; from [Acton](#), Capt. Joseph Robbins, Mr. Seth Brooks, Mr. Thomas Noyes; from Lincoln, Capt. Samuel Farrar, and Abijah Pierce, Esq. The whole number was 174. The object of this convention was to establish a state price-current, and to adopt other means to prevent monopoly, extortion, and unfair dealing. The meeting was opened and closed with prayer by Rev. Mr. Ripley. The Hon. Azor Orne, of Marblehead, was Chairman, and Samuel Ruggles, Secretary. After passing some very spirited resolutions, fixing the prices of several articles of merchandise and agreeing upon an address to the people, the convention adjourned on the 17th, recommending another similar one to meet again in October.

Their proceedings were laid before the town [Concord], July 30th, when they were approved, and a committee of thirteen chosen, "more fully to regulate the prices of articles of produce among us." This committee reported, August 9th, when another, of six, was chosen in conjunction with the committee of correspondence, "to keep a watchful eye over the people, and



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proceed against any who should *dare transgress* the regulated prices of articles enumerated, either in or out of the town [Concord], by taking more than they are set in the report; and to treat them as enemies to their country." The town [Concord] voted also "to support their committee in every regular method they shall take to punish those that violate them."¹⁵⁰

150. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

Begun and held at CONCORD, in the County of MIDDLESEX, in and for the State of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, on the 14th Day of JULY, 1779, for the Purpose of carrying into Effect the several interesting and important Measures recommended by CONGRESS, to the Inhabitants of the UNITED-STATES, in their late wife, seasonable and animating ADDRESS.

A Large Number of the Delegates being met, on a Motion made (previous to the Choice of a President) the Rev. Mr. RIPLEY, of Concord, attended, and opened the Convention with Prayer. After which, on a Motion made, Three o'Clock, P. M. was assigned for the Choice of a President. Then adjourned to that Time.

Three o'Clock, met according to Adjournment.

A Committee being appointed to receive and sort the Votes for a President, the honorable AZOR ORNE, Esq; of Marblehead, was chosen by a very great Majority—And Mr. SAMUEL RUGGLES, of Boston, was appointed Secretary.

On a Motion made and seconded, a Committee of one from each County was appointed to receive the Names and Qualifications of the Delegates for each Town in his County, and lay the same on the Table: who reported the following List, which was voted satisfactory, viz.

County of SUFFOLK.

Boston, Mr. Thomas Walley
Mr. Samuel Ruggles
Mr. Amasa Davis
Ellis Gray, Esq;
Mr. Stephen Higginson
Samuel Barrett, Esq;
Mr. John Ballard
Roxbury, Mr. Jonathan Paten
Mr. Joseph Ruggles
Mr. Noah Davis
Dorchester, Mr. Philip Wittington.
Milton, Mr. Allen Crocker.
Braintree, Mr. Nathaniel Wales.
Dedham, Capt. Joseph Guild
Mr. David Fuller.
Brockline, Capt. John Goddard.
Stoughton, Col. Pope.
Stoughtonham, Dr. Elijah Hewins.
Weymouth, Mr. Daniel Blanchard.
Hingham, Dr. Thomas Thaxter
Mr. Charles Cushing
Walpole, Mr. Seth Clap
Mattisfield, Mr. John Fisher
Bellingham, Mr. Jacob Metcalf
Wrentham, Mr. Elias Bacon
Franklin, Mr. Nathan Mann
Fenborough, Mr. Joseph Everett

County of ESSEX.

Marblehead, Hon. Azor Orne, Esq;
Mr. Burrell Devereux
Newbury, Mr. John Broomfield
Port, Capt. Michael Hodge
Major Enoch Tinsomb
Danvers, Mr. Archelus Dale
Andover, Mr. Joshua Hooge
Samuel Osgood Esq;
Haverhill, Brigadier General Brackett
Salisbury, Mr. Jonathan Evers
Bradford, Capt. Dudley Chalton
Lynn, Mr. Samuel Burrell
Beverly, Capt. John Robinson
Roxbury, Thomas Mighil, Esq;
Spencer, Mr. Nathan Foster
Haverly, Mr. George Cabbott
Mr. Joseph Wood
Topsheld, Mr. Abraham Hobbs
Mr. Daniel Perkins

County of MIDDLESEX.

Charlestown, Nathaniel Gorham, Esq;
Mr. David Wood, jun.
Cambridge, Abraham Waton, Esq;

Chelmsford, Oliver Barron, Esq;
Mr. Samuel Stevens
Mr. Josiah Hodgman
Lexington, Mr. Matthew Meeds
Mr. Thalesus Parker
Mr. Joel Vales
Waltham, Capt. Abraham Pierce
Mr. Samuel Sterns
Mr. Isaac Hager
Watertown, Mr. Richard Clark
Mr. Jedediah Leathe
Marlboro', Edward Barnes, Esq;
Mr. Benjamin Sawin
Littleton, Mr. Matthew Brooks
Bedford, Mr. John Merriam
Allen, Capt. Joseph Robbins
Mr. Seth Brooks
Mr. Thomas Noyes
Shirley, Mr. John Hale
Framingham, Mr. Daniel Sanger
Capt. Simeon Edgill
Billerica, Capt. Josiah Bowers
Capt. Jonathan Stickney
Stow, Mr. John Etnis
Mr. Noah Gates
Hillsboro', Mr. Joseph Bigelow
Malden, Benjamin Blaney, Esq;
Sherburne, Mr. Jedediah Phipps
Townsend, Mr. James Lock
Reading, Mr. Abraham Foster
Natick, Mr. Abel Perrey
Abby, Mr. Isaac Gregory
Wilmington, Timothy Walker, Esq;
Stoughton, Mr. John Geary
Southbury, Mr. Ezra Kendall
Wobford, Mr. Jonas Proctor
Mr. Josiah Boynton
Mr. Samuel Wright
William Baldwin, Esq;
Mr. Samuel Puffer

Sudbury, Mr. Oliver Cummins
Dunstable, Mr. Oliver Cummings
Peppercell, William Prefcott, Esq;
Concord, John Cummings, Esq;
Jonas Haywood, Esq;
James Barrett, Esq;
Jonas Butterick, Esq;
Ephraim Wood, Esq;
Capt. David Brown
Mr. Josiah Merriam
James Prefcott, Esq;
Josiah Sartell, Esq;
Capt. Samuel Farrar
Abijah Pierce, Esq;

County of HAMPSHIRE.

N. Yarmouth, Mr. John Haise
New Gloucester, Mr. Isaac Parsons
Gorham, Edmund Phinney Esq;
Falmouth, Mr. Stephen Hall
[The preceding Six Towns were Chosen in a County Convention, to represent the County]
County of PLYMOUTH.
Plymouth, Col. Theophilus Cotton
Mr. Ephraim Spooner
Bridgewater, Capt. Joseph Gannet,
Capt. Nathan Mitchell
Haverer, Mr. Joseph Ramfiddell
Pembroke, Col. Jeremiah Hall
Scituate, William Turner, Esq;
Arlington, Col. David Jones
Marshfield, Capt. Thomas Waterman
Middleboro', Mr. Zebedee Sprout
County of BARRISTON.
Dartmouth, Mr. Jereh Willis
Mr. Jonathan Tabor
Freetown, Mr. Jonathan Read
Swanley, Mr. Israel Barney
Rehoboth, Mr. John Wheeler
Norton, William Holmes, Esq;
Essex, Mr. Abel Koughley
Mansfield, Mr. Benjamin Bates
County of WORCESTER.
Worcester, Capt. David Bigelow
Mr. Joseph Barber
Col. Joseph Reed
Mr. Ebenezer Allen
Capt. John Tyler
Mendon, Capt. John Wait
Brookfield, Mr. Resben Lamb
Oxford, Deacon Willis Hall
Mr. Ebenezer Waters
Leicester, Mr. Henry King
Spencer, Asa Baldwin, Esq;
Oakham, Capt. Joseph Chaddock,
Capt. Andrew Parker,
Mr. Joseph Farrar
N. Braintree, Major James Woods
Wethersburgh, Doctor James Hawes
Norborough, Mr. Gilliam Bais
Lunenburg, Capt. George Kimball
Uxbridge, Mr. Amariah Prefton,
Capt. E. Ester Ham n,
Haverard, Mr. Ephraim Fairbanks
Capt. David Nuis
Upton, Capt. Thomas M. Baker
Hardwick, General Jonathan Warner
Holden, Major Francis Wilton
Wobers, Col. James Stone
Douglas, Mr. William Dudley
Grafton, Mr. Ephraim Shearman

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On a Motion made and seconded, *Resolved*, That the Address of Congress be read.

After some Time spent in general Conversation on the Address—a Committee was appointed from the several Counties to take up the Subject at large, and report.

The Committee having reported.—

The following Resolves, Arrangements and Addresses, were, after the fullest & most candid Discussion, *unanimously* agreed to.

THE DELEGATES from the several Towns afore-mentioned, being convened in Consequence of an Application from the Inhabitants of the Town of *Boston*, to take into Consideration the *present distressed Situation* of the People at large; and particularly the excessive high Prices of every Article of Consumption; and by tracing to their Causes those Evils, to discover and point out the safest and best Remedies,—have carefully attended that Duty, and have determined upon the following Resolutions, calculated as they conceive, to answer the desired End, and founded on such Principles as must make their Operation equitable and easy.

1. *Resolved* unanimously as our Opinion, That from and after the Tenth Day of *August* next, the following Articles of Merchandize and Country Produce, be not sold at a higher Price than is hereafter affixed to them, *vis.*

| | per Hoghead. | per Barrel. | per Gallon. |
|--------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------|
| West-India Rum, | £.5 5 0 | £.5 15 6 | £.6 6 0 |
| New-England do. | 4 0 0 | 4 0 0 | 4 10 0 |
| Molasses, | 3 12 0 | 3 10 0 | 4 7 0 |
| Coffee, | 12 0 0 | 6 0 0 | 12 0 0 |
| Brown Sugar, | £.50—£.65 per C. | 11—14 per lb. | |
| Chocolate, | 20s. per lb. | per Box. | 22s. per Doz. |
| Bohea Tea, | £.4 16s. per Chest. | £.5 6s. per Doz. | £.3 10s. per lb. |
| Cotton, | £.1 10s. per lb. per Bale. | 33s. per Doz. | 36s. per lb. |
| German Steel, | 30s. per Cwt. | 33s. per Bar. | 36s. per single lb. |
| Salt best Quality, | £.9 per Bushel | by the single Bushel or larger Quantity. | |

Indian Corn, £.4 10s. }
 Rye, 6 0 } per Bushel.
 Wheat, 9 0 }
 Beef, till 1st September, 6s. per lb. after that, 5s. per lb. per Lot, or small Quantity.
 Mutton, 4s. per Pound.
 Lamb, 4s. per Pound.
 Veal, 4s. per Pound.
 Foreign Beef, 5s.60 per Barrel, containing 200 wt.
 Dried Pork, £.90.
 Butter, 12s. per Pound.
 Cheese, 6s. per Pound.
 Milk, 2/6d in Boston.
 Hay, 40s. per C. in Boston, and other Seaports in the usual Proportion.
 Bloomery-Iron, £.10 per Cwt.
 Customary Perks, as it is not the Season for it, to be regulated at the next Convention in *October*.

N. B. The above to be considered as the highest Prices, of which Produce and Merchandize of the best Quality are to be sold in the Sea-Ports, free from all Charges—except Hay and Milk, which are to be reckoned at the Prices in *Boston* only.

2. *Resolved*, That if any Person, shall under any Pretence whatsoever, demand or take more for any of the above Articles than is allowed therefor by the foregoing Resolve, he or they shall be held and deemed as Enemies to this Country, and treated as such. And in Order that the Conduct of all such Persons may be fully known to the good People of this State, it is hereby recommended to the Committee of Correspondence, and where there is no such Committee, to the Selectmen of any Town or Plantation where any such Person or Persons dwell, to publish his or their Names in one of the public News-Papers printed in this State.

3. *Resolved*, That for the more effectually carrying into Execution the foregoing Resolves, it is strongly recommended to the Committee of Correspondence of any Town or Plantation, and where there is no such Committee, the Selectmen of such Town or Plantation, where a Breach of said Resolutions may be made, by any Person who is not

4. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Inhabitants of the trading Towns to estimate the Prices of European Manufactures in an Average Proportion with the Articles of *West-India* Produce, as regulated by this Convention; and any Possessor of those Goods, who refuses to comply with such Regulations, to deal with as an Enemy to his Country.

5. *Resolved*, That the Inhabitants of the several Towns in this State, be desired to regulate the Prices of Inholders, their own Labour, Tanning, Manufactures, and other Articles, in Proportion to the Rates of the Necessaries of Life, as stated in the above Regulations—to keep a watchful Eye over each other, that no Breach or Infringement of these Resolutions may escape Notice—and to enter into such other Regulations as they may think necessary, to carry into Effect, the Doings of this Convention.

6. *Resolved*, That the buying and selling Silver and Gold, and the demanding or receiving either of them, in Part or in Whole, for Goods or Rents, or in any Way in Trade whatever, has been one great Cause of our present Evils; it is therefore most earnestly recommended to the Inhabitants of the several Towns and Plantations in this State, to adopt such limited Resolutions as shall prevent such wicked and pernicious Practices in future.

7. *Resolved*, That as a gradual, is far more safe, easy and equitable, than a rapid appreciation of our Currency; and as issuing and taxing are the most effectual Methods of producing such an appreciation, it is most earnestly desired by this Convention, that the Inhabitants of this State, would comply with the late Regulation of the General Court, and lend to Government all the Money they can possibly spare, and pay their Taxes as soon as may be.

8. Whereas the Clergy of this State, by their early Attachments to the Liberties of this Country, and their constant Exercises to promote its Freedom and Happiness, have manifested a Spirit which ought to endear them to the Community: And whereas they have suffered greatly by the high Price to which the Necessaries of Life have arisen:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several Parishes in this State, to make such Provision for the Support of their several Ministers as their Situation in Life, and the Abilities of their Parishioners, entitle them to.

9. Whereas the Wisdom of our Ancestors directed them in the Infancy of this Country to enact Laws for the Establishment of Schools in the several Towns in this Government, from whence great public Advantages have arisen—And as no People can reasonably expect the long Enjoyment of the Rights of Freedom, unless the Education of Youth is attended to and encouraged:

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the several Towns in this State, to the utmost of their Abilities, to put in Execution the good and wholesome Laws which have been made from Time to Time for that Purpose.

10. *Resolved*, as our Opinion, That it will be expedient that a Convention of Delegates from the several Towns in this State, be assembled at Concord, on the 1st Wednesday of *October* next, to take into Consideration the Prices of Merchandize and Country Produce, and to make such Regulations and Resolutions therein, as the public Good may require. The Good People of this State are therefore earnestly exhorted to make Choice of suitable Persons for that Purpose.

11. *Resolved*, That the Delegates from the Town of *Boston*, do communicate by private conveyance the Resolves and Regulations of this Assembly, and their Address to the People; and to transmit Copies thereof to every Town and Plantation in this State, for their Consideration and Adoption; and the Inhabitants of said Towns and Plantations, are desired as soon as possible, after the Receipt of such Copies, to act upon the same, and enter into such Measures as they may think necessary to give Force to and carry into Effect the said Resolves and Regulations; and to make Return of their Doings to the said Committee, at *Boston*, who are desired to cause all such Returns to be Printed in the News-Papers, that the Good People of this State, may be prepared to conform themselves thereto, on the Day set for their Regulations to take place; and to make Application to the General Court for the Payment of the Expences.

12. *Resolved*, That *Nathaniel Gorham*, Esq; *Ellis Gray*, Esq; and *Mr. Stephen Higginson*, be a Committee to write to the other New-England States, and to the States of *New-York*, *New-Jersey* and *Pennsylvania*, to communicate the Proceed-

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been conducted, afford us the clearest Evidence, that the *Jealousy and Misapprehension* which have of late been discovered between the *Seaport* and the *Country Towns*, have principally arisen from the *Wicked and Malevolent Reports*, industriously circulated by our *internal Enemies*, the *Tories and Monopolizers*, who seek equally the *Destruction* of both.

Done in Convention at Concord, in the State of Massachusetts-Bay, by unanimous Consent, July 17th, Anno Domini, 1779.

AZOR ORNE, *President.*

Attch, SAMUEL RUGGLES, *Sec'y.*

AN ADDRESS

To the Inhabitants of the State of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

IN Obedience to the serious Call of Congress, and you our Constituents, we have assembled in Convention, to consider the alarming State of our public Affairs, to examine the Difficulties and Dangers we are involved in, and which threaten us with immediate Destruction.

WITH that Attention which so important a Business deserves, we have endeavoured to investigate the Causes of our Distress, and to discover the best Method by which they may be removed.—We cannot but lament that we find our Situation as critical as our Fears had suggested, though we are happy in observing that Safety is yet, under Providence, within our Reach, and our Security may be easily established.

IN tracing the Evils we so sensibly feel, we are led to one Source, the *constant Depreciation of our Currency*—to render this of Value, therefore, and to give it Stability, is the Object of our Pursuit; to obtain it, we have formed such Arrangements of the Prices of the necessary Articles of Consumption and Commerce, as has that immediate Tendency.—We flatter ourselves that it will be permanent, as it is calculated so equally to effect the different Interests of the Community, that no Class of Men can be induced to counteract or evade it; and every Practice opposed to it must be considered as arising from a Disposition truly inimical to the good of this Country.—We are at the same Time, fully aware of the extreme Difficulty of conducting Regulations of this Kind, so as that every Individual shall think his particular Interest sufficiently attended to: This Step, however, is not the only one to relieve us; we expect from Loaning and Taxation, greater Benefits than can possibly be produced by any Stipulation—as *LOANING* and *TAXATION* must bring Money into greater Demand, they will, if pursued, reduce the Articles of Sale to a still lower Rate than that, at which we have set them. The List of Prices serves only to assure you of the *highest* Point to which any Thing may rise; and we cannot conceive it possible that the comparative Value of all Kinds of Property to Money, should continue so high as it now is, when, beside the large Stock on Hand of Foreign Importation and Country Produce, we have the pleasing Prospect, from the Success of our Navigation, and the uncommon Goodness of the Season, of a still larger Quantity.—It has been a general Belief among us, that one great Cause of Depreciation in our Money, was the excessive Quantity, Congress have been obliged to emit; this is, no Doubt, true, and may, probably, account for one Fourth or one Third of the Fall of Money: In whatever Degree this Cause may have operated, we think it will be easily brought back to the Stage where that left it, as more Money will be called out of Circulation than the extraordinary Amount of such Emission; this, therefore, is an Evil easily removed: But we consider another Cause of the rapid sinking of our Money, and that the most powerful and dangerous, to be a want of Confidence in it, which has occasioned such a quick Circulation, as can be accounted for, on no other Principle, than the Idea of the Possessor, that he suffers while the Money rests in his Hands; thus, the Purchaser is actuated by a View to get rid of his Money, rather than procure a Commodity he wants: Convinced of the Truth of this, we think it evident the Money passes from one to another, twice as often as it would do, were its Value certain at any given Rate; and therefore must be confi-

a Set of *Jobbers, Sharpies and Forefallers*, as to become a Science: These People, from their Refinements in Sharping, have an Advantage over the Community, which enables them to prey on the Vitals of it, by accumulating immense Wealth, at the Expence of the Public Credit, while they sport with and deride its Distresses; to add, if possible, to their Enormities, they have occasioned a Distrust between the two most important Interests of the State, which had it been founded on any Thing but the incorrigible Wickedness of these Wretches, must have been attended with the most fatal Consequences to both—the fair Merchant and honest Farmer, especially those situated at a Distance from each other, by having little or no Communication, except through such vile Hands, have been equally misrepresented, and equally misunderstood; those, who go between them, have considered their private Gain as incompatible with the Harmony and Union which both wished to support, and have therefore given every Colour to Jealousy, their Ingenuity could devise.—Our internal Enemies, whose Eagle-Eyes are ever on the Watch, have beheld with Pleasure, this growing Distrust, and sensible, their Wishes for our Overthrow, could never be accomplished but by a Disunion, have endeavoured to cherish it with the assiduous Industry which might be expected from disappointed Malice and unavailing Retirements: To prevent any further Mischiefs from these flagitious Offenders, who are ever abusing the Lenity of a free and generous People, you will attend to the Measures we have now taken, and we trust readily and cheerfully consent to any future Provision, that may be made against such detestable Practices.—As we are persuaded that the Fluctuation of our Money, either directly or remotely, is the principal Cause of our present Calamities: So in the Hands of every bad Man, it is the ready Instrument with which he can injure us—A *Stability in the Currency*, therefore, in this Instance, would be a Privation of the Means to do Evil.

WE are sensible the Exchange of Silver and Gold for Paper, or any Kind of Commodity, has a most pernicious Effect on our Medium, as it leads every Man in the Course of his Business, to make Comparisons and draw Conclusions unjust as they are unfavourable—the comparative Value of Silver and Gold can be no Rule for the Price of any Thing else, as Silver and Gold might be much more or less wanted than other Articles, and of Course so much dearer or cheaper.

IF it be asked why we have fixed the Articles of Consumption and Commerce at so high a Rate, we answer, that a sudden Appreciation of Money is not only more difficult, but would, in its Operation, be productive of those insupportable Evils which have attended its contrary Course: It is, therefore, the Opinion of this Convention, that it should be carried on by such just and easy, though slow and certain Gradations, as will, in their Effects, be the least Injurious to Individuals.—We are the more induced to this, as we expect, before a Meeting of a new Convention, such happy Consequences from Loans and Taxes will be manifested, as must favor a further Reduction of Prices.

BELOVED COUNTRYMEN, we think ourselves justified in the Presumption, that the Doings of this Convention will so far approve themselves to the common Sense and unbiassed Judgment of every Order of Men, that all will uniedly exert themselves to carry them into Effect: Possessed with this Belief, we submit them to you, and more calling your Attention to the most important Concerns, among which, the *Welfare of our Brethren in the Field* claims an immediate Regard. Conducted as you have been, by the Favor of Heaven, with Honor and Success through the present Contest to this Day, and just on the Verge of establishing all for which you have contended, can you, for the Sake of a little ideal Wealth, expose yourselves to the Power of those relentless Invaders, with whom the untutor'd Savage would disdain to rank himself; and who, while they boast their Courage and Humanity, are burning your defenceless Towns, and murdering their helpless Inhabitants?

WE only add, that the perfect Unanimity which has prevailed through all our Proceedings, is a happy Preface of that Union in our Constituents, which alone can give Efficacy to our Measures.

DONE in Convention at Concord, in the State of Massa-

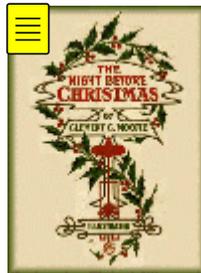


1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

July 15, Thursday: [Clement Clarke Moore](#) was born in Manhattan, the only child of heiress Charity Clarke and Dr. Benjamin Moore, Episcopal Bishop of New York, Rector of Trinity Church, and President of Columbia College.



Mad Anthony Wayne, guided by the black soldier Pompey, retook Stony Point from the British, capturing the entire garrison.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 16, Friday: American revolutionaries captured the “impregnable” fortress of Stony Point on the Hudson River north of New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 18, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Jersey City, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 19, Monday: Commodore Saltonstall’s squadron sailed out of Boston harbor and would enter Penobscot Bay on July 25th. With this squadron sailed the badly damaged [USS Providence](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 22, Thursday: The Spanish expedition up the Pacific coast of the North American continent anchored at Hinchinbrook Island, Alaska, which they proceeded to rename Magdalena.

People were trying to kill each other at Minisink, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

22nd, 7th Month: The [Rhode Island](#) [[Aquidneck Island](#)] Monthly Meeting recorded that it had “*Received a Bill of exchange for one hundred pounds sterling drawn in favor of Thomas Robinson upon John Wright, Joseph Delaplane and Walter Franklin in New York, it being a charitable donation from our [Friends](#) in England, to be applied towards the support of such Friends as are reduced to necessitous circumstances within the verge of this Monthly Meeting.*”

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

July 25, Sunday: Commodore Saltonstall took his squadron of American warships into Penobscot Bay — this would turn out to be a serious tactical error as it was a body of water from which the squadron would be unable to extricate itself, in the eventuality that all the entryways came to be blockaded by ships of the British fleet, without being helplessly destroyed piecemeal. With this ill-led squadron was sailing the badly damaged [USS Providence](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 30, Friday: While preparing *Echo et Narcisse* for the Paris Opéra, Christoph Willibald Gluck suffered his initial stroke. He would recover. Rehearsals for the opera would be postponed until early September.

The townspeople of [Concord](#) voted their approval of the actions of the state convention.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A state convention met in [Concord](#), July 14, 1779. The delegates from this town were [John Cuming](#), Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq. [note that this is not Colonel James Barrett, as he had died in April], Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam; from Bedford, Mr. John Merriam; from [Acton](#), Capt. Joseph Robbins, Mr. Seth Brooks, Mr. Thomas Noyes; from Lincoln, Capt. Samuel Farrar, and Abijah Pierce, Esq. The whole number was 174. The object of this convention was to establish a state price-current, and to adopt other means to prevent monopoly, extortion, and unfair dealing. The meeting was opened and closed with prayer by Rev. Mr. Ripley. The Hon. Azor Orne, of Marblehead, was Chairman, and Samuel Ruggles, Secretary. After passing some very spirited resolutions, fixing the prices of several articles of merchandise and agreeing upon an address to the people, the convention adjourned on the 17th, recommending another similar one to meet again in October.

Their proceedings were laid before the town [Concord], July 30th, when they were approved, and a committee of thirteen chosen, "more fully to regulate the prices of articles of produce among us." This committee reported, August 9th, when another, of six, was chosen in conjunction with the committee of correspondence, "to keep a watchful eye over the people, and proceed against any who should *dare transgress* the regulated prices of articles enumerated, either in or out of the town [Concord], by taking more than they are set in the report; and to treat them as enemies to their country." The town [Concord] voted also "to support their committee in every regular method they shall take to punish those that violate them."¹⁵¹

151. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

August: Friend Samuel Wetherell, Jr. (1736-1816), a cloth manufacturer of Philadelphia who considered the Revolution to be defensive, and who considered defensive war to be not only permitted, but morally obligatory, was for such errors in judgment [disowned](#) by the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 5, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Morrisania, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

In Massachusetts, there was an attempt to enforce uniformity of wartime prices.

Another convention, having similar objects in view, of delegates from [Concord](#), Billerica, Lexington, Westford, Stow, Bedford, Acton and Lincoln, was held here [Concord], August 5th, which revised previous price-currents, and endeavored to make one which should be uniform through the towns represented. John Cuming, Esq., was Chairman, and Ephraim Wood, Jr., Secretary.¹⁵²

August 9, Monday: The new Massachusetts committee for the regulation of commerce began its work of distinguishing between the loyal merchant who was to be tolerated, and the disloyal one who was not to be tolerated, on the basis of the wartime prices that they placed on their merchandises.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

A state convention met in [Concord](#), July 14, 1779. The delegates from this town were [John Cuming](#), Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq. [note that this is not Colonel James Barrett, as he had died in April], Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam; from Bedford, Mr. John Merriam; from [Acton](#), Capt. Joseph Robbins, Mr. Seth Brooks, Mr. Thomas Noyes; from Lincoln, Capt. Samuel Farrar, and Abijah Pierce, Esq. The whole number was 174. The object of this convention was to establish a state price-current, and to adopt other means to prevent monopoly, extortion, and unfair dealing. The meeting was opened and closed with prayer by Rev. Mr. Ripley. The Hon. Azor Orne, of Marblehead, was Chairman, and Samuel Ruggles, Secretary. After passing some very spirited resolutions, fixing the prices of several articles of merchandise and agreeing upon an address to the people, the convention adjourned on the 17th, recommending another similar one to meet again in October. Their proceedings were laid before the town [Concord], July 30th, when they were approved, and a committee of thirteen chosen, "more fully to regulate the prices of articles of produce among us." This committee reported, August 9th, when another, of six, was chosen in conjunction with the committee of correspondence, "to keep a watchful eye over the people, and

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

proceed against any who should *dare transgress* the regulated prices of articles enumerated, either in or out of the town [Concord], by taking more than they are set in the report; and to treat them as enemies to their country." The town [Concord] voted also "to support their committee in every regular method they shall take to punish those that violate them."¹⁵³

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

[Concord](#) recognized that 9 of its citizen soldiers were in [Rhode Island](#).

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁵⁴

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|---------------------------------|--------|--------|
| April 27, 1779 | 5 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 8 | 9 months | Continental Army | | 3248 |
| <p>The town chose a committee June 16th, to hire the men [both lines above] for these two campaigns, consisting, of Col. Nathan Barrett, the four commanding officers of the militia companies, the Selectmen, Col. John Cuming, Mr. Jonas Heywood, Capt. David Brown, Capt. Joseph Butler, and James Barrett, Esq. Acton furnished four; Bedford, three; Lincoln, five; and the whole county, two hundred and forty-five in the nine months' campaign. The detachment to Rhode Island took one hundred men more from this county, who were under Col. Jacobs. The 3d Regiment was required to furnish one Sergeant and eleven privates. Thaddeus Blood was a Lieutenant in the United States' service; Jonas Wright was Sergeant.</p> | | | | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 4 | 6 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The town received orders for these men [the above] September 1st and chose the Selectmen, Col. Nathan Barrett, Jonas Heywood, Esq., and the four militia Captains, a committee to procure these and other four militia captains, a committee to procure these and all others, "when small drafts are called," without calling the town together.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1779 | 9 | | Rhode Island | | |
| September 1779 | 4 | | Works at Boston | 12 | 48 |
| <p>These [the above] belonged to a company of thirty-eight men from this and the adjoining towns, under Samuel Heald, Captain; Enoch Kingsbury, Lieutenant; Stephen Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant; and John Jacobs, Colonel. Henry Flint was Sergeant Major. They were discharged in November, and the whole amount of their wages was 10s. 6p. in silver each!</p> | | | | | |
| September 1, 1779 | 20 | 2 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The names of these [the above] men were, Charles Shepherd, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Timothy Wesson, Nathan Page, Asa Piper, Timothy Sprague, Nathaniel Breed, Charles Hanley, John Stratten, Ezekiel Hager, Jeremiah Shepherd, Nathaniel French, Josiah Melvin Jr., Joshua Stevens, Phillip Barrett, Lemuel Wheeler, Chandler Bryant, Daniel Cole. Acton furnished eleven; Bedford, seven; Lincoln, nine; Carlisle, seven. These men were procured by a committee chosen by the town, June 12th, in addition to that chosen in September previous, consisting of John Cuming, Esq., Capt. David Brown, Capt. Andrew Conant, Capt. David Wheeler, Lieut. Stephen Barrett. They were also to procure others, "if the draught does not exceed sixteen; if it does, the town to be called together."</p> | | | | | |

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

August 11, Wednesday: General John Sullivan's forces forded the Susquehanna River at its junction with the Tioga River, reached the former site of Tioga, [New York](#), marched on to the Indian town of Shamong (Chemung), arriving in the evening of this day to find it evacuated. They destroyed crops and returned to Tioga.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

(Note that it has been alleged by some reputable historians that General Sullivan was operating under direct orders, from General George Washington, his commander, that he was to perpetrate such a genocide.)

August 14, Saturday: The [USS Providence](#) was destroyed by her crew in the Penobscot River, along with other trapped American vessels, in order to prevent the vessels from falling into the hands of the British.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 19, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Paulus Hook (Weehawken), New Jersey.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 26, Thursday: Delayed a day by heavy rain, General John Sullivan's forces departed Tioga, [New York](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 29, Sunday: American revolutionaries defeated Loyalists and Indians on the Chumung River at Newtown (Newton) near Elmira, [New York](#). Cornplanter, Red Jacket, and Handsome Lake fought on the British side. The forces of General John Sullivan and James Clinton defeated the forces of Loyalist commander Sir John Johnson and Joseph Brant, ridding the colony of these Loyalists and their native allies. The revolutionaries would go on to destroy many Indian villages in the Genessee River valley.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Höret alle die ihr—Deine Missethat for soprano, chorus and strings by Johannes Herbst was performed for the initial time.

August 30, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Tarrytown, [New York](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September: [Concord](#) allowed \$48 in funding and \$12 in a preliminary “bounty” for 4 of its citizen soldiers who were needed in the military defenses of the port of [Boston](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁵⁵

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|---------------------------------|--------|--------|
| April 27, 1779 | 5 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 8 | 9 months | Continental Army | | 3248 |
| <p>The town chose a committee June 16th, to hire the men [both lines above] for these two campaigns, consisting, of Col. Nathan Barrett, the four commanding officers of the militia companies, the Selectmen, Col. John Cuming, Mr. Jonas Heywood, Capt. David Brown, Capt. Joseph Butler, and James Barrett, Esq. Acton furnished four; Bedford, three; Lincoln, five; and the whole county, two hundred and forty-five in the nine months’ campaign. The detachment to Rhode Island took one hundred men more from this county, who were under Col. Jacobs. The 3d Regiment was required to furnish one Sergeant and eleven privates. Thaddeus Blood was a Lieutenant in the United States’ service; Jonas Wright was Sergeant.</p> | | | | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 4 | 6 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The town received orders for these men [the above] September 1st and chose the Selectmen, Col. Nathan Barrett, Jonas Heywood, Esq., and the four militia Captains, a committee to procure these and other four militia captains, a committee to procure these and all others, “when small drafts are called,” without calling the town together.</p> | | | | | |
| August 9, 1779 | 9 | | Rhode Island | | |
| September 1779 | 4 | | Works at Boston | 12 | 48 |
| <p>These [the above] belonged to a company of thirty-eight men from this and the adjoining towns, under Samuel Heald, Captain; Enoch Kingsbury, Lieutenant; Stephen Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant; and John Jacobs, Colonel. Henry Flint was Sergeant Major. They were discharged in November, and the whole amount of their wages was 10s. 6p. in silver each!</p> | | | | | |
| September 1, 1779 | 20 | 2 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The names of these [the above] men were, Charles Shepherd, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Timothy Wesson, Nathan Page, Asa Piper, Timothy Sprague, Nathaniel Breed, Charles Hanley, John Stratten, Ezekiel Hager, Jeremiah Shepherd, Nathaniel French, Josiah Melvin Jr., Joshua Stevens, Phillip Barrett, Lemuel Wheeler, Chandler Bryant, Daniel Cole. Acton furnished eleven; Bedford, seven; Lincoln, nine; Carlisle, seven. These men were procured by a committee chosen by the town, June 12th, in addition to that chosen in September previous, consisting of John Cuming, Esq., Capt. David Brown, Capt. Andrew Conant, Capt. David Wheeler, Lieut. Stephen Barrett. They were also to procure others, “if the draught does not exceed sixteen; if it does, the town to be called together.”</p> | | | | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

155. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 1, Wednesday: General John Sullivan began a 2-week series of retaliatory raids against the Seneca and Cayuga Indian villages throughout central [New York](#)'s Finger Lake region. After the Seneca defeat at Newtown they would end up at Niagara. Sullivan arrived at the deserted Indian village of French Catharine (named for a former captive) by midnight on this date.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Concord](#) allowed for 20 of its citizen soldiers to be in [Rhode Island](#) for a couple of months.

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁵⁶

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
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| April 27, 1779 | 5 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 8 | 9 months | Continental Army | | 3248 |
| <p>The town chose a committee June 16th, to hire the men [both lines above] for these two campaigns, consisting, of Col. Nathan Barrett, the four commanding officers of the militia companies, the Selectmen, Col. John Cuming, Mr. Jonas Heywood, Capt. David Brown, Capt. Joseph Butler, and James Barrett, Esq. Acton furnished four; Bedford, three; Lincoln, five; and the whole county, two hundred and forty-five in the nine months' campaign. The detachment to Rhode Island took one hundred men more from this county, who were under Col. Jacobs. The 3d Regiment was required to furnish one Sergeant and eleven privates. Thaddeus Blood was a Lieutenant in the United States' service; Jonas Wright was Sergeant.</p> | | | | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 4 | 6 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The town received orders for these men [the above] September 1st and chose the Selectmen, Col. Nathan Barrett, Jonas Heywood, Esq., and the four militia Captains, a committee to procure these and other four militia captains, a committee to procure these and all others, "when small drafts are called," without calling the town together.</p> | | | | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|---------------------------------|--------|--------|
| August 9, 1779 | 9 | | Rhode Island | | |
| September 1779 | 4 | | Works at Boston | 12 | 48 |
| <p>These [the above] belonged to a company of thirty-eight men from this and the adjoining towns, under Samuel Heald, Captain; Enoch Kingsbury, Lieutenant; Stephen Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant; and John Jacobs, Colonel. Henry Flint was Sergeant Major. They were discharged in November, and the whole amount of their wages was 10s. 6p. in silver each!</p> | | | | | |
| September 1, 1779 | 20 | 2 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The names of these [the above] men were, Charles Shepherd, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Timothy Wesson, Nathan Page, Asa Piper, Timothy Sprague, Nathaniel Breed, Charles Hanley, John Stratten, Ezekiel Hager, Jeremiah Shepherd, Nathaniel French, Josiah Melvin Jr., Joshua Stevens, Phillip Barrett, Lemuel Wheeler, Chandler Bryant, Daniel Cole. Acton furnished eleven; Bedford, seven; Lincoln, nine; Carlisle, seven. These men were procured by a committee chosen by the town, June 12th, in addition to that chosen in September previous, consisting of John Cuming, Esq., Capt. David Brown, Capt. Andrew Conant, Capt. David Wheeler, Lieut. Stephen Barrett. They were also to procure others, "if the draught does not exceed sixteen; if it does, the town to be called together."</p> | | | | | |

September 2, Thursday: Lieutenant William Barton, of General John Sullivan's forces, reconnoitered the area around Seneca Lake, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 5, Sunday: General John Sullivan's forces arrived at the village of Appletown (Kendae, Condoy), already fired by the Indians.

People were trying to kill each other at Lloyd's Neck, [New York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 7, Tuesday: General John Sullivan's forces crosses the outlet of Seneca Lake and arrived at the Indian capital, Kanadasaga (Canadesaga, Cunnusedago, known today as Geneva, [New York](#)).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

156. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 10, Friday: General John Sullivan's forces reached Genesee Lake (Canandaigua Lake) and burned the village of Kanandarqua (Veruneudaga, today's Canandaigua).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 11, Saturday: General John Sullivan's forces reached Onyauyah (Honeoye).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 12, Sunday: General John Sullivan's forces neared Genesee Castle or Little Beard's Town (Cuylerville), named for its chief.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 13, Monday: General John Sullivan's forces reached Canessah (Conesus, or Big Tree's Town), defeating an Indian force there, then forged on to Casawalatetah, on a small branch of the Genesee River, and encamped. Sullivan sent Lieutenant Thomas Boyd to scout the area of Genesee Castle. Boyd took a party of 28, including the Oneida headman Honyere (Hanyerry) and Captain Jehoiakim, a Stockbridge Indian. Not knowing the way, they arrived at Gath-seg-war-o-hare, about 5 miles south-southeast of their goal. Lieutenant Boyd sent 4 men to report back to Sullivan, and had an Indian horseman killed in the deserted village. 3 other mounted natives escaped, to sound the alarm. Boyd began the return to Sullivan, sending 2 men ahead. They returned and advised Boyd that 5 natives were ahead on the trail. Despite advice from Hanyerry, Boyd pursued and was ambushed by a party of more than 500 natives and Tories. He and Michael Parker were taken prisoner and taken to Cuylerville. Questioned, they refused to buy their freedom with information and were tortured and beheaded.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 14, Tuesday: The Spanish expedition to explore the Pacific Ocean coast of the North American continent reached San Francisco Bay during its return journey. There they would be able to rest and resupply themselves. While on this stopover they would learn of the declaration of war between Great Britain and Spain.

General John Sullivan's forces reached Little Beard's Town, finding the remains of Boyd and Parker, and that night under cover of darkness they would enter the remains.

People were trying to kill each other at Genesee, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 15, Wednesday: General John Sullivan's forces burned the natives' crops and food supply. Sullivan declared that the objectives of the mission have been met. Mary Jemison fled to Niagara with the remaining Seneca, but she would soon return to the Genesee Valley of New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 16, Thursday: Combined American and French forces began a blockade of Savannah, Georgia.

The bodies of the remainder of Lieutenant Thomas Boyd's party were found at Canessah (Conesus, or Big Tree's Town), all (including Hanyerry) mutilated. The remains were buried that day.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 17, Friday: General John Sullivan's forces returned to Honeoye.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 18, Saturday: General John Sullivan's forces returned to Canandaigua.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 19, Sunday: General John Sullivan's forces returned to Kanadasaga.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 21, Tuesday: A force of Spaniards from Louisiana under the command of Governor Bernardo de Galvez captured the British garrison at Baton Rouge. The surrender included Natchez and other British ports on the Mississippi.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 23, Thursday-October 19: People were trying to kill each other in and around Savannah, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 23, Thursday evening and night: The defeat of HMS *Serapis* under Captain Person in a 3-hour battle in the North Sea off Flamborough Head, Yorkshire by the USS *Bonhomme Richard* under [Captain John Paul Jones](#), with the moon almost full¹⁵⁷ (a manly action per LEAVES OF GRASS, "SONG OF MYSELF," 35-36 pornography):

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Would you hear of an old-time sea-fight?
Would you learn who won by the light of the moon and stars?
List to the yarn, as my grandmother's father the sailor told it to me.

Our foe was no skulk in his ship I tell you, (said he,)
His was the surly English pluck, and there is no tougher or truer, and never was, and never will be;
Along the lower'd eve he came horribly raking us.

We closed with him, the yards entangled, the cannon touch'd,
My captain lash'd fast with his own hands.

We had receiv'd some eighteen pound shots under the water,
On our lower-gun-deck two large pieces had burst at the first fire, killing all around and blowing up overhead.

157. It seems Walt Whitman was exercising a wee bit of poetic license, as the moon would not be completely full until September 25th.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

Fighting at sun-down, fighting at dark,
Ten o'clock at night, the full moon well up, our leaks on the gain, and five feet of water reported,
The master-at-arms loosing the prisoners confined in the afterhold to give them a chance for themselves.

The transit to and from the magazine is now stopt by the sentinels,
They see so many strange faces they do not know whom to trust.

Our frigate takes fire,
The other asks if we demand quarter?
If our colors are struck and the fighting done?

Now I laugh content, for I hear the voice of my little captain,
We have not struck, he composedly cries, **we have just begun our part of the fighting.**

Only three guns are in use,
One is directed by the captain himself against the enemy's mainmast,
Two well serv'd with grape and canister silence his musketry and clear his decks.

The tops alone second the fire of this little battery, especially the main-top,
They hold out bravely during the whole of the action.

Not a moment's cease,
The leaks gain fast on the pumps, the fire eats toward the powder-magazine.

One of the pumps has been shot away, it is generally thought we are sinking.

Serene stands the little captain,
He is not hurried, his voice is neither high nor low,
His eyes give more light to us than our battle-lanterns.

Toward twelve there in the beams of the moon they surrender to us.

Stretch'd and still lies the midnight,
Two great hulls motionless on the breast of the darkness,
Our vessel riddled and slowly sinking, preparations to pass to the one we had conquer'd,
The captain on the quarter-deck coldly giving his orders through a countenance white as a sheet,
Near by the corpse of the child that serv'd in the cabin,
The dead face of an old salt with long white hair and carefully curl'd whiskers,
The flames spite of all that can be done flickering aloft and below,
The husky voices of the two or three officers yet fit for duty,
Formless stacks of bodies and bodies by themselves, dabs of flesh upon the masts and spars,
Cut of cordage, dangle of rigging, light shock of the soothe of waves,
Black and impassive guns, litter of powder-parcels, strong scent,
A few large stars overhead, silent and mournful shining,
Delicate sniffs of sea-breeze, smells of sedgy grass and fields by the shore, death-messages given in charge to survivors,
The hiss of the surgeon's knife, the gnawing teeth of his saw,
Wheeze, cluck, swash of falling blood, short wild scream, and long, dull, tapering groan,

HDT

WHAT?

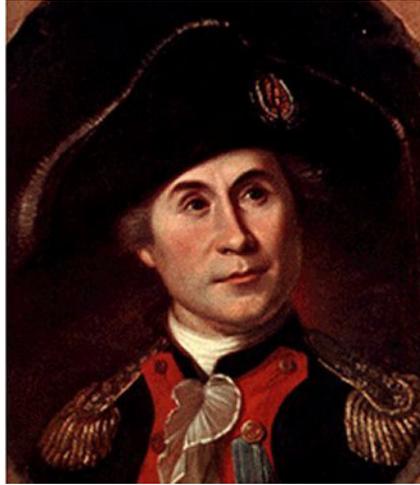
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AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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These so, these irretrievable.



September 24, Friday: The USS *Bonhomme Richard* sank.

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Christoph Willibald Gluck's drame lyrique "Echo et Narcisse" to words of Tschudi after Ovid, was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opéra. This would fail after only 9 performances.

September 28, Tuesday: Samuel Huntington replaced John Jay as president of the Congress of the United States.

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September 30, Thursday: General John Sullivan reported to Congress that his forces had destroyed 40 villages and at least 160,000 bushels of corn, losing fewer than 40 men. Along the way they had also been chopping down or girdling fruit trees.

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Fall: An attempt was made to conscript for the Revolutionary army a farmer of Brooklyn, Connecticut who "openly denounced all kinds of carnal warfare as contrary to the gospel," whereupon he fled into the woods.

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

There he was pursued by his neighbors "as hounds would a fox," and eventually his hiding place was discovered and he was bound, placed in a wagon, and taken to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to be turned over to the Revolutionary soldiers.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

In the course of the night, however, he got hold of a knife, cut himself loose, and escaped to the woods.



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He would manage to survive the winter in his new hiding place.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

**YOU HAVE TO ACCEPT EITHER THE REALITY OF TIME OVER THAT OF
CHANGE, OR CHANGE OVER TIME — IT'S PARMENIDES, OR
HERACLITUS. I HAVE GONE WITH HERACLITUS.**

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October: British forces began to be evacuated from [Newport](#). Bon voyage! They took with them almost all of the Newport town records previous to December 6, 1779, in a ship which would soon be sunk in the East River off New-York. When these records would be recovered from the wreck after three years of submersion, they would generally prove not to be salvageable.

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Curiously, on this pewter medallion commemorating the flight of the British forces from the Narragansett Bay in 1779, the word “vlugtende” at the bottom has been carefully reworked and the die built up so that what appears now instead of this charged word “fleeing” is an innocent and meaningless scroll:



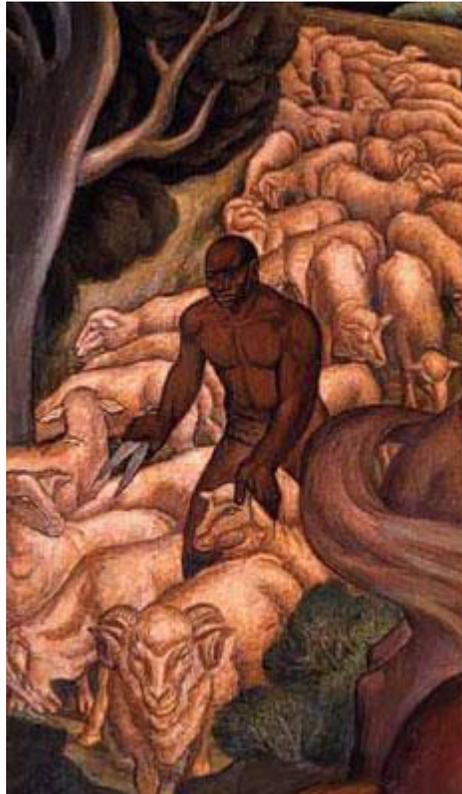
For example, we know that during this month the legislature of [Rhode Island](#) was enacting “An Act prohibiting [slaves](#) being sold out of the state, against their consent,” but the title only of this bill having been located (COLONIAL RECORDS, VIII. 618; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 449), we lack the details of this

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restriction on the slave trade.¹⁵⁸



According to the “Book of Negroes” (an enumeration of the 3,000 black Americans who would sail with the British from New-York harbor in 1783 when that city was evacuated after the revolution had succeeded), when the British evacuated [Newport](#) at this point, departing with them as free persons were 24 African-American men and women who had been [slaves](#) in [Rhode Island](#).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that “Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignnes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.”¹⁵⁹

This law was for a time enforced,¹⁶⁰ but by the beginning of the 158. We do have, however, a comparison piece of legislation that dates to this very same year, if not to the same month, an enactment of the legislature of Vermont entitled “An Act for securing the general privileges of the people,” etc., that abolished slavery inside the state (VERMONT STATE PAPERS 1779-1786, page 287).

159. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.



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eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.¹⁶¹ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for twenty years.¹⁶² From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.¹⁶³ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.¹⁶⁴ "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."¹⁶⁵

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."¹⁶⁶ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.¹⁶⁷ The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.¹⁶⁸ Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but

160. Cf. letter written in 1681: NEW ENGLAND REGISTER, XXXI. 75-6. Cf. also Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, I. 240.

161. The text of this act is lost (COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 34; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 31). The Acts of Rhode Island were not well preserved, the first being published in Boston in 1719. Perhaps other whole acts are lost.

162. E.g., it was expended to pave the streets of Newport, to build bridges, etc.: RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 191-3, 225.

163. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 55-60.

164. Patten, REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL HOPKINS (1843), page 80.

165. Hopkins, WORKS (1854), II. 615.

166. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

167. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 131-5, 138, 143, 191-3.

168. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.



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it was never passed.¹⁶⁹ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.¹⁷⁰ This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," – a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; – Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."¹⁷¹ In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,¹⁷² and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.¹⁷³ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.¹⁷⁴

October 3, Sunday: HMS *Serapis*, under an American crew from the USS *Bonhomme Richard*, limped into the Texel, Netherlands.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

169. Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 304, 321, 337. For a probable copy of the bill, see NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 299.

170. A man dying intestate left slaves, who became thus the property of the city; they were freed, and the town made the above resolve, May 17, 1774, in town meeting: Staples, ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE (1843), page 236.

171. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 251-2.

172. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 329; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 444; RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VIII. 618.

173. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 506.

174. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9. The number of slaves in Rhode Island has been estimated as follows: –

In 1708, 426. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 59.

In 1730, 1,648. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 19, pt. 2, page 99.

In 1749, 3,077. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1756, 4,697. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1774, 3,761. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 253.



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October 6, Wednesday: The *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, ships of the 3d and last expedition of Captain James Cook, anchored at Deptford, England.

October 6, Wednesday-13, Wednesday: In the face of wild inflation of the currency, [Acton](#) sent Captain Joseph Robbins a delegate to a Convention in [Concord](#), to regulate the wartime prices of articles of produce, &c.

A state convention met in [Concord](#) again, October 6th, and continued in session seven days. Colonel Cuming [[John Cuming](#)] and Captain David Brown were delegates from Concord. A revised edition of the state price-current, several new spirited resolutions, relating to trade, currency, etc., and an address to the people, were adopted and published. County, town, and district meetings were recommended to carry these resolutions into effect. They were laid before the town [Concord], November 1st, and a committee of fourteen chosen, to fix the prices of such articles as were not therein enumerated. They reported, the next week, "that, as the regulations agreed upon by the late convention had been broken over by the inhabitants of [Boston](#) and many other places, they thought it not proper to proceed in the business assigned them, but to postpone the matter." Thus ended the proceedings relating to this difficult subject. It was indeed a fruitless attempt to enforce a system of uniform prices of merchandise, while the currency was constantly depreciating in value. And it is believed, that the attempts just noticed were means to increase private property, more than to promote the public good.¹⁷⁵

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 9, Saturday: When a combined French and American force attacked British troops in Savannah, Georgia, they were soundly repulsed, the French suffering 10 times the casualties of their British counterparts.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 11, Monday: British forces initiated a 2-week evacuation of Rhode Island.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 15, Friday: General John Sullivan's and James Clinton's forces arrived back at Easton, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

175. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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October 18, Monday: American and French forces lifted their siege of Savannah, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 26, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Brunswick, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November: The town of Bedford **BEDFORD** sent two of its revolutionary fighters to [Rhode Island](#) to help fight the British there.

[I]n November 1779, the following bounties were allowed.¹⁷⁶

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| 1st tour of duty to Rhode Island , 2 men, £39 each | £78 | 0s. | 0d. |
| 2d to Rhode Island , 2 men, 48 bushels of corn, £9 per bushel each | 864 | 0 | 0 |
| 3d to North River, 3 men, 2 of whom to have £300 each | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| The other to have £138 in cash and 51 bushels of corn at £9 per bushel | 587 | 0 | 0 |
| 4th to Boston, 2 men, £22, 10 each | 45 | 0 | 0 |
| 5th to Claverick, 6 men 1 ¹ / ₃ month, £80 per month | 640 | 0 | 0 |

During this month and the following one, unable to win a decisive battle in the northern states, the British would prepare a massive combined sea and land expedition against [Charleston](#) under the command of Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, General Sir Henry Clinton, and Lord Cornwallis.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 1, Monday: *Il matrimonio inaspettato*, a dramma giocoso by Giovanni Paisiello to words after Chiari, was performed for the initial time, in Kammeniy Ostrov, St. Petersburg.

176. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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It was reported that “the English had evacuated Newport, Rhodeisland [*sic*] last Tuesday; after blowing up the Court-house, Granary, Light-house, & their Fortification on Tomminy hill.” A state convention met in

[NEWPORT](#)

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

[Concord](#) again, October 6th, and continued in session seven days. Colonel Cuming [[John Cuming](#)] and Captain David Brown were delegates from Concord. A revised edition of the state price-current, several new spirited resolutions, relating to trade, currency, etc., and an address to the people, were adopted and published. County, town, and district meetings were recommended to carry these resolutions into effect. They were laid before the town [[Concord](#)], November 1st, and a committee of fourteen chosen, to fix the prices of such articles as were not therein enumerated. They reported, the next week, “that, as the regulations agreed upon by the late convention had been broken over by the inhabitants of [Boston](#) and many other places, they thought it not proper to proceed in the business assigned them, but to postpone the matter.” Thus ended the proceedings relating to this difficult subject. It was indeed a fruitless attempt to enforce a system of uniform prices of merchandise, while the currency was constantly depreciating in value. And it is believed, that the attempts just noticed were means to increase private property, more than to promote the public good.¹⁷⁷

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 5, Friday: [Washington Allston](#) was born on a plantation on the Waccamaw River near Georgetown, South Carolina.

HMS *Quebec* and the French ship *La Surveillante* engaged off Brest. After more than 6 hours of close struggle HMS *Quebec* blew up — but *La Surveillante*, completely demasted, would need to be towed to port.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 7, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Jefferd’s Neck, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

November 8, Monday: At this point the citizens of [Concord](#), aware that the efforts to regulate wartime prices had been ineffective in controlling the wild currency inflation, and suspecting that such efforts were being twisted by some who were more interested in their private profit, were ready to abandon such efforts.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

A state convention met in [Concord](#) again, October 6th, and continued in session seven days. Colonel Cuming [[John Cuming](#)] and Captain David Brown were delegates from Concord. A revised edition of the state price-current, several new spirited resolutions, relating to trade, currency, etc., and an address to the people, were adopted and published. County, town, and district meetings were recommended to carry these resolutions

177. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
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The value of money was regulated monthly. January 1, 1777, \$100 in silver was worth \$105 currency; in 1778, \$328; in 1779, \$742; in 1780, \$2,934; and in February, 1781, \$7,500. Such a rapid depreciation introduced great embarrassment and distress into all commercial transactions, which by no body of men could remove by resolutions, addresses, price-currents or prosecutions.¹⁷⁹

 November 13, Saturday: The *Sensible* sailed out of [Boston](#) harbor, bound for France with John Adams aboard.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

About a week later, before passing the Grand Banks, the ship would hail the *General Lincoln*, an American privateer under the command of Captain Barnes. When there was some difficulty in ascertaining the name of the *Sensible*, a seaman would help by running out onto the bowsprit of the vessel and yelling at the top of his lungs "*La Sensible!*" –This privateer seaman was [Jean Thoreau](#), grandfather of [Henry Thoreau](#).

178. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

179. Ibid.



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December: General [George Washington](#) ordered 1,400 Continentals to join the forces of General Benjamin Lincoln defending [Charleston](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[James Madison, Jr.](#) was elected to a 3-year term in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In Virginia, the sheriff went to the home of Friend Robert Hunnicutt of Blackwater monthly meeting on account of his “testimony against war” and consequent refusal to pay war taxes, and seized one of his [slaves](#). The sheriff selected a 6-year-old to seize –not worth nearly as much as an adult– so he wouldn’t need to make change.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(What was a [Quaker](#) doing, with black slaves? –Don’t ask.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

December 2, Thursday: It would be made a matter of record in the property-transaction records of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that, in regard to a Negro [slave](#) named Juba –recently taken on Board a vesfel of the British enemy of the United States and Brought into the Port of New-London by Captain Sage, the Commander of the Schooner *Experiment*, and Efeek Hopkins, Jr., the Commander of the Schooner *Lively*– unanimous agreement had been obtained among the interested parties, to not simply Sell the person of the faid Juba for whatever he might bring on the open market, but to instead [manumit](#) him and give him his Freedom for Life:

*This Certifies all it may concern that Juba a Negro belonging to an Enemy of the United States was taken on Board a British vesfel & Brought into the Port of New-London by Capt. Sage Commander of the Schooner Experiment and Efeek Hopkins Junr. Commander of the Schooner Lively; and it was unanimously agreed Between the Owners and Agents for the Vesfel to not Sell the said Juba but to give him his Freedom for Life Witnesses
J. B. Hopkins for Owners of Schooner Experiment and Agent for Schooner Lively.....*

*Raul Allen
Afa Waterman
Am Wall
D Lawrence
Nich. Cooke
J M Varnum.....*

*The Foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this 1st Day of
January A.D. 1780.. Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk }*

ESEK HOPKINS



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Later in the year, [Lafayette](#) persuaded the government of King Louis XVI to send an expeditionary army of 6,000 soldiers to the aid of the insurgent British colonists on the North American continent, to fight under the command of a general named George Washington whom they had defeated during the previous hostilities, the “French and Indian Wars” on that terrain. Both because this general had made himself the enemy of their British enemies, and because the French had previously been able to force him to surrender his army to their superior forces, this American general obviously was in need of such assistance.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 23, Thursday: The courtmartial of Benedict Arnold began.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

December 29, Wednesday: British forces captured Savannah.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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1780

During this year and the following one, [Fort Michilimackinac](#) would be being relocated to [Mackinac Island](#).
The soldiers would torch whatever was not movable.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Articles of Confederation were ratified.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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The French monarchy, although almost bankrupt, sent General de Rochambeau and 6,000 French troops to aid the cause of independence. The following year these troops would be crucial to the victory at Yorktown where General [George Washington](#), Major General [Lafayette](#), and General de Rochambeau would surround the troops of General Cornwallis while the French fleet sailed up Chesapeake Bay. Although this battle would mark the end of the war, a treaty wouldn't be signed until 1783.

The British forces were offering the prospect of freedom to any American slave who would serve their cause. As part of his attempt to create a force of some 400 laborers, teamsters, and cavalry mounts, Major General [Lafayette](#) advised General [George Washington](#) that “nothing but a treaty of alliance with the Negroes can find us dragoon Horses [because] it is by this means the enemy have so formidable a Cavalry.”

James, a 21-or-22-year-old Virginia slave, was granted permission by the white planter William Armistead to serve in the Revolutionary War as a lackey to General [Lafayette](#). This James Armistead Lafayette (as he would eventually make himself known) would risk summary execution by pretending to supply info to General Cornwallis that was damaging to the American cause. It would only be when Cornwallis in defeat encountered him in Lafayette's headquarters that the black informant's identity would become evident.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION



Massachusetts withdrew its draft exemption for [Quakers](#), and began to consider all adherents of the Peace Testimony to be guilty of “desertion.” 17 men of the Dartmouth monthly meeting were imprisoned. Some Cape Cod Quakers were imprisoned. All these men would be soon released. The new constitution for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would have a clause specifically exempting Quakers from responsibility for militia service.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The Council House at Caneadea was built for the Seneca, by British troops from [Fort Niagara](#).

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Joseph Brant and his prisoner Captain Alexander Harper passed through the Genesee Valley on their way from Schoharie to the [Niagara River](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Publication, in London, of AN IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AMERICA, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1779 (Printed for R. Faulder, New Bond Street, 1780. Attributed to Edmund Burke. Folding map and 13 engraved portraits which include George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Sir William Howe, Robert Hopkins, General Putnam, Charles Lee, Horatio Oates, a real American Rifleman, and others.)



[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

In [New York](#), a 2d Militia Act revision obligated “Associated Exempts” –that is, militia members between the ages of 50 and 60– to cross state borders if ordered to do so out of military necessity. It increased the amount [Quaker](#) adherents of the Peace Testimony would be required to pay for conscientious exemption status, from £10 to £80. Public school teachers were, however, to be made exempt so long as they were actively employed for the full year.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

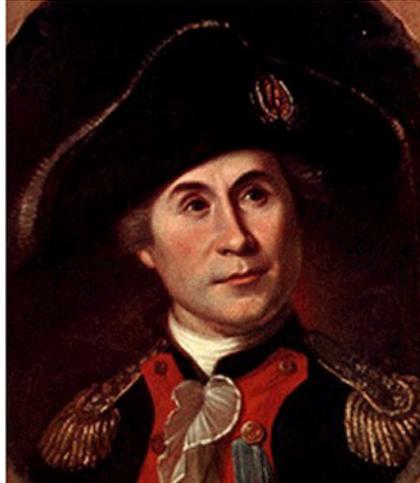
[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

[Benjamin Franklin](#) appointed [John Paul Jones](#) to command the *Alliance*.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

And in this year Franklin opinioned that “The rapid progress **true** science now makes occasions my regretting sometimes that I was born too soon.”

[Rhode Island privateering](#) during the Revolutionary War:

| | |
|------|----|
| 1776 | 57 |
| 1777 | 17 |
| 1778 | 17 |
| 1779 | 39 |
| 1780 | 13 |
| 1781 | 9 |
| 1782 | 26 |
| 1783 | 17 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

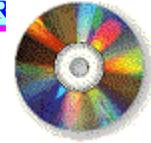
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"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812

AMERICAN R



"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when Rhode Island first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65¹⁸⁰



During this year and the next, French troops under General Rochambeau would be stationed in Rhode Island.
—Hence "Camp Street" in Providence!

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On account of Mother Ann Lee's pacifism and her refusal to take an oath of allegiance, she was imprisoned for a few months by the American government on the charge of treason.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(This was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that an inability to assent to the value of war would be regarded as treasonous.)

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION
THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

"HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE" BEING A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN TIME (JUST AS THE PERSPECTIVE IN A PAINTING IS A VIEW FROM A PARTICULAR POINT IN SPACE), TO "LOOK AT THE COURSE OF HISTORY MORE GENERALLY" WOULD BE TO SACRIFICE PERSPECTIVE ALTOGETHER. THIS IS FANTASY-LAND, YOU'RE FOOLING YOURSELF.

180. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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THERE CANNOT BE ANY SUCH THINGIE, AS SUCH A PERSPECTIVE.

Concord's revolutionary Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety was renewed.

The committee of correspondence, etc., chosen March, 1776 [for Concord], were John Cuming, Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. Jonas Heywood, Capt. Joseph Hosmer, James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Capt. George Minot. In 1777, Colonel John Buttrick, Josiah Merriam, Isaac Hubbard, Capt. Abishai Brown, Capt. David Wheeler, Mr. Ephraim Potter, and Lieut. Nathan Stow. In 1778, John Cuming, Esq., Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam. These were re-elected in 1779, 1780, 1781 & 1782. In 1783, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Wood, and Lieut. Joseph Hayward. This committee was not chosen afterwards.¹⁸¹

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1st War of Disunion, 1776-1783

"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project

181. Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:... Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy
(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



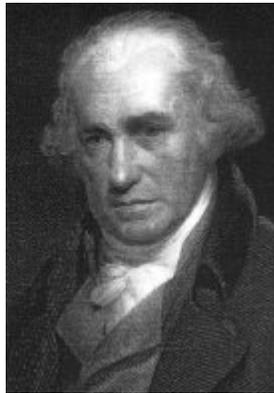
1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: Before the first documented use of the term “carbonated paper,” when Ralph Wedgwood would obtain an English patent for a “Stylographic Writer” in 1806, and before [Cyrus P. Dakin](#) of [Concord](#)’s alleged invention of carbon paper in Concord in 1823 (actually we have no record of such a person ever having resided in the vicinity), the best that anyone was able to achieve by way of automatic copying was a scheme by [James Watt](#) dating to this year, for writing with a special ink containing gum arabic. By pressing his freshly written sheet of paper firmly against a sheet of wet paper the inventor of components for the steam engine found that he was able to create a copy of his writing that would remain legible for about 24 hours — but you needed to look at it with a mirror. (Watt’s copying method would develop in the direction of the business letter-copying book which would have become standard procedure in business by the 1870s; Watt would also pioneer a device for the creation of pretty-good copies of sculpture.)

ELECTRIC
WALDEN



CARBON PAPER



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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CHAPTER 16

INDEPENDENCE¹⁸²

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Sidenote: Invasion of the South.

Sidenote: Capture of Charleston, 1780.

157. Fall of Charleston, 1780. – It seemed quite certain that Clinton could not conquer the Northern states with the forces given him. In the South there were many loyalists. Resistance might not be so stiff there. At all events Clinton decided to attempt the conquest of the South. Savannah was easily seized (1778), and the French and Americans could not retake it (1779). In the spring of 1780, Clinton, with a large army, landed on the coast between Savannah and Charleston. He marched overland to Charleston and besieged it from the land side. The Americans held out for a long time. But they were finally forced to surrender. Clinton then sailed back to New York, and left to Lord Cornwallis the further conquest of the Carolinas.

Sidenote: Battle of Camden, 1780.

158. Gates's Defeat at Camden, 1780. – Cornwallis had little trouble in occupying the greater part of South Carolina. There was no one to oppose him, for the American army had been captured with Charleston. Another small army was got together in North Carolina and the command given to Gates, the victor at Saratoga. One night both Gates and Cornwallis set out to attack the other's camp. The two armies met at daybreak, the British having the best position. But this really made little difference, for Gates's Virginia militiamen ran away before the British came within fighting distance. The North Carolina militia followed the Virginians. Only the regulars from Maryland and Delaware were left. They fought on like heroes until their leader, General John De Kalb, fell with seventeen wounds. Then the survivors surrendered. Gates himself had been carried far to the rear by the rush of the fleeing militia.

Battle of King's Mountain, 1780. Lodge and Roosevelt, HERO TALES FROM AMERICAN HISTORY, 71-78.

159. King's Mountain, October, 1780. – Cornwallis now thought that resistance surely was at an end. He sent an expedition to the settlements on the lower slopes of the Alleghany Mountains to get recruits, for there were many loyalists in that region. Suddenly from the mountains and from the settlements in Tennessee rode a body of armed frontiersmen. They found the



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British soldiers encamped on the top of King's Mountain. In about an hour they had killed or captured every British soldier.

Illustration: THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS.

Sidenote: General Greene.

Sidenote: Morgan's victory of the Cowpens, 1781.

160. The Cowpens, 1781. – General Greene was now sent to the South to take charge of the resistance to Cornwallis. A great soldier and a great organizer Greene found that he needed all his abilities. His coming gave new spirit to the survivors of Gates's army. He gathered militia from all directions and marched toward Cornwallis. Dividing his army into two parts, he sent General Daniel Morgan to threaten Cornwallis from one direction, while he threatened him from another direction. Cornwallis at once became uneasy and sent Tarleton to drive Morgan away, but the hero of many hard-fought battles was not easily frightened. He drew up his little force so skillfully that in a very few minutes the British were nearly all killed or captured.

Illustration: GENERAL MORGAN THE HERO OF COWPENS.

Sidenote: Greene's retreat.

Sidenote: The Battle of Guilford, 1781.

161. The Guilford Campaign, 1781. – Cornwallis now made a desperate attempt to capture the Americans, but Greene and Morgan joined forces and marched diagonally across North Carolina. Cornwallis followed so closely that frequently the two armies seemed to be one. When, however, the river Dan was reached, there was an end of marching, for Greene had caused all the boats to be collected at one spot. His men crossed and kept the boats on their side of the river. Soon Greene found himself strong enough to cross the river again to North Carolina. He took up a very strong position near Guilford Court House. Cornwallis attacked. The Americans made a splendid defense before Greene ordered a retreat, and the British won the battle of Guilford. But their loss was so great that another victory of the same kind would have destroyed the British army. As it was, Greene had dealt it such a blow that Cornwallis left his wounded at Guilford and set out as fast as he could for the seacoast. Greene pursued him for some distance and then marched southward to Camden.

Sidenote: Greene's later campaigns, 1781-83.

162. Greene's Later Campaigns. – At Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden, the British soldiers who had been left behind by Cornwallis attacked Greene. But he beat them off and began the siege of a fort on the frontier of South Carolina. The British then marched up from Charleston, and Greene had to fall back. Then the British marched back to Charleston and abandoned the interior of South Carolina to the Americans. There was only one more battle in the South – at Eutaw Springs. Greene was defeated there, too, but



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the British abandoned the rest of the Carolinas and Georgia with the exception of Savannah and Charleston. In these wonderful campaigns with a few good soldiers Greene had forced the British from the Southern states. He had lost every battle. He had won every campaign.

Sidenote: Lafayette and Cornwallis, 1781.

163. Cornwallis in Virginia, 1781. – There were already two small armies in Virginia, – the British under Arnold, the Americans under Lafayette. Cornwallis now marched northward from Wilmington and added the troops in Virginia to his own force; Arnold he sent to New York. Cornwallis then set out to capture Lafayette and his men. Together they marched from salt water across Virginia to the mountains – and then they marched back to salt water again. Cornwallis had called Lafayette “the boy” and had declared that “the boy should not escape him.” Finally Cornwallis fortified Yorktown, and Lafayette settled down at Williamsburg. And there they still were in September, 1781.

Sidenote: The French at Newport, 1780.

Sidenote: Plans of the allies, 1781.

164. Plans of the Allies. – In 1780 the French government had sent over a strong army under Rochambeau. It was landed at Newport. It remained there a year to protect the vessels in which it had come from France from capture by a stronger British fleet that had at once appeared off the mouth of the harbor. Another French fleet and another French army were in the West Indies. In the summer of 1781 it became possible to unite all these French forces, and with the Americans to strike a crushing blow at the British. Just at this moment Cornwallis shut himself up in Yorktown, and it was determined to besiege him there.

Illustration: THE UNITED STATES IN 1783.

Illustration: The Siege of Yorktown.

Sidenote: The march to the Chesapeake.

Sidenote: Combat between the French and the British fleets.

Surrender of Yorktown, October 19, 1781. Higginson's YOUNG FOLKS' HISTORY (NY: Longmans), 211-212.

165. Yorktown, September-October, 1781. – Rochambeau led his men to New York and joined the main American army. Washington now took command of the allied forces. He pretended that he was about to attack New York and deceived Clinton so completely that Clinton ordered Cornwallis to send some of his soldiers to New York. But the allies were marching southward through Philadelphia before Clinton realized what they were about. The French West India fleet under De Grasse reached one end of the Chesapeake Bay at the same time the allies reached the other end. The British fleet attacked it and was beaten off. There was now no hope for Cornwallis. No help could reach him by sea. The soldiers of the allies outnumbered him two to one. On October



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17, 1781, four years to a day since the surrender of Burgoyne, a drummer boy appeared on the rampart of Yorktown and beat a parley. Two days later the British soldiers marched out to the good old British tune of "The world turned upside down," and laid down their arms.

Sidenote: Treaty of Peace, 1783.

166. Treaty of Peace, 1783. – This disaster put an end to British hopes of conquering America. But it was not until September, 1783, that Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay brought the negotiations for peace to an end. Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States. The territory of the United States was defined as extending from the Great Lakes to the thirty-first parallel of latitude and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Spain had joined the United States and France in the war. Spanish soldiers had conquered Florida, and Spain kept Florida at the peace. In this way Spanish Florida and Louisiana surrounded the United States on the south and the west. British territory bounded the United States on the north and the northeast.



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January 1, Saturday: Tomohito replaced Hidehito as Emperor of [Japan](#).

“And dares insulting France pretend,” an ode by John Stanley to words of Whitehead, was performed for the initial time.

The value of money was regulated monthly. January 1, 1777, \$100 in silver was worth \$105 currency; in 1778, \$328; in 1779, \$742; in 1780, \$2,934; and in February, 1781, \$7,500. Such a rapid depreciation introduced great embarrassment and distress into all commercial transactions, which by no body of men could remove by resolutions, addresses, price-currents or prosecutions.¹⁸³

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 18, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Eastchester in New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 25, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Elizabethtown and at Newark in New Jersey.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 26, Wednesday: Benedict Arnold was found guilty of abuse of authority.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 3, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Young’s House (Four Corners), New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 10, Thursday: British troops under Sir Henry Clinton landed on Seabrook Island, and make preparations to lay siege to [Charleston, South Carolina](#). [South Carolina Gazette](#) editor Peter Timothy took a spyglass up the steeple of St. Michael’s Church and reported sighting smoke from hundreds of British campfires.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

183. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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February 11, Friday: [Caroline von Günderode](#) was born in Karlsruhe, [Germany](#).

A British expedition landed on Seabrook Island near [Charleston, South Carolina](#), as part of laying siege to that port community.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE FEBRUARY 11TH, 1780 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFY AT BEST).

March: British warships swept past the forts guarding the harbor entrance to anchor within broadside range of [Charleston, South Carolina](#). The British Army crossed the Ashley River and established a line of breastworks 1,800 yards north of the city's defensive line, thus completing their encirclement of the civilian population.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

March 1, Wednesday: Pennsylvania made itself the initial state to establish a process to emancipate its slaves by decreeing that no child born in Pennsylvania after March 1, 1780 should be a slave (they would instead be "indentured" to the person who would have been the [slavemaster](#), until the age of 28). The process was extremely slow, designed to continue until the last person enslaved in Pennsylvania in 1780 had finally died in chains. The law immediately prohibited importation of slaves into the state, and required an annual registration of those already held there. It protected the property right of Pennsylvania slaveholders — if a Pennsylvania slaveholder failed to register his slaves they would be confiscated and freed, but so long as he bothered to register them each year, they remained enslaved for the duration of their natural life. A slaveholder from another state could reside in Pennsylvania with his personal slaves for up to six months, but if he held these slaves beyond that deadline, the law allowed them to free themselves if they could. Congress, then the only branch of the federal government, was meeting in Philadelphia in 1780 (it would meet there until 1783), and significantly, this Gradual Abolition Act specifically exempted members of Congress and their personal slaves. It had been [Thomas Paine](#) who had authored the preamble on emancipation to this "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery."

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

It would be during this month that Paine's THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 8 would be published.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

"An Act for the gradual abolition of slavery."

§ 5. All slaves to be registered before Nov. 1.



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§ 10. None but slaves "registered as aforesaid, shall, at any time hereafter, be deemed, adjudged, or holden, within the territories of this commonwealth, as slaves or servants for life, but as free men and free women; except the domestic slaves attending upon Delegates in Congress from the other American States," and those of travellers not remaining over six months, foreign ministers, etc., "provided such domestic slaves be not aliened or sold to any inhabitant," etc.

§ 11. Fugitive slaves from other states may be taken back.

§ 14. Former duty acts, etc., repealed. Dallas, LAWS, I. 838. Cf. PENN. ARCHIVES, VII. 79; VIII. 720.

SLAVERY

March 7, Tuesday: These were the officers of the 9 companies of the 3d Massachusetts Regiment of Militia:¹⁸⁴

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

| COMPANY | LOCATION | CAPTAIN | 1ST LIEUT. | 2D LIEUT. |
|---------|-------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1 | Concord | Jacob Brown | John White | Asa Brooks |
| 2 | Weston | Matthew Hobbs | Josiah Livermore | Daniel Livermore |
| 3 | Lexington | John Bridge | William Munroe | |
| 4 | Concord | Thomas Hubbard | Ephraim Wheeler | Amos Hosmer |
| 5 | Acton | | John Heald | Benj. Brabrook |
| 6 | Lincoln | Samuel Farrar | Samuel Hoar | James Parks |
| 7 | Concord | Samuel Heald | Issachar Andrews | Stephen Barrett |
| 8 | | Francis Brown | Isaac Addington | Thos. Fessenden |
| 9 | Concord | Samuel Jones | Elisha Jones | Stephen Hosmer |

March 8, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Salkahatchie, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

L'amant anonyme, a comédie mêlée de ballets by Joseph Boulogne, Chevalier de Saint-Georges after de Genlis, was performed for the first time, in Paris.

184. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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March 10, Friday: Russia declared armed neutrality in the war between Great Britain and the United States.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 14, Tuesday: Spanish forces under Governor Galvez captured the British garrison at Mobile, West Florida (Alabama).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 23, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Pon Pon, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 27, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Rentowl, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 29, Wednesday: The British besieged [Charleston, South Carolina](#); the city would hold out for 40 days.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

HDT

WHAT?

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April: The *Marquis de Lafayette* arrived back in America again from France, and received command of an army in Virginia.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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April 4, Tuesday: [Edward Hicks](#) was born in Attleborough, Pennsylvania (which is now Langhorne). His parents were Isaac and Catherine Hicks. The family had suffered financial reverses during the Revolution. "Kitty" Hicks was a serious member of the Episcopalian Church and a very good friend of Elizabeth Twining.

The town of [Concord](#) had in 1777 collected a special war tax after incurring extraordinary expenses amounting to £2,161, and then in 1778, an additional £5,192. At this point, after spending an additional £1,295 (in silver), it needed to go back to the trough for a 3d war refinancing.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 11, Tuesday: British forces initiated a siege of Charleston, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Reverend William Lawrence, pastor of Lincoln, died at the age of 56 after 31 years as a minister.

The Rev. William Lawrence, son of the Hon. William Lawrence, and grand-son of Jonas Prescott, Esq., of Groton, was born, 7th of May, 1728, and graduated at [Harvard College](#), 1743. During his ministry, his church, unlike many in the neighbourhood, enjoyed great peace. 122 persons were admitted into full communion, 31 of whom were from other churches, the remainder by original profession; 120 owned the covenant; 605 were baptized; 122 marriages were solemnized; and 294 died. His epitaph appears in the Lincoln burying-ground thus:

"In memory of the Rev. William Lawrence, A.M. Pastor of the Church of Christ in Lincoln, who died April 11, 1780, in the 57th year of his age, and 32d of his ministry. He was a gentleman of good abilities both natural and acquired, a judicious divine, a faithful minister, and firm supporter of the order of the churches. In his last sickness, which was long and distressing, he exhibited a temper characteristic of the minister and Christian. 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'"

His funeral expenses, amounting to £366 currency, and £300 to purchase mourning for the surviving widow, were paid by the town of Lincoln. He married Love, daughter of John Adams, who died January 3, 1820, at the advanced age of 95, and had the following children, William, Love (married to Dr. Joseph Adams,) John P. (died 1808,) Susanna, Sarah, Phebe (married to the Rev. E. Foster of Littleton, 1783,) Ann, and Abel.

Dea. Samuel Farrar was moderator of the church from the death of Mr. Lawrence to the ordination of his successor. A day of fasting and prayer were held, according to the usual custom in such cases, on the last Thursday in August, 1780, and the Rev. Messrs. Cushing, Woodward, and Clark were present on the occasion.

Mr. Charles Stearns was first employed to preach in Lincoln in October, 1780, and on the 15th of January, 1781, the church voted unanimously (29 votes) to invite him to be their pastor; and in this vote the town [of Lincoln] concurred on February 5th, 65 to 5; and agreed to give him "£220 in hard money, or its



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equivalent," (to which £70 were subsequently added,) as a settlement, and £80 and 15 cords of wood, as an annual salary. His ordination took place November 7, 1781. The church then consisted of 96 members. The churches in Waltham, Weston, Lexington, Lunenburgh, Leominster, East Sudbury, 1st in Reading, Stow, and [Concord](#), were represented in the council, of which the Rev. Mr. Cushing was moderator. The Rev. Zabdiel Adams preached on the occasion from 1 Timothy iii. 3, and his sermon was printed.¹⁸⁵

April 14, Friday: King Friedrich II of Prussia issued the Allgemeines Landrecht, directing that there be a unified code of law for all the Prussian states.

People were trying to kill each other at Monk's Corner (Biggins' Bridge), South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 15, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at New Bridge, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 16, Sunday: The University of Münster was founded by Franz Freiherr von Fürstenberg.

People were trying to kill each other at Paramus, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 17, Monday: British and French fleets meet in a muddled engagement off Martinique. Much damage was done but no advantage was gained by either side.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 24, Monday: People were trying to kill each other during a sortie from Charleston, South Carolina.

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May: The British occupied Charlestown, Massachusetts.

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185. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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May 2, Thursday: A large French convoy carrying 6,000 men sets sail from France for America.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

William Herschel discovers Xi Ursae Majoris, the first identified binary star.

May 6, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Lanneau's Ferry, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 7, Tuesday: American revolutionary forces surrendered to the British at Fort Moultrie, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 8, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Sullivan's Island, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

An organizational meeting was held for the new district of [Carlisle](#) being created as part of Acton. The moderator was Phinehas Blood. District officials were chosen.

Selectmen. The town clerk has always been the first selectman; and the board have acted as assessors and overseers of the poor. The following persons have been Selectmen, arranged in order as they were first chosen: Zebulon Spaulding, Phinehas Blood, John Heald, Samuel Green, Issachar Andrews, Asa Parlin, Zaccheus Green, Nathaniel Hutchinson, Nathan Parlin, Jonathan Heald, Simon Blood, Jr., Ephraim Robbins, Leonard Green, John Jacobs, Nathan Green, Jr., John Green, Thomas Spaulding, Frederick Blood, Ezekiel Nichols, Nehemiah Andrews, Timothy Heald, Thomas Heald, Jonathan Heald, Jr., Benjamin Robbins, Jonas Parker, John Heald, Eliakim Hutchins, Aaron Robbins, Aaron Fletcher, Paul Furbush, Isaiah Green, Cyrus Heald, James Green, Cyrus Green, Thomas Heald, Jr.¹⁸⁶

May 12, Friday: After holding out for 40 days, General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered [Charleston, South Carolina](#) to General Sir Henry Clinton of the British military, their greatest prize of the Revolutionary War. A 2½-year occupation began.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 18, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Le Nud's Ferry, [South Carolina](#).

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186. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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May 22, Monday: François-Joseph Gossec was appointed sous-directeur of the Paris Opéra, under Dauvergne.

People were trying to kill each other at Caughnawaga and at Johnstown in New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The proposed new constitution of Massachusetts was submitted to the voters of Lincoln:

The town [of Lincoln] guarded their rights with careful jealousy. When the constitution, formed by the State Convention, February 28th, 1778, was submitted to the town, it voted, 39 to 38, to disapprove of it. In May, 1779, it was voted, "that the town will not choose at this time to have a new constitution or form of government made"; but on July 28th, the Hon. Eleazer Brooks was chosen a delegate to the convention in Cambridge, "for the sole purpose of framing a new constitution, and the delegate was instructed to cause a printed copy of the form of a constitution, they may agree upon in said convention, to be transmitted to the selectmen of each town." This constitution was submitted to the town, 22d of May, 1780.

"On the 2d Article in the 1st Section of the 1st Chapter in the form of government, voted, that this town disapprove of the said article; 1. Because we think the legislative, executive, and judicial powers ought to be in separate departments and not exercised by the same body or bodies of men, either in whole or in part. 2. Because we judge this article to be repugnant to the 17th and 30th articles in the bill of rights; as also to the 1st article in the frame of government, which we think to be founded in reason.

"On the 2d Article in the 3d Section of the 1st Chapter, voted, that the town disapprove of this article; because we think the mode of representation pointed out in this article is not founded upon the principles of equality as provided by the preceding article. We apprehend that all circumstances ought to be taken into consideration to determine a representation founded in equality, and that neither the number of rateable polls nor any other circumstance, singly considered, determines such a representation. This state is constituted of a great number of distinct and very unequal corporations, which are the immediate constituent parts of the state; and the individuals are only the remote parts in many respects. In all acts of the legislature which respect particular corporations, each corporation has a distinct and separate interest, clashing with the interests of all the rest. And, so long as human nature remains the same it now is, each representative will be under an undue bias in favor of the corporation he represents; therefore any large corporation having a large number of representatives, will have a large and undue influence in determining any question in their own favor. Should the number of rateable polls in any particular corporation increase till they overbalance



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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all the others, they could completely tyrannize over all the rest, and every degree of inequality gives power for the same degree of tyranny. Another circumstance which renders the mode of representation pointed out in this article unequal is, that the small corporations can have no voice in government without being at the whole expense of a full representation; whereas, the large corporations, by dividing the attendance of their representatives, can vastly lessen their expense, and yet, in such cases as respect their particular and separate interests, have a full representation."

The 3d Article in the Declaration of Rights was accepted 46 to 2; the last clause of the 10th Article, 3d Section, and 1st Chapter was rejected 30 to 11. Voted unanimously to revise the constitution in 7 years by 40 votes, and to accept it with the foregoing exceptions.

The first meeting under the new constitution was held on the first Monday of September, when there were 41 votes cast, all of which but one were for the Hon. John Hancock.¹⁸⁷

May 25, Thursday: Thomas Brown and the King's Carolina Rangers occupied Augusta without opposition.

Two regiments of the United States Army mutinied at Morristown, New Jersey over unpaid wages and dwindling rations, but the mutiny was put down.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 26, Friday: Spanish defenders repulsed a British attack on St. Louis (Missouri).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 27, Saturday: There was a favorite story, that George Washington and several others had come to Betsy Ross, otherwise known as Elizabeth Claypoole, on a secret mission from the Continental Congress to obtain a flag for use in their rebellion, and that it had been Betsy who had suggested the use of 5-pointed rather than 6-pointed stars. There being an utter absence of any evidence to corroborate this too-patriotic-to-be-true story, at this Sophia Hildebrandt put her signature to an attestation that she had heard this story straight from the mouth of her grandmother Betsy (subsequently, Margaret Boggs, a niece of Betsy, and Rachel Fletcher, a daughter of Betsy, would put their signatures to similar attestations).

A convention to which [John Cuming](#) and Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esqrs. were delegates from [Concord](#), met in the fall of 1779, and formed a constitution, which was submitted to the town [Concord], May 27, 1780. The bill of rights was approved with the following exceptions: The 2d article had 2 votes against it; the 3d, 8; the 9th, 3; and to the 29th, one desired to add the words, "no

187. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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longer." The 1st, 2d, 4th, 5th, and 6th chapters were unanimously adopted with the following exceptions: The 1st and 2d article of the 2d section 1st chapter, had 3 votes against it; the 8th article in the same section, 8; the 3d and 6th articles of the 3d section in the same chapter had 1 vote each against them. The 2d article, 1st section, 2d chapter, was proposed to be amended by inserting the word, "Protestant"; and the 13th of the same section, by having the "salary of the governor," &c., stated yearly. The word "Protestant" was also proposed to be inserted in the 1st article in the 6th chapter.¹⁸⁸

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 29, Monday: A meeting of the Protestant Association took place in London. The group, founded by Lord George Gordon, opposed the Roman Catholic Relief Act removing disabilities of Catholics. They resolved that they would present a petition to Parliament.

British forces defeated the Americans at Waxhaws Creek, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 30, Tuesday: The new district of [Carlisle](#) set out to raise a force of 7 men to send off to the continental army (and 6 additional persons, during February 1781). Captain Samuel Heald found there to be precisely zero volunteers, so the district was divided into six parts with each part obligated to produce one "volunteer." By this process one person would be sent to Rhode Island in 1781, and three more would be sent off to the Continental army. Committees of safety would, however, be regularly chosen.¹⁸⁹

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June: The town of Bedford sent 8 revolutionary fighters to [Rhode Island](#) for 3 months, to help oppose the British there:

In June previous, seven men, John Johnson, Rufus Johnson, Nathan Merrill, Jonas Bacon, Cambridge Moore, Jonas Duren, Cesar Prescott, had been hired [by Bedford] to go to the North River, six months for a bounty of 120 bushels of corn each; and eight men, Joshua Holt, John Webber, Ebenezer Hardy, Amos Bemis, Jonathan Wilson, Andrew Hall, Isaac Simonds, and Israel Mead Blood, were hired for three months to [Rhode Island](#) for 90 bushels of corn each.¹⁹⁰

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

188. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

189. I do not know whether this means that the district had trouble obtaining the indicated force but eventually did so, or that the district had intentions to send the indicated number but never actually did so.

190. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

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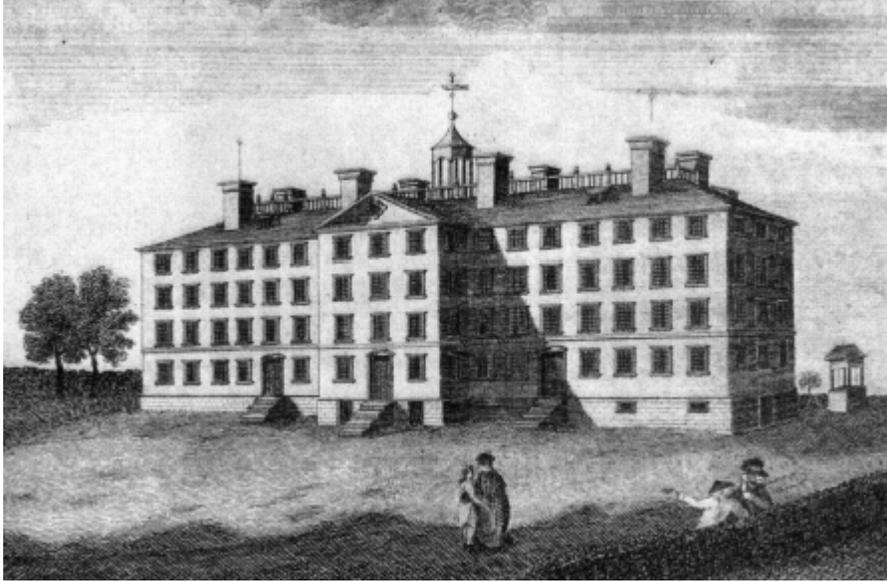
1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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A French army began to disembark at [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#).

At about this point in time the College Edifice erected atop College Hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (now the original building of [Brown University](#)) had been evacuated by the revolutionary soldiers who had been using it as a barracks, and it was being converted into a hospital for French soldiers encamped along Camp Street.



Later on this building would be added to. Here it is at an interim stage, in 1864, after Hope College on the right had been constructed during 1821-1823 and after Manning Hall, in the center, had been constructed in 1834:



The original College Edifice of 1770, now known as [University Hall](#), is on the left in the 20th-Century

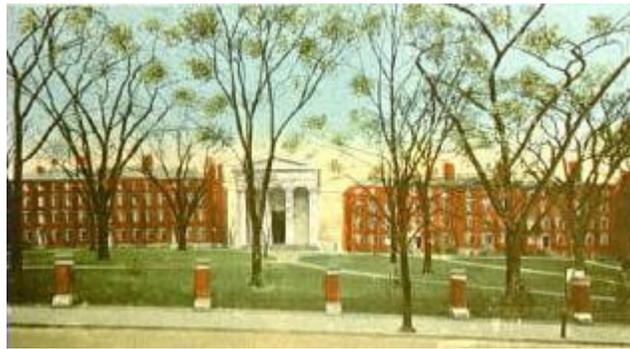


1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

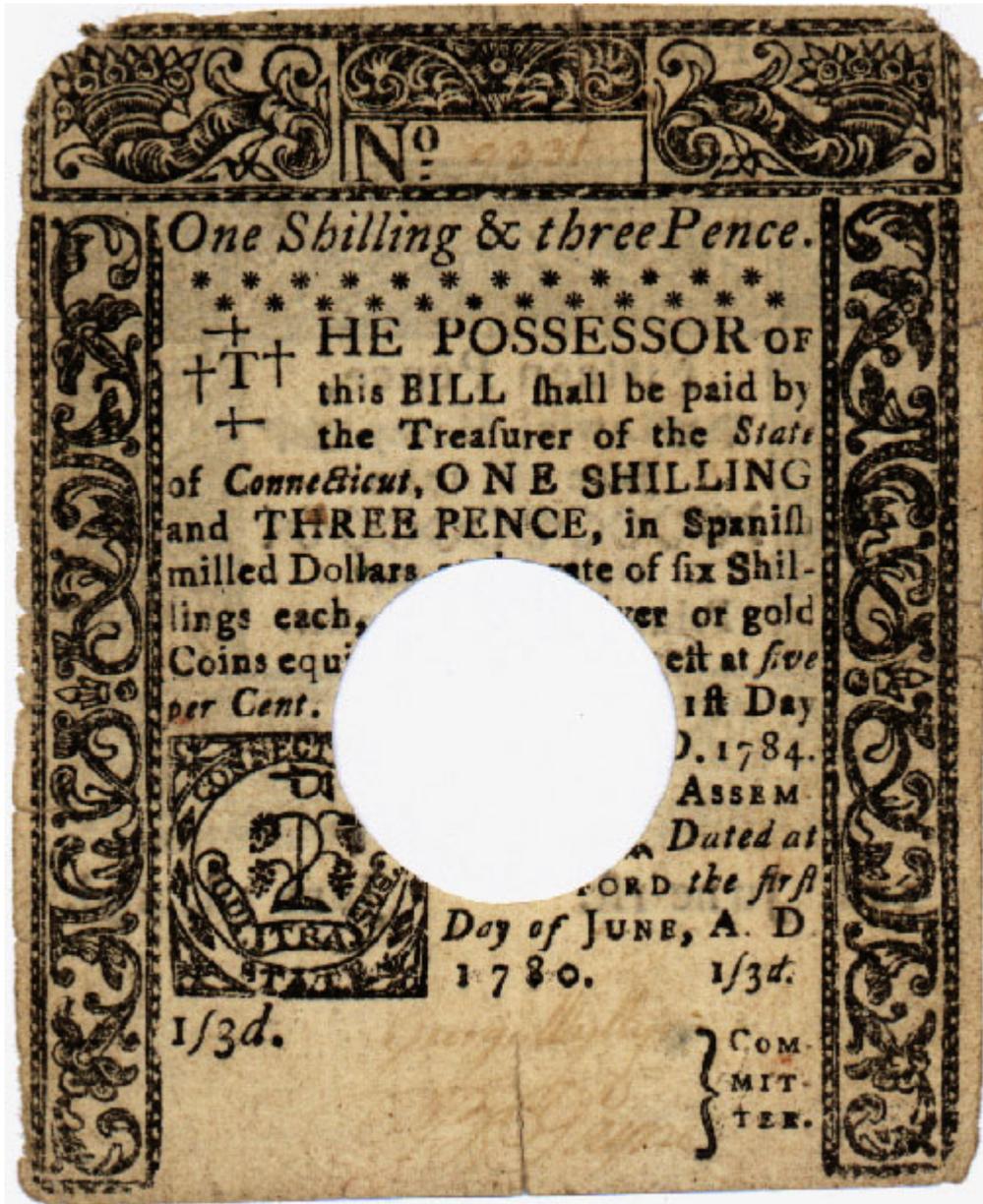
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

June 1, Thursday: General Cornwallis established his headquarters in Camden, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

At New London, on behalf of the Colony of Connecticut, Timothy Green, II printed Treasury Notes amounting to £50,000 in bills of credit payable with 5% interest in Spanish milled dollars at the rate of 6s per milled dollar, or silver or gold coin equivalent. The example below of a “One Shilling & three Pence” denomination, has a hole indicating maturation and redemption on March 1, 1784.



The motto on the scroll, QUI TRA SUS, means “What is Transplanted Survives.”



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

June 5, Monday: La finta amante, an opera buffa by Giovanni Paisiello, was performed for the initial time, in Mogilev, Poland.

[Concord](#) budgeted for 19 of its citizen soldiers to serve in the Continental Army for 6 months, for pay totaling \$16,000 plus an initial enlistment bounty amounting to \$1,000.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁹¹

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| June 5, 1780 | 19 | 6 months | Continental Army | 1000 | 16000 |
| <p>These [the above] men were hired by the same committee. They were intended to march to Albany to prevent the incursions of the Indians, but counter orders were issued and they went to Rhode Island. Cyprian How was Colonel; ——— Bancroft of Dunstable, Lieutenant-Colonel; ——— Stone, of Ashby, Major; Abraham Andrews, Captain; Silas Walker and Eli Conant, Lieutenants. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, eleven; Lincoln, twelve; Carlisle, nine.</p> | | | | | |
| June 22, 1780 | 19 | 3 months | Rhode Island | | 17090 |
| December 2, 1780 | 16 | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |
| <p>These [the above] men were to serve three years or during the war. The town decided, after considerable debate, by a vote of 53 to 42, to hire them in classes. The Selectmen, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Mr. Isaac Hubbard, Mr. Samuel Hosmer, Col. Nathan Barrett, and Mr. Job Brooks were chosen to divide the town into as many classes as there were men to hire, according to wealth. The town voted to “proceed against” any who should neglect to pay their proportion in the several classes; each one of which hired a man at as low a rate as possible. The men’s names were Charles Adams, Richard Hayden, Jonathan Wright, Joseph Dudley, Isaac Hall, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Joseph Adams, Benjamin Barron, William Tenneclaf, Richard Hobby, Leonard Whitney, Samuel Farrar, John Stratten, Daniel McGregor, and Jonathan Fiske. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, ten; Lincoln, ten; Carlisle, six. They were mustered by Capt. Joseph Hosmer.</p> | | | | | |
| December 28, 1780 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army, Fishkill | | |

191. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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June 6, Tuesday: As the British Parliament met for the 1st time since June 2d, anti-Catholic mobs attacked again and forced them to flee. The mobs turned their attention on the home of the Lord Chief Justice, Newgate and Clerkenwell Prisons, where the prisoners were freed, the Bank of England and foreign embassies which have Catholic chapels on their premises, particularly Sardinia and Bavaria. Over 30 fires were started.

Andromaque, a tragédie lyrique by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry to words of Pitra after Racine, was performed for the first time, at the Paris Opéra.

People were trying to kill each other at Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 7, Wednesday: After dithering for several days, the British government called out troops to suppress anti-Catholic rioting in London. The soldiers were issued shoot-to-kill orders against any who refused to disperse. They killed 285, wounded 173, and took 139 into custody.

People were trying to kill each other at Connecticut Farms, New Jersey (this would be going on until the 23d).

A constitution for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was ratified by plebiscite. This included a prohibition of slavery.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 9, Friday: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 9 was published.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

READ THE FULL TEXT

The anti-Catholic riots in London were brought under control. 25 people would hang for their part in the insurrection while Lord George Gordon, their leader, would be found not guilty of treason.

June 18, Sunday: The British captured Ninety Six, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 20, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Ramsour's Mills, [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

June 22, Thursday: Canadians and Indians captured Riddle’s Station on the South Fork of the Licking River (Harrison County, Kentucky).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Concord](#) allotted \$17,090 in pay for 19 of its citizen soldiers serving for 3 months in [Rhode Island](#).

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁹²

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| June 5, 1780 | 19 | 6 months | Continental Army | 1000 | 16000 |
| <p>These [the above] men were hired by the same committee. They were intended to march to Albany to prevent the incursions of the Indians, but counter orders were issued and they went to Rhode Island. Cyprian How was Colonel; ————— Bancroft of Dunstable, Lieutenant-Colonel; ————— Stone, of Ashby, Major; Abraham Andrews, Captain; Silas Walker and Eli Conant, Lieutenants. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, eleven; Lincoln, twelve; Carlisle, nine.</p> | | | | | |
| June 22, 1780 | 19 | 3 months | Rhode Island | | 17090 |
| December 2, 1780 | 16 | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |
| <p>These [the above] men were to serve three years or during the war. The town decided, after considerable debate, by a vote of 53 to 42, to hire them in classes. The Selectmen, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Mr. Isaac Hubbard, Mr. Samuel Hosmer, Col. Nathan Barrett, and Mr. Job Brooks were chosen to divide the town into as many classes as there were men to hire, according to wealth. The town voted to “proceed against” any who should neglect to pay their proportion in the several classes; each one of which hired a man at as low a rate as possible. The men’s names were Charles Adams, Richard Hayden, Jonathan Wright, Joseph Dudley, Isaac Hall, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Joseph Adams, Benjamin Barron, William Tenneclaf, Richard Hobby, Leonard Whitney, Samuel Farrar, John Stratten, Daniel McGregor, and Jonathan Fiske. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, ten; Lincoln, ten; Carlisle, six. They were mustered by Capt. Joseph Hosmer.</p> | | | | | |
| December 28, 1780 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army, Fishkill | | |

June 23, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Springfield, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

192. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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 Summer Campaign Weather: The *Marquis de Lafayette* forced the British commander, Lord Charles Cornwallis, to retreat across Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 1, Saturday: [Carl Phillip Gottfried \(or Gottlieb\) von Clausewitz](#) was born at Burg in the kingdom of Prussia (although June 1st has been the accepted date, the Burg parish register reveals the date July 1st).

[Stephen Crane](#), a delegate to the initial Continental Congress who had been bayoneted by British troops in Elizabethtown, New Jersey as they passed through on their way to Springfield on June 23d, died of this wound.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

**ESSENCE IS BLUR. SPECIFICITY,
THE OPPOSITE OF ESSENCE,
IS OF THE NATURE OF TRUTH.**

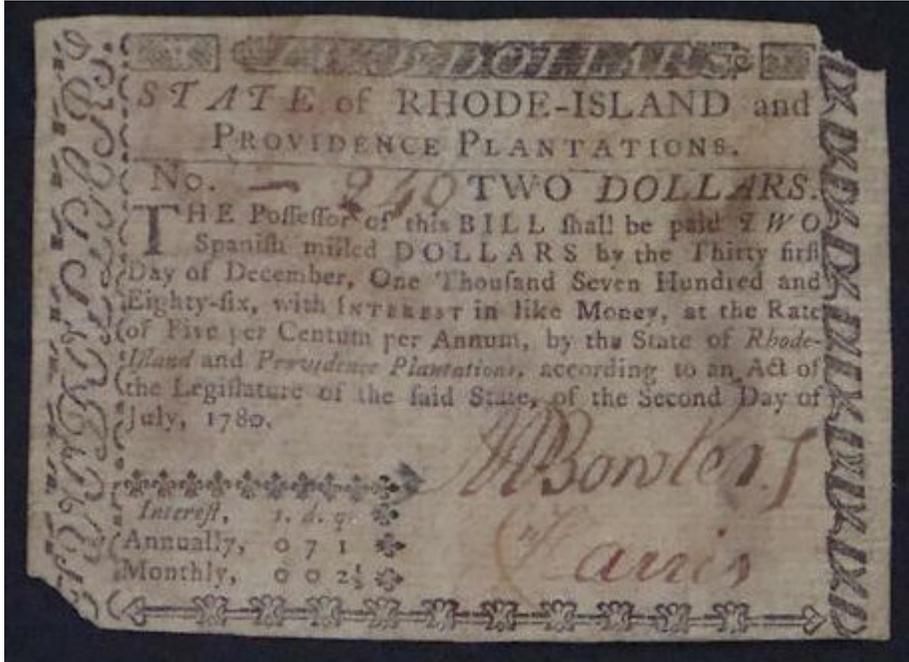
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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July 2, Sunday: The [State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations](#) issued colonial currency in the value of two dollars with Interest in like Money, at the Rate of Five per Centum per Annum:

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 9, Sunday: Denmark declared armed neutrality in the war between Great Britain and the United States.

Count de Rochambeau, commander of a large force of French troops and ships, came ashore with a retinue at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to help the revolutionary cause. There was no one was there to greet him so he spent the night in a hotel.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 10, Monday: General George Washington's emissary arrived in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) belatedly to greet the Count de Rochambeau.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 11, Tuesday: [Timothy Flint](#) was born in Reading, Massachusetts, a child of William Flint and Martha Kimball Flint.

HDT

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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Here is an illustration of the disembarkation of French troops on this day either on [Aquidneck Island](#) or at [Providence](#) in [Rhode Island](#):



Count Axel de Fersen, a Swedish mercenary officer serving in this French army, would describe the life of the officers while they were bivouacked in [Newport](#).

COUNT AXEL DE FERSEN

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

July 12, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Williamson's Plantation (Brattenville) and at Stallian's and at Brandon's Camp in South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

M. Claude Blanchard stepped ashore in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

M. CLAUDE BLANCHARD

July 13, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Cedar Springs, [North Carolina](#), and at Cherokee Indian Town.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 14, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Pacolet River, [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 15, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Earle's Ford, [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 15, Saturday-16, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at McDonnell's Camp, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 19, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Block House, Tom's River (Bergen), New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Late July: During the summer campaign weather, the *Marquis de Lafayette*, or his soldiers, had forced the British commander, Lord Charles Cornwallis, to retreat across Virginia. Eventually the British troops were bottled up in Yorktown.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 21, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Bull's Ferry, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 30, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Rocky Mount and at Fort Anderson (Thickety Fort), South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

August 1, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Hunt's Bluff and at Green Springs in South Carolina.

Sweden declared armed neutrality in the war between Great Britain and the United States of America.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 2, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Mohawk Valley (Fort Plain), New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 3, Friday: General [George Washington](#) put General Benedict Arnold in command of West Point.

August 6, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Hanging Rock in South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 8, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Wofford's Iron Works (Cedar Springs) and at Old Iron Works in South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 9, Wednesday: Benjamin Franklin wrote from Paris to the Continental Congress telling them that John Adams had been hindering his relationship with the French court.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 15, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort of the Wateree in South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 16, Wednesday: When British forces commanded by General Charles Cornwallis and American troops blundered into each other in the dark near Camden, South Carolina, and at Gum Swamp northwest of Charleston, there was a brief firefight. After dawn, this fighting resumed and the Americans were demolished, suffering 3 times as many casualties as the British. Baron Johann de Kalb was fatally wounded. Many American units ran off, along with their commander General Horatio Gates.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 18, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Musgrove's Mills and at Fishing Creek and at Catawba Ford in South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 20, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Great Savannah (Nelson's Ferry) in South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

August 23, Wednesday: At the 1st [Concord](#) town meeting under the new constitution the town cast 121 votes for governor, all for the Boston banker John Hancock.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

| Date | Candidates | Concord | Bedford | Acton | Lincoln | Carlyle | Scattered |
|------|----------------|---------|---------|-------|---------|---------|-----------|
| 1780 | John Hancock | 121 | 25 | 54 | 42 | 28 | — |
| | James Bowdoin | — | 2 | — | 1 | — | |
| 1781 | John Hancock | 83 | 30 | 38 | 20 | 31 | — |
| | _____ | 1 | — | — | — | — | |
| 1782 | John Hancock | 76 | 19 | 34 | 11 | 6 | 31 |
| | James Bowdoin | 2 | — | — | 4 | — | |
| 1783 | John Hancock | 86 | 22 | 48 | 38 | 8 | — |
| | _____ | 1 | — | — | — | — | |
| 1784 | John Hancock | 80 | 27 | 22 | 17 | 4 | 12 |
| | _____ | — | — | — | — | — | |
| 1785 | James Bowdoin | 26 | 30 | 2 | 29 | — | 50 |
| | Thomas Cushing | 34 | — | 16 | — | — | |
| 1786 | James Bowdoin | 75 | 29 | 35 | 33 | 17 | — |
| | _____ | 1 | — | — | — | — | |
| 1787 | John Hancock | 113 | 42 | 62 | 25 | 38 | 7 |
| | James Bowdoin | 43 | 3 | 17 | 35 | 5 | |
| 1788 | John Hancock | 114 | 43 | 55 | 48 | 35 | 1 |
| | Elbridge Gerry | 9 | — | — | — | 3 | |
| 1789 | John Hancock | 95 | 35 | 45 | 26 | — | 24 |
| | James Bowdoin | 24 | — | 10 | 12 | — | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

| Date | Candidates | Concord | Bedford | Acton | Lincoln | Carlyle | Scattered |
|------|----------------|---------|---------|-------|---------|---------|-----------|
| 1790 | John Hancock | 72 | 39 | 47 | 30 | 34 | — |
| | James Bowdoin | 20 | — | — | 8 | 2 | |
| 1791 | John Hancock | 76 | 40 | 26 | 39 | 31 | 11 |
| | Elbridge Gerry | 5 | — | — | — | — | |
| 1792 | John Hancock | 80 | 32 | 32 | 35 | 32 | 27 |
| | Dana | 16 | — | — | — | — | |
| 1793 | John Hancock | 78 | 26 | 33 | 42 | 31 | 25 |
| | Elbridge Gerry | 5 | — | — | — | — | |

August 27, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Kingstree, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

British troops arrested prominent citizens of [Charleston](#) for encouraging resistance, keeping them in the dungeon of the Old Exchange (those willing to sign an Oath of Loyalty to the Crown would be paroled).

September: A privateer out of Beverly (alongside Salem along the Massachusetts coast) captured an English vessel that was on its way from Galway to [London](#). Their loot included the philosophical (scientific, that is to say) library of a Doctor Richard Kirwan of Ireland. Brought back to New England, the books were purchased by an apothecary for use as wrapping paper for his prescriptions. When this was discovered by various learned men in Salem, they took up a collection among themselves and purchased the library from the pharmacist. This was the origin of Salem's Philosophical Library Company.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 3, Sunday: Henry Laurens of [Charleston, South Carolina](#), United States representative to the Netherlands, was arrested off a merchant ship by a British man-of-war off Newfoundland on his way to the Netherlands, and would wind up enjoying for the duration of hostilities the hospitality of a room at the [Tower of London](#).

LONDON

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 4, First Monday: At the 1st Lincoln town meeting under the new constitution the town cast 43 votes for governor, all but one of them for the Boston banker John Hancock.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

| Date | Candidates | Concord | Bedford | Acton | Lincoln | Carlyle | Scattered |
|------|---------------|---------|---------|-------|---------|---------|-----------|
| 1780 | John Hancock | 121 | 25 | 54 | 42 | 28 | — |
| | James Bowdoin | — | 2 | — | 1 | — | |

September 4, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Tarcote, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 8, Friday: Considering that they had pretty much mopped up in South Carolina, British forces marched onward and upward into [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 12, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Cane Creek, [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The farm of Josiah Blood, formerly in [Carlisle](#), was annexed to the territory of [Concord](#).

September 14, Thursday: At Black Mingo, South Carolina near Augusta, Georgia, the largest engagement of the revolution involving native Americans took place, with revolutionaries inflicted heavy casualties at a Creek village before ultimately being driven away.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Captain John Byron retired from the Army. He and Mrs. Byron would settle in Paris.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

September 14, Thursday-18, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Forts Grierson and Corwallis near Augusta, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 15, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at White House, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 16, Saturday: In Amsterdam, John Adams learns that he has been empowered by Congress to negotiate a loan from the Dutch.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 20, Wednesday: A French force under Admiral de Ternay and General Jean Baptiste Rochambeau, having marched from Rhode Island, linked up with General Washington at Hartford.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Major John André and General Benedict Arnold met at Haverstraw and plotted the betrayal of West Point to the British.

September 21, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Wahab's Plantation, [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 23, Saturday: Friedrich replaced Ernst Friedrich III as Duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen.

A bust of André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry was installed in the Liège City Theater.

Adelheit von Veltheim, a Schauspiel mit Gesang by Christian Gottlob Neefe to words of Grossmann, was performed for the initial time, in Frankfurt-am-Main.



When British Major John André was captured in disguise near Tarrytown, [New York](#), he had on his person papers signed by revolutionary General Benedict Arnold betraying the American garrison at West Point.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 25, Monday: Hearing of the capture of Major John Andre, Benedict Arnold fled to the British ship *Vulture* in the Hudson River. He would be awarded a commission and the rank of Brigadier General in the British army.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 26, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Charlotte, [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 30, Saturday: Late in September, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#) had presided over the military court that convicted Major John André of plotting with General Benedict Arnold to betray West Point, and after the court had found him guilty as charged, he ordered his execution. On this day, on Garret Smith's farm near Tappan, New York, André was [hanged](#) and Dr. Timothy Hosmer of Avon, New York pronounced him dead.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

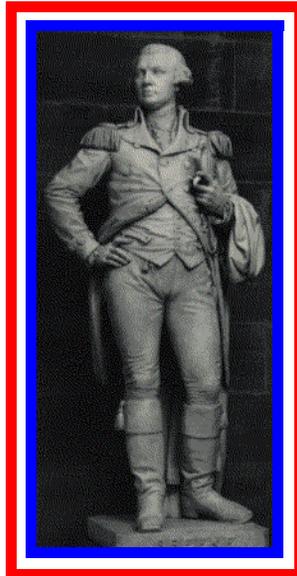
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

Fall: Meetings of [Free Quakers](#) began in private homes in Philadelphia, in Chester County of Pennsylvania, and in West River, [Maryland](#). Off your enemies — Christ would surely have voted for that!¹⁹³

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

Fall: When Congress suspended the runaway General Horatio Gates from command after his crushing defeat at Camden, South Carolina and General [George Washington](#) went to appoint a successor, he chose his clubfooted staff officer, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#).



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October: Mr. Charles Stearns was first employed to preach in Lincoln.

From October, 1780 to the July following, 42,779 lbs. of beef were furnished by the town [[Concord](#)] for the army. Every aid, whether in men, money, clothing or provisions, required for the public service during the war, was readily furnished.

As a specimen of the enormous expenses of the town at this period, I select, from its records, the taxes actually assessed and collected during 1780 and 1781. In 1779, the taxes amounted in silver, to \$6,281.88; in 1782 to \$9,544.98 and in 1783 to \$5,208.69. When it is remembered that the town then contained about 1,300 inhabitants only, their sacrifices will appear still greater. The annual taxes principally for the public benefit, were then double what they had been for some time past with a population more than one third greater. The currency having been fluctuating, I have reduced the several sums to their real value in silver at the time they were assessed, according to the

193. The jest at the time was that what the Free Quakers were free of was Quakerism.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

authorized tables of depreciation.

| When assessed. | For what object. | Currency. | In Silver. |
|----------------|---|-----------------|--------------|
| Feb. 2, 1780 | Continental tax. | £12,433 4s. 0d. | = \$1,412 54 |
| April 4, 1780 | 3d town "average or war tax." | 1,295 4s. 11d. | 115 56 |
| April 22, 1780 | Half of Minister's salary. | 3,438 15s. 0d. | 286 56 |
| April 22, 1780 | Highway Tax. | 1,800 0s. 0d. | 150 00 |
| June 14, 1780 | To hire continental soldiers. | 16,921 12s. 6d. | 818 92 |
| June 30, 1780 | To pay drafted militia. | 17,090 5s. 6d. | 837 75 |
| July 14, 1780 | State tax to call in bills of credit. | 26,852 18s. 0d. | 1,297 24 |
| Sept. 2, 1780 | State tax to call in bills of credit in silver. | 346 18s. 0d. | 1,156 33 |
| Oct. 25, 1780 | To purchase 11,520 lbs beef. | 18,731 2s. 0d. | 879 39 |
| Oct. 25, 1780 | County tax. | 1,158 10s. 0d. | 54 39 |
| Oct. 25, 1780 | Town charges. | 15,495 11s. 0d. | 727 49 |
| Dec. 21, 1780 | To hire soldiers for 6 and 3 months. | 40,801 3s. 0d. | 1,837 89 |
| Dec. 21, 1780 | Half of the minister's salary. | 7,101 3s. 0d. | 319 81 |
| Dec. 28, 1780 | State tax to call in bills of credit. | 26,880 0s. 0d. | 1,210 81 |
| | Total amount of the assessments in 1780 | | 11,104 68 |
| March 1, 1781 | To purchase 22,125 lbs. of beef. | 33,259 8s. 0d. | 1,478 19 |
| July, 1781 | State tax to be paid in silver. | 692 2s. 9d. | 2,307 12 |
| | To pay town debts. | 229 10s. 8d. | 765 12 |
| Sept. 15, 1781 | Half of the minister's salary. | 85 9s. 2d. | 268 20 |
| Sept. 18, 1781 | To purchase clothing for soldiers. | 57 10s. 9d. | 191 79 |
| Nov., 1781 | To purchase beef. | 216 0s. 1d. | 720 01 |
| Dec. 30, 1781 | Continental tax. | 2,369 9s. 9d. | 4,564 96 |
| | Total amount of the assessments in 1781 | | \$10,295 39 |

In addition to these oppressive taxes, large sums were raised in classes to hire soldiers, and by individuals who were drafted and compelled to go into actual service, or hire a substitute. It is as impossible to estimate the exact amount paid by the citizens of Concord to purchase our independence, as it is too



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

much to admire their exalted patriotism.¹⁹⁴

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 2, Monday: British Major John Andre was hanged as a spy by the Americans at Tappan, [New York](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 4, Wednesday: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, THE CRISIS EXTRAORDINARY was published.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 7, Saturday: At King's Mountain, [North Carolina](#), 300 kilometers northwest of Charleston, American forces erased the loyalist force of 1,100 men under the command of Major Patrick Ferguson that had been marching north out of subdued South Carolina. The American forces were commanded by Colonel William Campbell, Colonel Isaac Shelby, and Colonel Benjamin Cleveland. They afterward killed some of those who had surrendered.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 10, Tuesday: What may be the most powerful hurricane to hit the Caribbean makes landfall on Barbados. Over the next week it will strike every island in the Lesser Antilles and Santo Domingo. 22,000 people were killed including many British and French naval vessels carrying thousands of soldiers.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 11, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort George, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 15, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Middleburg, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 17, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Schoharie, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Richard Mentor Johnson was born.

194. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

October 19, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Keyser (Palatine or Stone Arabia), New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 21, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Klock's Field, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 22, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Kanassoraga, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 25, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Black River (Tarcote Swamp), South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 27, Friday: *Persée*, a tragédie lyrique by François-André Danican-Philidor to words of Marmontel after Quinault, was performed for the 1st time, at the Paris Opéra (public response was frigid).

A party of 4 professors and 6 students from Harvard College viewed a solar eclipse from Penobscot Bay, Maine (this was the initial American expedition to view an eclipse; the British commander of the area allowed the expedition to land, view the eclipse, and depart unmolested).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 29, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at German Flats, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

31st, 10th Month: The British army had been evacuated, [Aquidneck Island](#) had come to be occupied by French soldiers: "*A part of the Meeting House at [Newport](#) having at some time past been occupied by the French Army, we appoint James Mitchell, James Chase, Isaac Lawton, and Jacob Mott to use their endeavours to have it released.*"

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

RHODE ISLAND

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

November 9, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Fish Dam Ford (Broad River), South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

I wish they'd learn not to do that sort of thing.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

November 12, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Broad river, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

I wish they'd learn not to do that sort of thing.

20th, 11th Month: The situation of the French troops in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) would be described by François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux.

MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

“Was read in this Meeting to good satisfaction an Epistle from the Quarterly Meeting held at Dartmouth the 12th and 13th of 10th month 1780 by which they desire we would treat with such [Friends](#) as are concerned in keeping [slaves](#), they having had information that there were some such among us, whereupon we appoint Isaac Lawton and Sampson Shearman to treat with them and report to next Monthly Meeting.”

MANUMISSION

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

November 20, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Blackstock's Plantation (Tyger River) South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

I wish they'd learn not to do that sort of thing.

November 21, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Coram (Fort George), Long Island.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

I wish they'd learn not to do that sort of thing.

1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

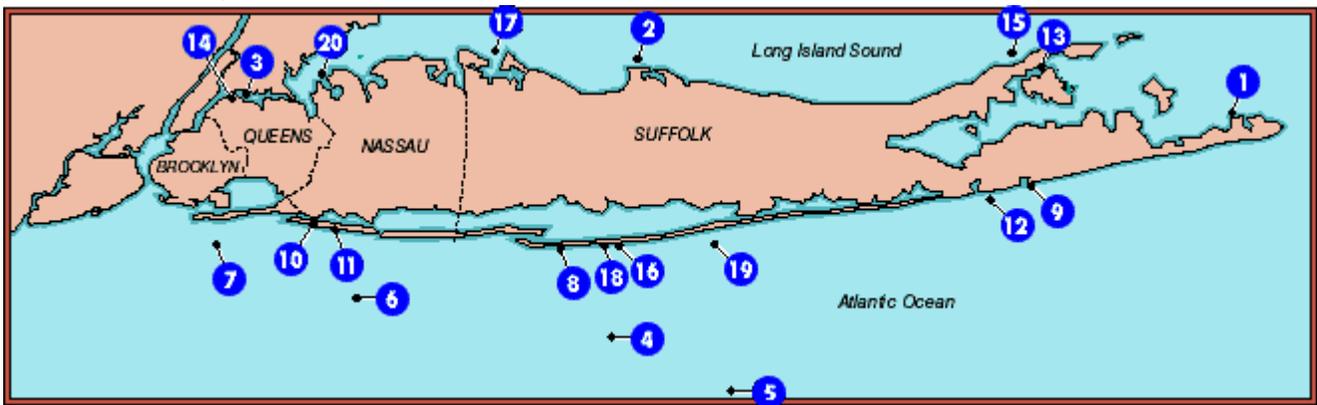
GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

November 23, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort St. George (Smith's Point), Long Island.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

I wish they'd learn not to do that sort of thing.

At position #14 below, a 28-gun British frigate, the *HMS Hussar*, struck a nasty old rock and sank, and of its crew of 200, 8 to 10 died. It is unfortunate that these 8 or 10 died and that these 28 cannon were lost, for had they lived and had these cannon not been lost, they might have managed to use those 28 cannon to kill somebody!



Damn that nasty old rock! What right did it have to be getting in people's way when they were about their own legitimate business?

27th, 11th Month: A disownment by the [Newport](#) meeting: “Whereas James Marsh, who some time past came off from [Rhode Island](#) [[Aquidneck Island](#)] and by his own account had never been deprived of a right of membership which he held by Birth among [Friends](#), has since he came among us [among the Friends of [Smithfield](#)] maintained a life and conversation in many respects inconsistent with our religious testimony, particularly in hiring a man or men to go into the war in his stead and although he could not deny but that he thought it incompatible with the Christian profession under which he had past, yet after being laboured with for his restoration, he gave no encouragement in making Friends satisfaction....”

QUAKER DISOWNMENT
AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

December 2, Saturday: [Concord](#) allowed for the drafting, in classes, of 16 additional citizen soldiers, for a 3-year period.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁹⁵

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| June 5, 1780 | 19 | 6 months | Continental Army | 1000 | 16000 |
| <p>These [the above] men were hired by the same committee. They were intended to march to Albany to prevent the incursions of the Indians, but counter orders were issued and they went to Rhode Island. Cyprian How was Colonel; ——— Bancroft of Dunstable, Lieutenant-Colonel; ——— Stone, of Ashby, Major; Abraham Andrews, Captain; Silas Walker and Eli Conant, Lieutenants. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, eleven; Lincoln, twelve; Carlisle, nine.</p> | | | | | |
| June 22, 1780 | 19 | 3 months | Rhode Island | | 17090 |
| December 2, 1780 | 16 | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |
| <p>These [the above] men were to serve three years or during the war. The town decided, after considerable debate, by a vote of 53 to 42, to hire them in classes. The Selectmen, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Mr. Isaac Hubbard, Mr. Samuel Hosmer, Col. Nathan Barrett, and Mr. Job Brooks were chosen to divide the town into as many classes as there were men to hire, according to wealth. The town voted to “proceed against” any who should neglect to pay their proportion in the several classes; each one of which hired a man at as low a rate as possible. The men’s names were Charles Adams, Richard Hayden, Jonathan Wright, Joseph Dudley, Isaac Hall, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Joseph Adams, Benjamin Barron, William Tenneclaf, Richard Hobby, Leonard Whitney, Samuel Farrar, John Stratten, Daniel McGregor, and Jonathan Fiske. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, ten; Lincoln, ten; Carlisle, six. They were mustered by Capt. Joseph Hosmer.</p> | | | | | |
| December 28, 1780 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army, Fishkill | | |

December 4, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Rugley’s Mills, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 9, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Horseneck, Connecticut.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

195. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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December 16, Saturday: The Netherlands declared armed neutrality in the war between Great Britain and the United States of America.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 20, Wednesday: Great Britain declared war on the Netherlands.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 30, Saturday: [Concord](#) enabled 10 of its citizen soldiers to serve for 9 months with the Continental Army at Fishkill.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS¹⁹⁶

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| June 5, 1780 | 19 | 6 months | Continental Army | 1000 | 16000 |
| <p>These [the above] men were hired by the same committee. They were intended to march to Albany to prevent the incursions of the Indians, but counter orders were issued and they went to Rhode Island. Cyprian How was Colonel; ————— Bancroft of Dunstable, Lieutenant-Colonel; ————— Stone, of Ashby, Major; Abraham Andrews, Captain; Silas Walker and Eli Conant, Lieutenants. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, eleven; Lincoln, twelve; Carlisle, nine.</p> | | | | | |
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| December 28, 1780 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army, Fishkill | | |

196. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The Netherlands declared war on Great Britain.

At [Yale College](#), a pencil sketch was made of President [Ezra Stiles](#).

December 31, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Williamson's Plantation, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Late in the year: As a means of finding security in turbulent Revolutionary times, [Paul Cuffe](#) had chosen to maintain his father's African name, but to keep his mother's Wampanoag identity. This tactic was intercepted, however, when the [Dartmouth](#) town government, which had declared Indian land to be exempt from taxation, decided to levy taxes on the Cuffe farm. The impact of the heavy taxation of the family farm was twofold. Not only did taxation lead Paul to begin a career as a blockade runner in order to raise money, but it also led him to question his ethnic identity. His first foray into identity politics came, like many of his later endeavors, partly out of a desire for economic gain and partly out of circumstances. Following an onslaught of new taxes in 1780, Paul, his brother John, and five other free persons of color decided to challenge the taxation. The group went to the Massachusetts legislature with an appeal titled an "Interesting Petition or Memorial from Negroes of Dartmouth for exemption from taxation." This petition, although defeated in the Massachusetts house, did start a debate about the provision of the state Constitution that it was property value, rather than race, that determined who could vote. The Cuffe brothers and other free blacks quickly saw the contradiction present in fighting a war under the principle "no taxation without representation" in order to create a republic that denied to its black subjects access to that very principle. This right would be officially recognized three years later. At this point, Paul's brother John convinced him to petition the town meeting to allow them to be exempt from taxation due to their Indian heritage. The Cuffe family's resistance to paying back taxes ultimately led a board of selectmen from the Massachusetts legislature to declare that a free black's right to vote could only be determined in the town in which he lived. We don't know that the Dartmouth legislature ever voted on his right to vote, but Cuffe would emerge from these legal hassles with reduced tax penalties as well as with an understanding that he could succeed in the new republic through careful and deliberate playing of the race card. Organized black nationalist movements in the United States appear to have begun with Cuffe.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1781

[Cuff Smith](#), the middle son of [Venture Smith](#) and Margaret “Meg” Smith, enlisted in the Continental army. He would serve for one year and seven months in Captain Caleb Baldwin’s Company and then return in 1783 to the family farm on East Haddam Neck in Connecticut.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[Thomas Paine](#) and John Laurens sailed to [France](#) to arrange further loans and war supplies.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

In [Rhode Island](#), a [Quaker](#) man was stabbed by a group of looting [German](#) mercenaries attached to the British army, in his home in the presence of his wife and children (this is the only Quaker death we know of, caused by either army during the fighting of the American Revolution).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood, John Buttrick, and George Minott were Selectmen.

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood was again Town Clerk.

In [Concord](#), Abijah Bond was again Town Treasurer.

David Brown was [Concord](#)’s deputy and representative to the General Court.

According to a shoemaker’s receipt book from this year, at this point a Charles Miles of [Concord](#) was working as a butcher. (Apparently business experimentations and gambling had led to great indebtedness, but we don’t know whether this was the father or the son.)

[Concord](#)’s annual appropriation for its grammar schools, from this year to 1783, would be £100, and would later increase.

Abiel Heywood of [Concord](#), son of Jonathan Heywood, and Timothy Swan of [Concord](#), son of Samuel Swan, graduated from [Harvard College](#).

Abiel Heywood, son of Jonathan Heywood, was born Dec. 9, 1759 and grad. Harvard, 1781. He studied physic with Dr. Spring of Watertown and commenced practice in Concord in 1790. In 1796 he was chosen Town Clerk and First Selectman and has since been re-elected. He was appointed Justice of the Peace Oct 24, 1797, special judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Feb 25, 1802, and an Assoc. Justice of the Court of Sessions from 1802 to the organization of the County Commissioner’s Court, and has also held other important offices.¹⁹⁷

Timothy Swan [of [Concord](#)], son of Samuel Swan, was graduated from Harvard in 1781; was a physician and died at Washington,



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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[North Carolina](#).¹⁹⁸

[Concord](#)'s revolutionary Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety was renewed.

The committee of correspondence, etc., chosen March, 1776 [for [Concord](#)], were [John Cuming](#), Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. Jonas Heywood, Capt. Joseph Hosmer, James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Capt. George Minot. In 1777, Colonel John Buttrick, Josiah Merriam, Isaac Hubbard, Capt. Abishai Brown, Capt. David Wheeler, Mr. Ephraim Potter, and Lieut. Nathan Stow. In 1778, [John Cuming](#), Esq., Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam. These were re-elected in 1779, 1780, 1781 & 1782. In 1783, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Wood, and Lieut. Joseph Hayward. This committee was not chosen afterwards.¹⁹⁹

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Town Clerks of Lincoln²⁰⁰

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Ephraim Flint | 1746-1752, 1754, 1756-1757 | Grosvenor Tarbell | 1799-1803 |
| Ebenezer Cutler | 1753, 1755, 1759 | Thomas Wheeler | 1804-1806 |
| Samuel Farrar | 1758, 1760-1766 | Elijah Fiske | 1810-1821 |
| John Adams | 1767-1777 | Stephen Patch | 1822-1827 |
| Abijah Pierce | 1778-1779, 1781 | Charles Wheeler | 1828-1830 |
| Samuel Hoar | 1780, 1782, 1787-1798, 1807-1809 | Elijah Fiske | 1831 |
| Richard Russell | 1783-1786 | | |

197. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

198. Ibid.

199. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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During a visit by General [George Washington](#) to [Newport, Rhode Island](#), a town meeting was held in the [Touro Synagogue](#).



JUDAISM

1781. Gen. Washington visited [Providence](#). His arrival was announced by a salute from the artillery. He was conducted to the house of Hon. Jabez Bowen (now Manufacturer's Hotel,) and the town was illuminated at night. Next day he dined with the citizens in the Court House, and in the evening attended a splendid ball. A formal address was presented to him by a committee of the most distinguished citizens, to which he made a felicitous reply, and expressed much gratification at the respectful attentions he received.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Rhode Island privateering](#) during the Revolutionary War:

| | |
|------|----|
| 1776 | 57 |
| 1777 | 17 |
| 1778 | 17 |
| 1779 | 39 |
| 1780 | 13 |
| 1781 | 9 |
| 1782 | 26 |
| 1783 | 17 |

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

HDT

WHAT?

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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PRESIDENT STILES

From a pencil sketch by St. John Honeywood, December 30, 1780



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to [privateering](#) in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— [Thomas Jefferson](#), 1812



"If [privateering](#) had not been already well established in the British Empire when [Rhode Island](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65²⁰¹



Mother Ann Lee, released from the charge of treason, would tour New England as a religious leader until sometime in 1783.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

French troops, in [Providence](#) to support the American revolutionaries against their common enemy England, set up their encampment off Rochambeau Avenue at a place that would become known as Camp Street. We have an extract from the diary of one of these French officers stationed in [Rhode Island](#).

BARON CROMOT DUBOURG

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Although [opium](#) was a known anodyne, the French surgeons would refuse to administer it to their soldier patients. Although this might possibly have been due to the French having considered there to be something wrong with opium in particular as a medical drug, there is also a possibility that they considered there to be something undesirable, or at the very least unnecessary, about relieving the suffering of a patient. That was an attitude which would prove to be all too prevalent among American doctors and dentists several generations later, with the introduction of [ether](#) and [nitrous oxide](#). A number of our doctors and dentists would be reluctant to –how shall I put this– to by their own superior judgment override God’s clear will. An all too prevalent attitude was that this was **supposed** to hurt, people in such circumstances **ought** to be in great pain — that this is all a part of the grand process of life. I don’t have any clear understanding of the “religious” roots of this, and if anyone can offer insightful words which will help me better to understand that sort of attitude, I

201. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF [RHODE ISLAND](#). Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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would be most appreciative. I find it exceedingly strange and have difficulty imagining what the theological underpinnings of it might have been.

My sense of the situation is that operative [anesthesia](#) would not come into general use until surgeons noticed that, by cutting down remarkably on the number of deaths due to post-operative shock, it offered them, priding themselves on the rapidity with which they could remove various body parts, competing with one another for hero status as the quickest sawbones, an opportunity to operate in less of a chop-chop hurry-up mode. If this was the situation several generations earlier as it would be the situation toward the middle of the 19th Century, then we should not hasten from the observation that the French Revolutionary-War surgeons here were reluctant to administer [opium](#), to the conclusion that it was opiates in particular of which they were suspicious — it may be that they would likewise have refused to administer aspirin.

[Friend John Dalton](#)'s early years had been heavily influenced by [Friend](#) Elihu Robinson, an instrument maker and meteorologist. At the age of 15, Friend John joined his older brother Jonathan in running a [Quaker](#) school at Kendal, near the family home in Cumberland, England.

The Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) held in [London](#), this year considered it necessary once again to emphasize that the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#) was incompatible with any [Quaker](#) vessel being armed:

It is recommended to the several quarterly and monthly meetings, that all concerned in [armed vessels](#) be dealt with according to the minute of 1744;  and it is recommended to Friends everywhere, to take into their serious consideration the inconsistency of any under our profession suffering their temporal interest to induce them in any manner to contribute to the purposes of war.

Friend [Benjamin Say](#), a physician of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was among those known as the “fighting Quakers,” who upon being [disowned](#) by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on account of their disregard of the [Quaker Peace Testimony](#), initiated the formation of the society entitled “The Monthly Meeting of Friends, railed by some Free Quakers, distinguishing us from the brethren who have [disowned](#) us.”²⁰²

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Friend Samuel Wetherill wrote these words upon being [disowned](#) by Philadelphia Monthly Meeting:

We wish only to be freed from every species of ecclesiastical tyranny, and mean to pay a due regard to the principles of our forefathers, and to their rules and regulations so far as they apply to our circumstances, and hope, thereby, to preserve decency and to secure equal liberty to all. We have no design to form creeds or confessions of faith, but humbly to confide in those sacred lessons of wisdom and benevolence, which have been left us by Christ and His apostles, contained in the holy scriptures; and appealing to that divine principle breathed by the breath of God into the hearts of all, to leave every man to think and judge for himself, according to the abilities received, and to answer for his faith and opinions to him, who “seeth the secrets of all hearts,” the sole Judge and sovereign Lord of conscience.²⁰³

202. There's this jest, that a Free Quaker was someone who was free of Quakerism. This wasn't the way they thought of themselves, of course, but we don't have a record that any of these people came back to Quakerism when the bloodshedding came to be over and the Ten Commandments reasserted themselves as guides to our conduct.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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January 1, Monday: Ask round the world, from age to age, an ode by John Stanley to words of Whitehead, was performed for the initial time.

Pennsylvania troops quartered in Morristown, lacking all essentials of a modern army, mutinied. They would soon be joined by men from New Jersey and Connecticut and would be held in check only by threat of execution.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 5, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Richmond, Virginia's revolutionary capital.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 8, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Charles City Courthouse, Virginia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 17, Wednesday: Insurgent General Daniel Morgan successfully defended against British regulars and loyalists under Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, at Cowpens in South Carolina, northwest of Charleston. After furious fighting, a quarter of the British force in the south would be either dead, wounded, or captured.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

January 22, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Morrisania, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

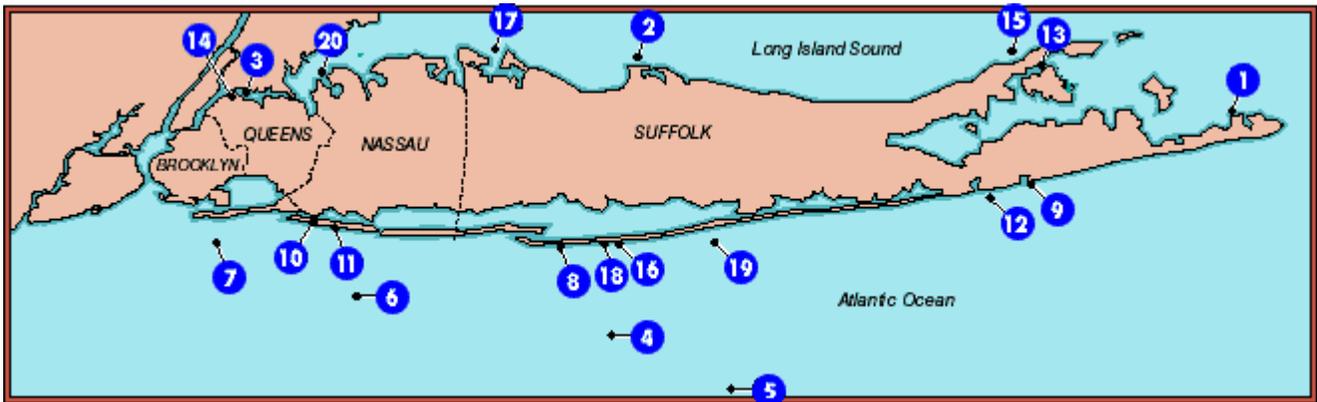
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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January 24, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Georgetown, South Carolina. I wish they'd learn to stop doing that.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The *HMS Culloden*, a British man-of-war, ran aground in a storm. It would burn to the waterline after its crew of 650 removed most of its guns and supplies — materials that would come in handy next time they needed to kill somebody. Fortunately, there were no deaths in this wreck. The hulk of the ship is at #1 on this Long Island map:



February 1, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Wilmington and at Cowan's Ford and at Torrence's Tavern in [North Carolina](#). British forces captured Wilmington.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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February 3, Saturday: British naval forces captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatius along with 50 American merchantmen and 2,000 seamen.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A bounty of £100 had been placed on [Jack Mansong, "3-Fingered Jack,"](#) dead or alive, and had since been increased to £300. If the person collecting this reward happened to be a [slave](#), it was allowed, he would in addition receive manumission papers. There would be a perpetual stipend. Jack's girlfriend had already been captured, and had presumably been transported to another island, or perhaps executed. The band of maroons that had collected about him had all been killed or captured, and he was alone. Therefore Jack was surprised on this day near the entrance to a cave, by a man who had been known as Quashie before being converted to Christianity and taking the name John Reeder. The fight ended when a boy known as "A Good Shot" bashed Jack in the head with a rock.



They would take his head and arm on a bamboo pole to Morant Bay:

We have the pleasure to inform the public, of the death of that daring freebooter Three Fingered Jack. — He was surprised on Saturday last, by a Maroon Negro named John Reeder, and six others, near the summit of Mount Libanus, being alone and armed with two musquets and a cutlass. — The party came upon him so suddenly, that he had only time to seize the cutlass, with which he desperately defended himself, refusing all submission, till having received three bullets in his body and covered with wounds, he threw himself about forty feet down a precipice, and was followed by Reeder, who soon overpowered him, and severed his head and arm from the body, which were brought to this town on Thursday last. — Reeder and another Maroon were wounded in the conflict. — The intrepidity of Reeder, in particular, and the behavior of his associates in general, justly entitle them to the reward offered by the public.



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The head and hand would be preserved for several decades in Spanish Town, Jamaica, pickled in rum.

[THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS](#)

February 6, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Shallow Ford, [North Carolina](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 12, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Bruce's Cross Roads, [North Carolina](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 17, Saturday: [Luther Lapham](#) was born in Marshfield, Massachusetts, the 6th child of Daniel Lapham and Sarah Sherman Lapham.²⁰⁴

La fête de mirza, a ballet-pantomime by François-Joseph Gossec to a scenario by Gardel, was performed for the first time, at the Paris Opéra.

Spanish forces captured St. Joseph (Mississippi) from the British.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 25, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Haw River (Pyle's Defeat), [North Carolina](#).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

La fedelta premiata, a dramma pastorale giocoso by Joseph Haydn to words after Lorenzi, was performed for the initial time, to open the new Esterháza opera house (it was an enormous success).

February 27, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Wright's Bluff, South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

204. Not the same person as the Luther Lapham who was born on December 2, 1816 to Ethan Lapham and Milly Bowen Lapham. That Luther Lapham got married with Deborah Lapham.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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March 1, Thursday: [Maryland](#) ratified the Articles of Confederation, the 13th and final state to do so, and so these articles became effective.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)



[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Note that approximately a year and a half after [Henry Thoreau](#) would die, President [Abraham Lincoln](#) would take the train down from [Washington DC](#) and delivered a brief address at a ceremony dedicating the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania as a national cemetery, a brief that would become justly famous as his "Gettysburg Address," in which he would state:

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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It would take 87 years for America to start catching up to sentiment of the [Declaration of Independence](#) concerning all men being equal. A French philosopher, Professor Pierre Hadot, would term this Lincolnian re-interpretation of the Declaration to be (translating from his French) “certainly a misinterpretation, but a creative misinterpretation.” In point of fact, when the proposition “all men are created equal” had been penned,



it simply had not been **leveling up** that had been in anyone’s mind, but instead, it had only been **leveling down** that had been in anyone’s mind. What they meant by the concept of equality was that there was not inherently a class of noble men who were intrinsically more worthy than common men like themselves. They were merely dragging these noblemen down to the common level. There was no involvement of any such idea, as that women were worth as much as men, or that non-whites were worth as much as whites, etc. etc., because such ideas would have involved **leveling up**, they would have involved an effort to raise others to one’s own level. That would have been thinking outside the box — that thought was still unthinkable. So when, in the Gettysburg Address, President Lincoln pretended that fourscore and seven years ago President [Thomas Jefferson](#) had been intending to **level up** as well as to **level down**, the interpretation by Professor Hadot would be that what he was doing was, he was slyly proposing to us that we indulge ourselves with a bit of “creative misinterpretation.” Henceforth we were going to act dumb, and **pretend** that we had meant **what we should have meant**, what a decent man would have meant, rather than the stunted thought which we had actually thought. (It is a good thing that President Lincoln was not delivering this Gettysburg Address as a brief before today’s United States Supreme Court! Nowadays the strict-constructionist justices in the majority on the United States Supreme Court would Bork this sort of creative misinterpretation, dismiss it instantly and totally.) One thing to bear in mind is that there was not just one Declaration of Independency, as we now



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pretend, but actually some seventy such documents. Declaring independency was, at that time, a common art form. Another thing to bear in mind is that the one Declaration of Independence, that we now pick out to remember alone, has nothing whatever to do with the present federal government of the United States of America. It is simply not a legal document, it is not any part of our body of law. It was not created by a duly-constituted representative body and did not bring our present government into effect. Instead, it brought into effect a short-lived confederacy which had its own presidents, under the “Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union” of 1781, which then disintegrated upon the later enactment of another document, the United States Constitution, which ultimately brought the United States of America into existence as of 1887 under a first US president discontinuous from the previous series of presidents, former General [George Washington](#). Actually, in order to make the one, of the seventy-odd, Declaration of Independency, that President Lincoln chose to emphasize at Gettysburg, have anything at all to do with the United States of America, it would be necessary for him to have considered General Washington not to be our 1st president, but to be actually our 17th president or something like that depending on how you count, with the previous presidents having been:

President of the First Continental Congress Peyton Randolph (September 5, 1774-October 21, 1774)

Henry Middleton (October 22, 1774-October 26, 1774)



President of the Second Continental Congress Peyton Randolph (May 10, 1775-May 23, 1775)

John Hancock (May 24, 1775-October 31, 1777)

Henry Laurens (November 1, 1777-December 9, 1778)

John Jay (December 10, 1778-September 27, 1779)

Samuel Huntington (September 28, 1779-March 1, 1781)

President of the United States in Congress Assembled Samuel Huntington (March 1, 1781[2]-July 9, 1781)

Thomas McKean (July 10, 1781-November 4, 1781)

John Hanson (November 5, 1781-November 3, 1782)

Elias Boudinot (November 4, 1782-November 2, 1783)

Thomas Mifflin (November 3, 1783-October 31, 1784)

Richard Henry Lee (November 30, 1784-November 6, 1785)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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John Hancock (November 23, 1785-June 5, 1786) [due to his failing health, two others acted in his stead]

David Ramsay (November 23, 1785-May 12, 1786)

Nathaniel Gorham (May 15, 1786-June 5, 1786)

Nathaniel Gorham (June 6, 1786-November 5, 1786)

Arthur St. Clair (February 2, 1787-November 4, 1787)

Cyrus Griffin (January 22, 1788-November 2, 1788)

We can't have it both ways, folks. Either Georgibus was actually our 17th president rather than our 1st, or that Declaration of Independence someone had signed in 1775 has actually no direct connection of any sort with the federal government of the USA that would eventuate belatedly in 1787.

March 2, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Clapp's Mill, [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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March 6, Tuesday: According to the journal of [Friend Thomas B. Hazard](#) or Hafsard or Hasard of [Kingstown, Rhode Island](#),²⁰⁵ “General Washington went to Newport this day. The town was illuminated.” Presumably Washington and his escort of 20 soldiers had arrived over the old Pequot trail out of Connecticut and had crossed over to [Newport](#) on the ferry.

People were trying to kill each other at Wetzell’s or Whitsall’s Mills and at Wiboo Swamp in South Carolina. (I wish they’d learn to stop doing that.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In England, [Erasmus Darwin](#) and the widowed Elizabeth Pole were wed. She was wealthy, so during this month they would move from Lichfield to her grand home, Radburn Hall near Derby.



This of course meant that Dr. Darwin would no longer be able to attend the monthly meetings of the Lunar Society at the Soho House in Birmingham — that his future contacts with these friends would be through correspondence.

THE LUNAR SOCIETY OF BIRMINGHAM



March 15, Thursday: Near Guilford Courthouse just north of Greensboro, General Cornwallis achieved a victory over Major General [Nathanael Greene](#) that was so costly that he would find himself obliged to withdraw the British forces to Wilmington, [North Carolina](#), and in effect abandon much of the American southland.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

205. He was a blacksmith and sometimes rode to [Quaker](#) meeting with his wife on the same horse — and sometimes she would fall off but “not hurt herself much.” He was called “Nailer Tom” because of the nails he trimmed from scrap iron, and in order to distinguish him from a relative known as “College Tom,” from another relative known as “Shepherd Tom,” and from his own son who —because he had fits— was known as “Pistol-Head Tom.”



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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March 21, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Beattie's Mill, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart put this date on his Rondo for horn, wind and strings K.371.

March 22, Thursday: Admiral François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse sailed for the West Indies and eventually America with 20 warships, 3 frigates and 150 transports.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Pope Pius VI entered Vienna. He had come there to meet with Emperor Joseph II, and discuss his religious policies (the Pope felt he was being undermined in Austria).

April: General [George Washington](#) endorsed a plan to build a prison on Pollopel Island in the Hudson (nothing would come of this).

British ships worked their way up the Potomac to Mt. Vernon and a substantial number of General [Washington's slaves](#) fled to or were seized by these raiders (according to Fritz Hirschfeld in *GEORGE WASHINGTON AND SLAVERY: A DOCUMENTARY PORTRAYAL*, U of Missouri P, 1997). When Washington would bargain hard with Carleton at the close of this war, about the return of fugitives, he may well have had a personal stake as well as a national issue to pursue.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The [Vermont](#) legislature calls for a convention be held at Cambridge the following month, to decide whether parts of [New York's](#) Albany County should be united with Vermont.

April: People were trying to kill each other at Wiggin's Hill, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 7, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Four Holes, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 12, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Balfour, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Archbishop Colloredo ordered his servant, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, to leave Vienna on April 22d and return to Salzburg with all the court musicians (Mozart would not leave Vienna on April 22d).

April 15, Easter Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Four Holes, South Carolina. From this day into the 23rd, people would be trying to kill each other at Fort Watson, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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April 16, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Augusta, Georgia. (They'd be keeping on trying to kill each other there all the way until June 5th — it all must have been Hell! Well, at least they'd had the sense to wait to get this thing going until after Easter Sunday when Jesus rose to Heaven. :-)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

We find on page 340 of volume 19 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) records of title transfers, that on this day Nicholas Power was [manumitting](#) and setting free his Negro Man Prince:

*Providence April 16, 1781 This may certify That I the Subscriber have Manumitted
and Set Free my Negro Man Prince from Me my Heirs and Assigns forever from this Date
Test Benjamin Cushing Jun^r }
Luke Arnold ----- } Nicholas Power
The Foregoing is a True Copy Recorded this 17th Day of April A.D. 1781
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk }*

SLAVERY

April 17, Tuesday: French naval forces defeated the British off St. Lucia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 24, Tuesday: The British under Generals Phillips and Benedict Arnold occupied Petersburg, Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 25, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Petersburg in Virginia, and at Hillsborough, Hobkirk's Hill and Camden in South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 27, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Osborne's in Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart gave his final concert in the employ of the Archbishop of Salzburg, in the presence of His Eminence in Vienna.

April 28, Saturday: Admiral de Grasse's fleet reached Martinique.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 29, Sunday: British and French warships engage off Martinique. Several British ships were damaged, 37 people were killed, 125 wounded. The French take possession of Fort Royal. French forces capture Tobago.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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May 2, Wednesday: The French fleet captured St. Eustatius, which the British had taken from the Dutch.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart moved into the house of the Weber family in Vienna.

May 4, Friday: John Adams presented a memorial to Baron van Lynden van Hemmen, President of the States-General of the Netherlands, at the Hague. He called on the two republics to join together in common purpose, politically and commercially.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Gesegnet bist du for chorus and strings by Johannes Herbst was performed for the initial time.

May 9, Wednesday: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart argued with the Archbishop of Salzburg and requested to be discharged from his duties. "I am so sure of my success in Vienna that I would have resigned even without the slightest reason.... I want to hear nothing more about Salzburg. I hate the Archbishop to madness."

Symphony no.53 by Joseph Haydn was performed, perhaps for the initial time, at the final Bach-Abel concert, Hanover Square Rooms, London.

Spanish forces completed their conquest of West Florida, by taking Pensacola.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 10, Thursday: When Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart met with Count Arco, chamberlain to Archbishop Colloredo, in Vienna and attempted to turn in his resignation and return the advance he had received for his travel expenses from the Archbishop, the chamberlain refused to accept either.

British forces abandoned Camden, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Governor Galvez captured Pensacola.

May 11, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Orangeburg, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

May 12, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Motte, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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May 14, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Croton River in New York and at Nelson's Ferry in South Carolina. [Christopher Greene](#) was killed at age 44 in fighting at Points Bridge.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

May 15, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Fort Granby, South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

May 21, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Silver Bluff in South Carolina and at Fort Galphin (Fort Dreadnought) in Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

May 22, Tuesday-June 19: People were trying to kill each other at Ninety-Six in South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

May 24, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Augusta (Fort Cornwallis) in Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

June: The town of Bedford sent Daniel Hartwell Blood to [Rhode Island](#) to assist in the revolutionary struggle there:

Daniel Hartwell Blood went to Rhode [Island](#) in June, 1781, and received £19 10s. in silver; and Nehemiah Wyman, Moses Abbott, Stephen Syms, Timothy Crosby, John Merriam, and Israel Mead Blood went to join General Washington's army at West Point, and received £19 16s. each.²⁰⁶

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

206. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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June 2, Saturday: A French fleet captured the British island of Tobago.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 3, Sunday: In Virginia, General Cornwallis dispatched a cavalry party made up of 250 infantry and dragoons under the leadership of Colonel Banastre Tarleton, and the raiding party went out to Monticello to apprehend [Thomas Jefferson](#). On being warned that the British were coming, Jefferson burned some sensitive papers and sent his favorite servant Martin Hemings off to hide some valuable items, and then mounted his favorite horse Caractacus and made his getaway. (This would be as close as Jefferson would get, to participating in the American Revolution. In his autobiography, he would make no reference to the events of this day. During this month, Patrick Henry and other Virginia legislators would be calling for an investigation of Jefferson's wartime conduct, accusing him among other things of failing to post sentinels, disregarding General [George Washington](#), ignoring offers to raise volunteer units, and generally mishandling the militia.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 4, Monday: Still does the war prevail?, an ode by John Stanley to words of Whitehead, was performed for the initial time, to honor the birthday of King George III.

Thomas Jefferson narrowly escaped capture by British troops as they reached his home near Charlottesville, Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 5, Tuesday: After a 6-week siege, American revolutionaries captured Fort Cornwallis at Augusta, Georgia from the British.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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June 15, Friday: [Concord](#) budgeted for 3 of its citizen soldiers to serve an additional 5 months in [Rhode Island](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS²⁰⁷

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| June 15, 1781 | 3 | 5 months | Rhode Island | | |
| Bedford furnished seven; Acton, eight; Lincoln, eight; Carlisle, four, for this [the above] campaign. The whole State furnished two thousand seven hundred. | | | | | |
| June 30, 1781 | 14 | 4 months | Continental Army | | |
| These [the above] men were hired by classes. Dea. John White was Chairman of the 3d class, which was assessed £180 to hire Joseph Cleisby. The 5th class, of which Reuben Hunt was Chairman, hired Jacob Laughton, for £90 lawful money as a bounty. Sometimes \$100 were given by a single individual. All property seemed to be at the disposal of government, if required. The soldiers were paid off in government sureties which were sold for 2s. 6d. on the pound. Nathaniel French received ninety bushels of rye. | | | | | |
| March 1, 1782 | | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |

June 26, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Rahway Meadow, [New Jersey](#) and at Spencer's Tavern, Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

207. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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June 30, Saturday: [Concord](#) budgeted for 14 of its citizen soldiers to serve for 4 additional months in the Continental Army.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS²⁰⁸

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| June 15, 1781 | 3 | 5 months | Rhode Island | | |
| Bedford furnished seven; Acton, eight; Lincoln, eight; Carlisle, four, for this [the above] campaign. The whole State furnished two thousand seven hundred. | | | | | |
| June 30, 1781 | 14 | 4 months | Continental Army | | |
| These [the above] men were hired by classes. Dea. John White was Chairman of the 3d class, which was assessed £180 to hire Joseph Cleisby. The 5th class, of which Reuben Hunt was Chairman, hired Jacob Laughton, for £90 lawful money as a bounty. Sometimes \$100 were given by a single individual. All property seemed to be at the disposal of government, if required. The soldiers were paid off in government sureties which were sold for 2s. 6d. on the pound. Nathaniel French received ninety bushels of rye. | | | | | |
| March 1, 1782 | | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |

July 3, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at King's Bridge, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Massachusetts, there was the 1st official state celebration as recognized under resolve of a legislature. At [Newport](#) in [Rhode Island](#), the American militia hosted at a celebration dinner for General Rochambeau's officers.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



208. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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July 5, Thursday: American and French armies joined forces at White Plains, New York, as a prelude to an attack on New-York City.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 6, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Jamestown Ford and at Green Springs in Virginia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 9, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Currytown, New York.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 10, Tuesday: Thomas McKean replaced Samuel Huntington as president of the Congress of the United States.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

July 11, Wednesday: François Henry de la Motte was convicted in London of having passed British naval information to the French and sentenced to be hanged, disemboweled, and quartered (not all that would actually happen, but it would be bad enough).

British forces and officials evacuated Savannah, Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

12th, 5th Day, 7th Month: Friend Artemis Fish had been [disowned](#) by the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for marrying a woman who was not a Friend, and for being "*concerned in warlike matters.*"

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Despite thus having been disowned, at this point in his subsequent life he requested in writing that his former Meeting take him under its care while he wrestled with an uneasiness he had, over his progressive involvement in the civil warfare. On this day the Committee appointed by the Religious Society of Friends to deal with the peculiar problem in which former Friend Artemis Fish had requested their assistance reported to the meeting that "*he appeared to be concerned to be under the care of Friends,*" and requested continuance for another month since "*said Fish was therewith embarrassed over what was mentioned in his acknowledgement.*"

[RHODE ISLAND](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

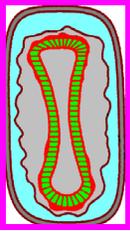
GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

July 13, Friday: The British had had a long-standing policy of promising after-war freedom to any able-bodied American black [slaves](#) who would do wartime heavy lifting for the army of occupation in what were known as “Black Pioneer” brigades. On this date General Alexander Leslie wrote to General Charles Cornwallis:

Above 700 Negroes are come down the River in the Small Pox. I shall distribute them about the Rebell Plantations.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

For the final defeat of the besieged army under General Cornwallis at Yorktown, the revolutionary forces had made use of funds collected from people living in the area of the present states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and [California](#), which were at that time part of Mejico. This siege at Yorktown in which the British finally were defeated had been planned by Captain Francisco de Saavedra and had involved expenditure not only of £500,000 from [Cuba](#) but also of £1,000,000 donated to the Continental Congress by King Carlos of Spain. During the withdrawal of the army, pursuing revolutionaries began to notice numbers of sick or dying blacks along the sides of the road and very correctly began to suspect that germ warfare was being conducted against them:



Within these days past, I have marched by 18 or 20 Negroes that lay dead by the way-side, putrifying with the small pox ... [abandoned by the Brits to] spread smallpox thro' the country.

VARIOLA

The comment that has been made about this by Elizabeth A. Fenn, writing on the topic of biological warfare for the [New York Times](#) on April 11, 1998, OP-ED page A25, column 5, is:

Not only did the British perpetrate biological warfare, but they used desperate slaves to commit the deed.

Dr. Thacher, surgeon in Scammel’s regiment, in his description of this siege, would write: “The labor on the Virginia plantations is performed altogether by a species of the human race cruelly wrested from their native country, and doomed to perpetual bondage, while their masters are manfully contending for freedom and the natural rights of man. Such is the inconsistency of human nature.” After the surrender at Yorktown, some 1,800 slaves would be collected by the revolutionary forces and restored to their American masters. Well was it said by Dr. Barnes, in his late work on Slavery: “No slave was any nearer his freedom after the surrender of Yorktown than when Patrick Henry first taught the notes of liberty to echo among the hills and vales of Virginia.” On the basis of this sad history of human abuse of humans, in 1847 Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would write:

YORKTOWN.

FROM Yorktown’s ruins, ranked and still,
Two lines stretch far o’er vale and hill:
Who curbs his steed at head of one?
Hark! the low murmur: Washington!
Who bends his keen, approving glance,

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AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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Where down the gorgeous line of France
Shine knightly star and plume of snow?
Thou too art victor, Rochambeau!

The earth which bears this calm array
Shook with the war-charge yesterday,

Ploughed deep with hurrying hoof and wheel,
Shot-sown and bladed thick with steel;
October's clear and noonday sun
Paled in the breath-smoke of the gun,
And down night's double blackness fell,
Like a dropped star, the blazing shell.

Now all is hushed: the gleaming lines
Stand moveless as the neighboring pines;
While through them, sullen, grim, and slow,
The conquered hosts of England go:
O'Hara's brow belies his dress,
Gay Tarleton's troop rides bannerless:
Shout, from thy fired and wasted homes,
Thy scourge, Virginia, captive comes!

Nor thou alone: with one glad voice
Let all thy sister States rejoice;
Let Freedom, in whatever clime
She waits with sleepless eye her time,
Shouting from cave and mountain wood
Make glad her desert solitude,
While they who hunt her quail with fear;
The New World's chain lies broken here!

But who are they, who, cowering, wait
Within the shattered fortress gate?
Dark tillers of Virginia's soil,
Classed with the battle's common spoil,
With household stuffs, and fowl, and swine,
With Indian weed and planters' wine,
With stolen beeves, and foraged corn, —
Are they not men, Virginian born?

Oh, veil your faces, young and brave!
Sleep, Scammel, in thy soldier grave!
Sons of the Northland, ye who set
Stout hearts against the bayonet,
And pressed with steady footfall near
The moated battery's blazing tier,
Turn your scarred faces from the sight,
Let shame do homage to the right!

Lo! fourscore years have passed; and where
The Gallic bugles stirred the air,
And, through breached batteries, side by side,
To victory stormed the hosts allied,
And brave foes grounded, pale with pain,
The arms they might not lift again,
As abject as in that old day
The slave still toils his life away.

Oh, fields still green and fresh in story,
Old days of pride, old names of glory,
Old marvels of the tongue and pen,
Old thoughts which stirred the hearts of men,
Ye spared the wrong; and over all
Behold the avenging shadow fall!



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

Your world-wide honor stained with shame, —
Your freedom's self a hollow name!

Where's now the flag of that old war?
Where flows its stripe? Where burns its star?
Bear witness, Palo Alto's day,
Dark Vale of Palms, red Monterey,
Where Mexic Freedom, young and weak,
Fleshes the Northern eagle's beak;

Symbol of terror and despair,
Of chains and slaves, go seek it there!

Laugh, Prussia, midst thy iron ranks!
Laugh, Russia, from thy Neva's banks!
Brave sport to see the fledgling born
Of freedom by its parent torn!
Safe now is Spielberg's dungeon cell,
Safe drear Siberia's frozen hell:
With Slavery's flag o'er both unrolled,
What of the New World fears the Old?

July 15, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Tarrytown, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 17, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Quinby's Bridge, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 27, Friday: When François Henry de la Motte was executed as a French spy at Tyburn, the body was left to hang for almost an hour before it was taken down and decapitated, and the heart removed and thrown on a fire.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July 30, Monday: Gottlieb Stephanie handed Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart the libretto to Die Entführung aus dem Serail.

Abbé Claude C. Robin, chaplain to the French troops stationed in [Rhode Island](#), described his experience in and around [Providence](#).

ABBÉ CLAUDE C. ROBIN

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 1, Wednesday: British forces occupied Yorktown, Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Antonio Sacchini was presented to Parisian society at a ball given by [Queen Marie Antoinette](#). Also present was the queen's brother the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, who had urged her to bring Sacchini to Paris.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

August 4, Saturday: Just beyond the city limits of [Charleston](#), the British [hanged Colonel Isaac Hayne](#) of the [South Carolina](#) militia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 5, Sunday: Admiral de Grasse sailed from Cap-Français, Hispaniola for America with 3 regiments and 28 ships.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

O selig bist du! for chorus and strings by Johannes Herbst was performed for the initial time.

August 12, Sunday: General Rochambeau broke camp at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), and set out to join General George Washington in White Plains, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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August 19, Sunday: American revolutionaries and their French allies broke camp in Phillipsburg, New York and headed toward Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The seaman [Jean Thoreau](#) discarded his sailor's finery in favor of plain clothing in order to get married with Friend [Jane Burns](#), daughter of a Scottish [Quaker](#). Both were 27 years old. The maiden Jane and her aunts Ann Orrok and Hannah Orrok were joint heirs to the house in [Prince Street](#) in [Boston](#). In this home Jean and Jane would have 7 of their 8 children, excepting Elizabeth. This 1887 sketch by George R. Tolman is a side view of the building that had been their home, as it appeared in the Reverend Edward Griffin Porter's RAMBLES IN OLD BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND:²⁰⁹



August 21, Tuesday: [General George Washington](#) led Clinton to fear that [New-York](#) would be attacked, but then moved toward Philadelphia and later to Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

209. Boston marriage records, volume 30, page 409: "John Thoreau & Jenny Burn / Int. reads [Jenney Burns]."



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

August 22, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Warwarsing, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The rank of Brigadier-General was confirmed to Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln under the new constitution of Massachusetts.

August 25, Saturday: [Thomas Paine](#) returned to America after going to [France](#) to negotiate a loan of 6,000,000 livres for the newly formed United States federal government.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

August 30, Thursday: The fleet of Admiral de Grasse anchored in Lynnhaven Bay off Cape Henry, Virginia, blockading the James and York Rivers.

People were trying to kill each other at Parker's Ferry, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

31st, 8th Month: A committee of [Friends](#) visited Governor William Greene to ask that the [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) be cleared of soldiers. The governor addressed a letter to the French officer in charge, and gave it to the Quakers to deliver. When the committee would deliver this letter, they would be courteously received and the meetinghouse would within a few days be cleared of troops.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 1, Saturday: People were trying to kill each other at West Haven, Connecticut.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 2, Sunday: American revolutionary and French ground forces reached Philadelphia on their march south.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

French troops landed near Jamestown, Virginia.

September 5, Wednesday: Off the Virginia Capes of Chesapeake Bay, a French fleet engaged a British rescue fleet, allowing the French to strengthen the blockade of Yorktown and effectively trapping the army of Cornwallis there.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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September 6, Thursday: Loyalist troops destroyed New London, Connecticut. In addition, people were trying to kill each other at New London and at Fort Griswold (Groton Hill), Connecticut.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The [negrero](#) *Zong* set sail from the coast of Africa under the command of Luke Collingwood. James Gregson and a number of other slave-dealers in Liverpool had invested in this voyage, and had taken out a life [insurance](#) policy covering themselves against loss in the event that they needed to suppress an insurrection among the [slaves](#), but not covering themselves against loss in the event of deaths due to disease and malnutrition. Aboard the vessel were approximately 470 slaves, and 17 whites. The conditions of the voyage would be claiming 60 in this slave cargo, and 7 crewmen. An attempt to cut the investors' losses by making a claim against the insurance would result in 133 ill members of the cargo being pitched overboard alive just prior to their arrival in Jamaica (one of these 133 "sick" people would manage to grab a rope and clamber back onboard, to be sold

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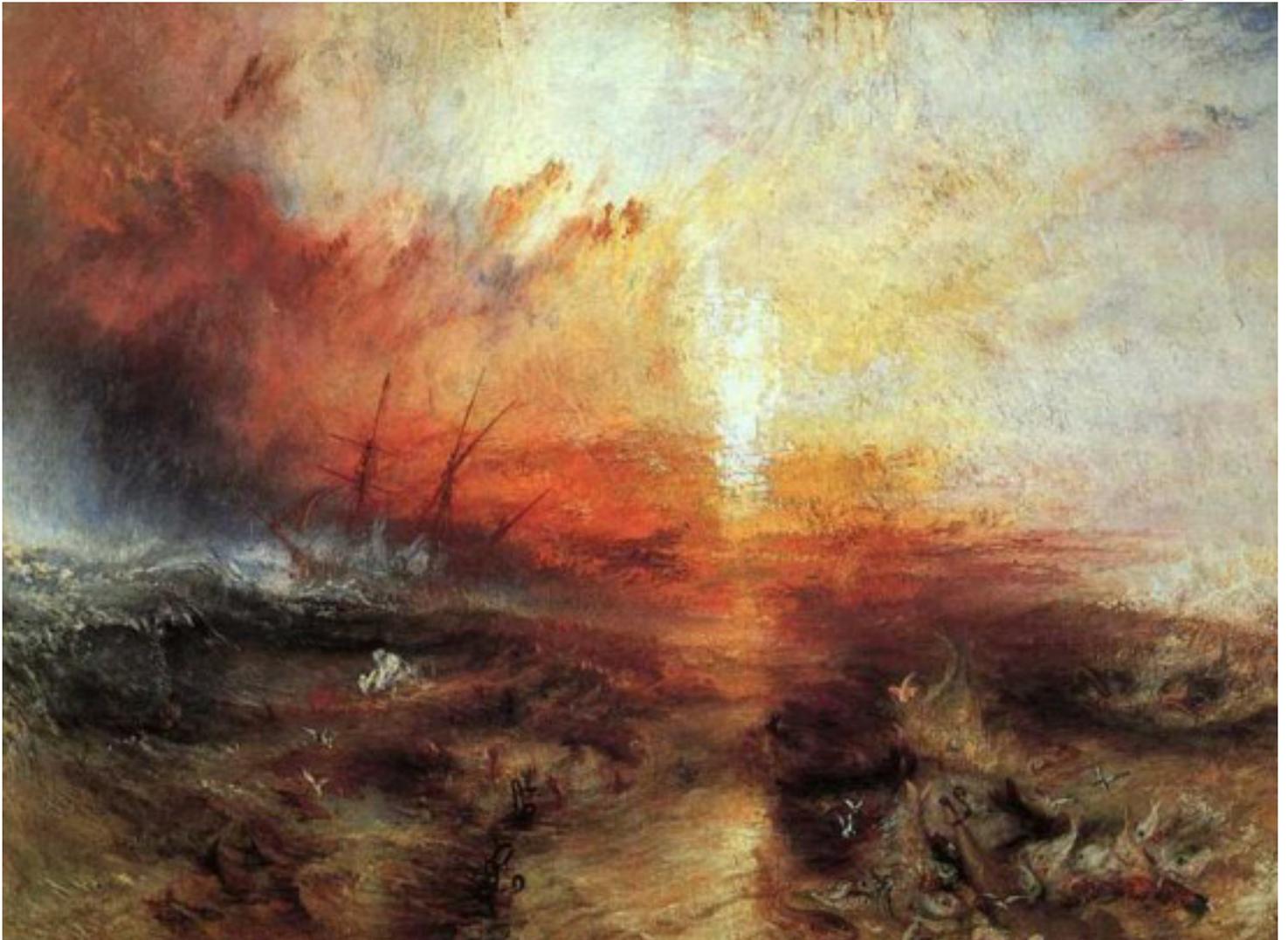
1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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in port).

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: In the case of the ship Zong, in 1781, whose master had thrown one hundred and thirty-two slaves alive into the sea, to cheat the underwriters, the first jury gave a verdict in favor of the master and owners: they had a right to do what they had done. Lord Mansfield is reported to have said on the bench, “The matter left to the jury is, – Was it from necessity? For they had no doubt, – though it shocks one very much, – that the case of slaves was the same as if horses had been thrown overboard. It is a very shocking case.”

[THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 8, Saturday: American revolutionaries attacked British positions at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina. Although the British repulsed the attackers, they lost over a third of their strength and would be obliged to withdraw to Charleston.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The French fleet had established a bakery ashore, to supply their fleet in Boston Harbor. On this night the bakery was attacked by a [Boston](#) mob and two officers were injured, the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur and Pléville le Peley.

September 12, Wednesday: American revolutionaries and their French allies reached Baltimore.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 13, Thursday: People were trying to kill each other at Hillsborough and at Lindley's Mill (Can Creek), [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 14, Friday: American revolutionaries and their French allies reached Williamsburg, Virginia, and there joined with regiments off the ships of Admiral de Grasse.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 15, Saturday, 10PM: A Franciscan monk was allowed to celebrate a secret funeral Mass in a crypt in the basement of [King's Chapel](#), for Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, an officer of the *Tonnant* who had been struck above the eye while defending the French fleet's bakery ashore from a [Boston](#) mob.

CHEV. DE SAUNT-SAUVEUR

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

September 18, Tuesday: American and French forces took up positions outside Yorktown, Virginia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

27th, 5th day, 9th Month: "*The [Friends](#) appointed to treat with Artemis Smith reported that his embarrassment still continued, which was that the said Fish was sometime past appointed Collector of a Tax for the support of war by the Town of [Portsmouth](#), a part of which he collected, but being uneasy therewith refuseth to collect the remaining part. Said matter is referred to next Monthly Meeting under the care of the Friends before appointed, who are directed to make a narrow inspection into the nature and circumstances of said affair and report accordingly.*"

RHODE ISLAND

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 28, Friday: American forces backed by a French fleet arrived for a siege of Yorktown Heights, Virginia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 29, Saturday: Concentrating their forces, the British in Yorktown pulled back from their outer defenses.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 30, Sunday: John Barrett was born in [Concord](#), brother of Joshua Barrett, son of John Barrett, Jr.

People would be trying to kill each other during a siege of Yorktown, Virginia, continuously until October 19th.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

October 6, Saturday: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#)'s father died.

American and French forces laid siege to Yorktown.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

THE FALLACY OF MOMENTISM: THIS STARRY UNIVERSE DOES NOT CONSIST OF A SEQUENCE OF MOMENTS. THAT IS A FIGMENT, ONE WE HAVE RECOURSE TO IN ORDER TO PRIVILEGE TIME OVER CHANGE, A PRIVILEGING THAT MAKES CHANGE SEEM UNREAL, DERIVATIVE, A MERE APPEARANCE. IN FACT IT IS CHANGE AND ONLY CHANGE WHICH WE EXPERIENCE AS REALITY, TIME BEING BY WAY OF RADICAL CONTRAST UNEXPERIENCED — A MERE INTELLECTUAL CONSTRUCT. THERE EXISTS NO SUCH THING AS A MOMENT. NO “INSTANT” HAS EVER FOR AN INSTANT EXISTED.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

October 9, Tuesday: [Noah Webster, Jr.](#) suddenly closed his school at Sharon, Connecticut (this may have been due to rejection as a suitor by local lass Rebecca Pordee).

Austria declared armed neutrality in the war between Great Britain and the United States.

American and French siege guns opened fire on the British defenders of Yorktown.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 10, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Threadwell's Neck, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 11, Thursday: When a French night attack against British and Hessians at Yorktown gained two outer redoubts, the defenders of Yorktown had been completely encircled.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 16, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Monck's Corner, New York.

A British assault on allied lines at Yorktown made initial gains but was beaten back by a French counterattack.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 17, Wednesday: The British in Yorktown requested and gained a cease-fire to discuss surrender terms.

A British army boarded ship in New-York to relieve Yorktown.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 18, Thursday: Articles of Capitulation.

READ THE FULL TEXT

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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October 19, Friday: [George Washington](#) led combined French and American forces to decisive victory over British forces at Yorktown, Virginia. The British command at Yorktown surrendered 7,000 British soldiers to 16,000 Americans and French. The diary of Ebenezer Denny described the surrender of [General Charles Cornwallis](#) at the conclusion of this last significant military engagement of the Revolutionary War. John Trumbull would paint a famous “Surrender at Yorktown” scene, and Brumidi would do a famous relief of that scene — which actually hadn’t happened as neither Washington nor Cornwallis had seen fit personally to participate in this traditional little surrender ceremony.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 20, Saturday: The Theater in der Leopoldstadt (which is now in Vienna) opened, directed by the playwright and actor Carl Marinelli.

Robert Livingston was appointed as the initial Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the United States of America.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 24, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Johnson Hall (Johnstown), New York. General [George Washington](#) desired to attack [New-York](#) but his French allies wanted to leave American waters.

A British relief force arrived off Cape Charles and, being informed of General Cornwallis’s surrender, returned to [New-York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

30th, 10th Month: *“The Committee appointed to confer with Artemis Fish reported that they inspected into the nature and circumstances of his embarrassment and have advised him to be patient and quiet until it is accommodated. His request is therefore dismissed for the present.”*

RHODE ISLAND

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 30, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Jerseyfield (West Canada Creek), New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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November: Two French ships captured off the Cape of Good Hope were brought to [St. Helena](#) by HMS *Hannibal*.

During this month and the following one, American forces under Major General [Nathanael Greene](#) retook most of [South Carolina](#) and advanced to within 15 miles of the British headquarters in the port of [Charleston](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 5, Monday: John “Jacky” Parke, [George Washington](#)’s stepson, died of camp fever acquired at the battle of Yorktown.

John Hanson was elected the 1st “President of the United States in Congress assembled,” replacing Thomas McKean (this was 8 years prior to the election of General George Washington, whom we now characterize as having been our 1st President).



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 9, Friday: People were trying to kill each other at Hayes’ Station, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 18, Sunday: British forces evacuated Wilmington, [North Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 23, Tuesday: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Josepha Barbara Auernhammer gave the first performance of the Sonata for two pianos K.448 at a private concert at her residence in Vienna.

In Amsterdam, John Adams learned of the British defeat at Yorktown.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 25, Sunday: News of the surrender at Yorktown reached London.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Johann Adam Hiller directed the 1st performance in the newly built Gewandhaus in Leipzig.

French naval forces recaptured St. Eustatius from the British.

November 30, Friday: The crew of the negrero *Zong* had on the previous day thrown 54 members of their slave cargo overboard. On this day they threw overboard an additional 42, bringing the total to 60 [slaves](#) who had died aboard of malnutrition and illness and whose corpses had been disposed of by throwing them overboard, and 96 who had been alive when thrown overboard.

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY

The preliminary meeting for the Treaty of Paris.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

December: When news had reached [London](#) of [General George Washington](#)'s defeat of the forces of [General Charles Cornwallis](#) at Yorktown, Virginia –and his 2d-hand surrender in which an aide of the marquess merely handing over Cornwallis's sword to an aide of the revolutionary commander– the British Parliament resolved to bring the American fighting to an end.

Note: it wasn't exactly that the war was over, it was merely that for the time being all this fighting was discontinued — actually, the Revolutionary War would not be over until the War of 1812 was over.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 1, Saturday: The white crew of the negrero *Zong* had on the two previous days thrown 96 members of their black cargo overboard. On this day they threw overboard an additional 36, bringing the total to 60 [slaves](#) who had died aboard of malnutrition and illness and whose corpses had been disposed of by throwing them overboard, and 132 who had been alive when thrown overboard.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”: In the case of the ship *Zong*, in 1781, whose master had thrown one hundred and thirty-two slaves alive into the sea, to cheat the underwriters, the first jury gave a verdict in favor of the master and owners: they had a right to do what they had done. Lord Mansfield is reported to have said on the bench, “The matter left to the jury is, – Was it from necessity? For they had no doubt, – though it shocks one very much, – that the case of slaves was the same as if horses had been thrown overboard. It is a very shocking case.”

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY

People were trying to kill each other at Dorchester, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In the pages of the “Atlantic Neptune,” which was published from about 1780 to 1783, there appeared a 39 inch by 30 1/2 inch Chart of Boston Bay bearing this date. Also in the pages of this magazine appeared a 40 inch by 28 1/2 inch “Plan of the Harbor and Coast from Nachant [*sic*] to Weymouth River, accompanied with a valuable series of copperplate views of the islands and landmarks of the harbor.” The chart had been compiled by Joseph Frederick Walle Des Barres, “surveyor of the coast and harbors of North America,” in about 1775, on the basis of surveys taken by Samuel Holland, Esq., Surveyor General of Lands, and by his assistants, who had been employed on that service as early as 1764. The Des Barres chart is of especial interest because it “exhibits the face of the country and the hills and bluffs of the islands.”

MAPS OF BOSTON



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

December 12, Wednesday: British and French naval forces engaged off Ushant in the English Channel with the British capturing some French troop ships that had been headed toward the West Indies.

In Darmstadt, Erwin und Elmire, a singspiel by Georg Joseph Vogler to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) was performed for the initial time.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



December 14, Friday: [Charleston](#) was returned to American control.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 25, Tuesday: Some or all of the String Quartets op.33 by Joseph Haydn were performed publicly for the initial time, at the Vienna home of Countess von Norden (but they may have been performed earlier at Esterháza).

This day initiated a 7-day campaign by the local white militias against Cherokees in Tennessee, that would destroy 10 large Cherokee towns, consume 1,000 homes, kill 29, and imprison 17.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 29, Saturday: Artaria announced the forthcoming publication of Franz Joseph Haydn's String Quartets op.33. Haydn was astonished at this announcement because he had not yet sold subscription copies, and would break off all contacts with Artaria (however, the matter would be smoothed over).

People were trying to kill each other at Dorchester, [South Carolina](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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December 31, Monday: At the new church in [Carlisle](#), where the form of Calvinist righteousness known as "[Hopkinsianism](#)" held sway, there was a first communion ceremony, and the church members voted to require future candidates for membership in their sacred ensemble to submit "a written or verbal relation ... before the church and congregation, of the religious exercises of their minds," before they could be acceptable to this church. (A few years later the requirement that this performance be before the entire congregation was eased, so as to allow candidates to enact their submission merely before a committee of the church.)

There was an end-of-war prisoner swap in which Henry Laurens of [Charleston, South Carolina](#) was released from the [Tower of London](#) in exchange for [General Charles Cornwallis](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The *Marquis de Lafayette* returned to France and was promoted to the rank of *maréchal de camp*, or brigadier general.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[Rhode Island privateering](#) during the [Revolutionary War](#):



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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AMERICAN REVOLUTION



"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812



"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when Rhode Island first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65²¹⁰



210. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

[Concord](#) sent a delegate to the state legislature with instructions to vote against the proposed Treaty of Paris. At issue was a clause in the document allowing the Americans who had been Loyalists to return to their American homes and reclaim their local rights and their local property — such largesse would be regarded in Concord town as “one of the greatest evils that could fall upon us.” The estates of the Concord residents who had fled, and who had lost out in the Revolution, must be confiscated and parceled out among the victors! For being losers they must pay!

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Town Clerks of Lincoln

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Ephraim Flint | 1746-1752, 1754, 1756-1757 | Grosvenor Tarbell | 1799-1803 |
| Ebenezer Cutler | 1753, 1755, 1759 | Thomas Wheeler | 1804-1806 |
| Samuel Farrar | 1758, 1760-1766 | Elijah Fiske | 1810-1821 |
| John Adams | 1767-1777 | Stephen Patch | 1822-1827 |
| Abijah Pierce | 1778-1779, 1781 | Charles Wheeler | 1828-1830 |
| Samuel Hoar | 1780, 1782, 1787-1798, 1807-1809 | Elijah Fiske | 1831 |
| Richard Russell | 1783-1786 | | |

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood, John Buttrick, and George Minott were Selectmen.

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood was again Town Clerk.

In [Concord](#), Timothy Minott was Town Treasurer.

James Barrett was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

When Dr. [John Cuming](#), a prominent citizen of [Concord](#) of the most impeccable revolutionary and social standing, fell ill in this year, he made a will in which he declared: “I give and bequeath to my two negros (that was) viz. Bristo and Jem thirty pounds sterling each, the expending of which money to be under the Special Directions of the Selectmen of Concord.”²¹¹

BRISTER FREEMAN

[Concord](#)'s revolutionary Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety was renewed.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

211. Note that as “Bristo” was short for “Bristol,” so also “Jem” was short for “James”; in the context of a legal document what we have here is two adults being diminished. The designation of the Town Selectmen as custodians for the fund makes it clear that Cuming’s bequest was in no sense largesse, but was intended merely to reassure his fellow white townsmen that after his death his [manumitted slaves](#) would not make themselves a financial burden on the town. (Cuming would live until 1788 and then it would require several additional years before this will would be settled.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The committee of correspondence, etc., chosen March, 1776 [for [Concord](#)], were [John Cuming](#), Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. Jonas Heywood, Capt. Joseph Hosmer, James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Capt. George Minot. In 1777, Colonel John Buttrick, Josiah Merriam, Isaac Hubbard, Capt. Abishai Brown, Capt. David Wheeler, Mr. Ephraim Potter, and Lieut. Nathan Stow. In 1778, [John Cuming](#), Esq., Colonel John Buttrick, Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., James Barrett, Esq., Capt. David Brown, and Mr. Josiah Merriam. These were re-elected in 1779, 1780, 1781 & 1782. In 1783, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Ephraim Wood, Jr., Esq., Capt. David Wood, and Lieut. Joseph Hayward. This committee was not chosen afterwards.²¹²

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A census of [Rhode Island](#) was taken: 4,306 were in [Providence](#) out of a population totaling 52,347.

Claude Victor Marie, Prince de Broglie (1757-1794) came to [Rhode Island](#) in a French frigate that was conveying a loan of 2,500,000 *livres* to the Continental Congress.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

PRINCE DE BROGLIE

Count Mathieu Dumas also visited [Rhode Island](#).

COUNT MATHIEU DUMAS

[Benjamin Franklin](#) signed the preliminary articles of peace.²¹³

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

212. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

213. These would not be finalized, and Americans would continue to be regarded by Brits as renegade Brit subjects, which would be one of the reasons for the War of 1812.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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In [New York](#), a 3d revision was made to the 1778 Militia Act. Gaolers were once again made exempt from any military service. However, [Quakers](#) were to be required to pay £10 for exemption from military service.

At the age of 22 a Massachusetts woman, [Deborah Sampson](#), cut her hair and enlisted in the Continental Army, calling herself Robert Shurtliff and fighting in [New York](#). She wrote letters for illiterate soldiers and did her best to avoid rough soldiers' games such as wrestling (the one time she did wrestle, she was flung to the ground). After the war she would marry, and in 1838 her husband would become the 1st man to receive a pension from the United States government on the basis of his wife's military service (Sampson's maritime equivalents of this period included Fanny Campbell and Mary Anne Talbot).

As a teacher, [Noah Webster, Jr.](#) was exempt from wartime conscription. However, it seems that when he arrived in Goshen, [New York](#) in this timeframe, he had but 75¢ in his pocket. He began to teach at the Farmer's Hall Academy, to which several signers of the Declaration of Independence were sending their children. In this period he was struggling to compile a spelling book.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Flushing Meeting joined with all other [New-York Quakers](#) in refusing to man the city watch, as ordered by the British troops, holding this to be a violation of their Peace Testimony, according to which they should refrain from lending support to either side of a war.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The 1st seal of the United States of America, making use of some rather obvious and standard symbolism, was adopted.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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[Peter Thoreau](#) purchased a home on Cambridge Street in [Boston](#).

With the Revolutionary hostilities more or less over, pretty much mostly, [James Freeman](#) was able to return from [Canada](#). After having been tried out in various [Boston](#) pulpits as a supply preacher, the Episcopalians (Church of England) at [King's Chapel](#) offered him a 6-month contract to officiate, but only as their reader.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The British government was finding the political beliefs of the [Reverend Joseph Priestley](#) to be unsettling. Church leaders also were being disturbed, by the manner in which this author was attacking such closely held doctrines as the Virgin Birth and the Holy Trinity in books such as this year's THE HISTORY OF THE CORRUPTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

Native Americans at an intertribal council decided to eliminate the white Kentucky settlements while British help was still available.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Native American and Canadian forces defeated a disorganized group of settlers at the Battle of Blue Licks in what would become Kentucky.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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February 22, Friday: French forces occupied the British island of Montserrat.

A motion in the British Parliament to end the American war failed by only one vote.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 27, Wednesday: The British House of Commons petitioned the crown to make peace with America.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

February 28, Thursday: Owing to the defeat of his government on the previous day, Prime Minister Lord North offered to resign. King George refused his resignation.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

March 1, Friday: Thésée, a tragédie lyrique by François-Joseph Gossec to words of Morel de Chéfdeville after Quinault, was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opéra.

Concord made a final expenditure on its carefully made list of Revolutionary War expenses, (a list it was keeping in order to make certain that it would be granted every ounce of all the credit which was manifestly its due).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---------------|-----|---------|------------------|------------------|--------|
| March 1, 1782 | | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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What a magnificent town, so belligerent in war, so self-congratulatory in peace! If you believe in war, for sure you believe in Concord!

Let us all labor to ensure that Concord receives every bit of the credit which is its due! It is time for us to review the entire list of Concord's war expenses, and once and for all ensure that we have not neglected to reward them amply for every one of their sacrifices:

TABLE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGNS²¹⁴

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| January 1, 1775 | 100 | | Minute Men | | £58 |
| April 20, 1775 | 56 | 8 months | Cambridge | £5½— | 308 |
| <p>The officers in the regiment, to which these [the above] men were attached, were, John Nixon, Colonel; Thomas Nixon, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Buttrick, Major. The officers of two companies, of 84 and 103 men, belonged to Concord. Joseph Butler was Captain; Silas Walker, Lieutenant; Edward Richardson, Ensign; Moses Richardson, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Chesley, and Edward Heywood, Sergeants of one; and Abishai Brown was Captain; Daniel Taylor, Lieutenant; Silas Mann, Ensign; and Nathan Stow, Ephraim Minott, John Cobs, and Bradbury Robinson were Sergeants of the other. Rev. William Emerson was Chaplain a part of the time; and Dr. Joseph Hunt was mate to Dr. Foster in Cambridge hospital. The men enlisted the last week in April, and the officers were commissioned June 5th. At the Battle of Bunker Hill, Captain Butler's company, under command of Lieutenant Walker, were engaged at the northern declivity of the hill by the "rail fence"; and a part of the other company were on guard, and not ordered on in season to take part in the battle. Benjamin Ball received a mortal wound, of which he died in Boston. John Meers was killed. Amos Wheeler, Ephraim Minot, and some others were wounded; the first died of his wounds at Cambridge, a short time after. As soon as the news of the battle arrived, the whole of the militia marched to Cambridge, but returned after a few days. A chest of clothing, and other articles necessary for the wounded, were contributed by the "patriotic ladies" in Concord, and sent to the hospital in Cambridge, for which they received public thanks. "This instance of their humanity and public spirit," say a public notice, "does honor to the town, and will, we hope, induce others to imitate so good an example." During this campaign, Danforth Hayward and William Buttrick died.</p> | | | | | |
| December 1, 1775 | 18 | 2 months | Cambridge | 1½ | 27 |
| January 20, 1776 | 36 | 2 months | Cambridge | 1 ⁴ / ₅ | 63 ⁴ / ₅ |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|-----------|-----------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|
| <p>January 20, 1776. Middlesex was ordered to raise a regiment of 571 men; Concord 26, Bedford 6, Acton 13, Lincoln 8. Concord, however, furnished 36. John Robinson was Colonel; John Buttrick, Lieutenant-Colonel; Samuel McCobb, Major; Joseph Thaxter, Chaplain; Nathan Stow, Quarter-master; Jabez Brown, Adjutant. The Captains' names were, John Ford, Simon Edgel, Josiah Warren, Asahel Wheeler, Benjamin Edgel, Job Shattuck, and John Lamont. Silan Mann was a lieutenant there under Wheeler.</p> <p>A new organization of the militia was made in February, 1776, and Concord, Lexington, Weston, Acton and Lincoln were assigned to the 3d Regiment. Oliver Prescott was then chosen Brigadier-General, Eleazer Brooks, Colonel of this regiment, Francis Faulkner, Lieutenant-Colonel; Nathan Barrett, 1st Major; Samuel Lamson, 2d Major; and Joseph Adams, Surgeon.</p> <p>The following were the officers of the several companies: Company 1, of Concord; Captain George Minott, 1st Lieutenant Edward Wright, 2d Lieutenant Emerson Cogswell. Company 2, of Weston; Captain Jonathan Fiske, 1st Lieutenant Matthew Hobbs, 2d Lieutenant Josiah Severns. Company 3, of Lexington; Captain John Bridge, 1st Lieutenant William Munroe, 2d Lieutenant Ebenezer White. Company 4, of Concord; Captain Thomas Hubbard, 1st Lieutenant Ephraim Wheeler, 2d Lieutenant Amos Hosmer. Company 5, of Acton; Captain Simon Hunt, 1st Lieutenant John Heald, Jr., 2d Lieutenant Benjamin Brabrook. Company 6, of Lincoln; Captain Samuel Farrar, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Hoar, 2d Lieutenant James Parks. Company 7, of Concord; Captain Thomas Barrett, 1st Lieutenant Samuel Heald, 2d Lieutenant Asa Green.</p> <p>Col. James Barrett was appointed to raise men in this county December 2d, 1775; and was muster-master from December 28th, 1776, till his death. Capt. Joseph Hosmer succeeded him in 1780.</p> <p>The Concord Light Infantry was organized soon after, (of which Joseph Hosmer was Captain; Samuel Jones, Lieutenant; and Samuel Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant); and attached to this regiment.</p> | | | | | |
| March 1, 1776 | 145 | 10 days | Dorchester Hgts | | |
| <p>This [the above] was a detachment of nearly all the militia, to take possession of Dorchester Heights just before the British evacuated Boston. The officers of the 3d Regiment abovementioned were generally there. An attack on Boston was anticipated, and a considerable quantity of lint and bandages was sent from Concord to the hospital.</p> | | | | | |
| April 9, 1776 | 31 | 9 months | Near Boston | | 55 ⁴ / ₅ |
| <p>This [the above] was an enlisted company for the purpose of fortifying and defending Boston and its vicinity. Officers: —, Josiah Whitney, of Harvard, Colonel; Ephraim Jackson, of Newton, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Miller, Major. For the Middlesex Company, — Abishai Brown, Captain; Abraham Andrews, 1st Lieutenant; Silas Proctor, 2d Lieutenant; Jeremiah Williams and, Edward Heywood, all of Concord, were Sergeants. They were stationed at Hull. This company assisted in taking Col. Campbell, about three hundred Highlanders, and several provision ships. They left Concord June 1st, and were discharged December 1st. Thaddeus Blood, Esq., is the only person now living [1835] in Concord who belonged to this company.</p> | | | | | |
| June 1776 | 19 | 12 months | New York | 10 | 190 |

214. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------|--------|--------|
| June 25, 1776 | 48 | 6 months | Ticonderoga | 9 | 432 |
| <p>Dr. John Cuming was appointed Commander in this [the above] expedition, but declined. The whole consisted of five thousand men. One company, consisting of ninety-four men, was commanded by Capt. Charles Miles, of Concord. Edmond Munroe, was Lieutenant; Matthew Hobbs, 2d Lieutenant; and Jonas Brown, Ensign. They were attached to Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment. His muster-roll give sixty-one from Concord, (differing from the report from which the above is compiled); Weston, twenty-seven; Lexington, four; and two from Tyconterage [?]. Being ready to march, they were paraded on the common in Concord, with several other companies from the adjoining towns, and attended religious services in the meeting-house. Rev. William Emerson preached from Job v. 20, and afterwards went as Chaplain, sacrificed his life to his patriotism, and never returned. Another Company, commanded by Capt. Asahel Wheeler, whose Lieutenant was Samuel Hoar, of Lincoln. Samuel Osburn was 2d Lieutenant, and David Hosmer, Ensign.</p> | | | | | |
| September 12, 1776 | 23 | 3 months | White Plains | 8 | 184 |
| <p>This [the above] embraced one fifth of the Militia under fifty years of age, not in actual service. The drafts from this county formed one regiment, which was commanded by Eleazer Brooks, of Lincoln. Rev. Moses Adams, of Acton, was Chaplain; Dr. Joseph Hunt, Surgeon; and Samuel Hartwell, of Lincoln, Quarter-master. Concord furnished twenty-three men; Lexington, sixteen, Acton, fifteen; and Lincoln, twelve, which formed one company, whose officers were Simon Hunt, of Acton, Captain; Samuel Heald, of Concord, Lieutenant; Ebenezer White, 2d Lieutenant. They were in the battle of White Plains. A return after the battle gives forty-two fit for duty, seven sick, four wounded, two of whom, David Wheeler and Amos Buttrick, belonged to Concord. Thomas Darby, of Acton was killed. Col. Brooks's Regiment behaved bravely on that occasion.</p> | | | | | |
| September 12, 1776 | 7 | | Dorchester | | |
| <p>These [the above] were part of a company of eighty-nine men, taken from nearly every town in this county, commanded by John Minott, of Chelmsford, and attached to Col. Dykes's Regiment. John Hartwell, of Lincoln, was Lieutenant. Acton furnished five; Lincoln, four; and Bedford, three.</p> | | | | | |
| November 21, 1776 | 34 | 3 months | New York | 10 | 340 |
| <p>This [the above] was one fourth of the Militia in Middlesex County, and formed one Regiment of six hundred and seventy men, commanded by Col. Samuel Thatcher, of Cambridge. Cyprian How, of Marlborough, was Lieutenant-Colonel; Joseph Bryant, of Stoneham, Major. Concord furnished thirty-four; Weston, eighteen; Lexington, fourteen; Acton, thirteen; Lincoln, thirteen, which composed one company. John Bridge, of Lexington, was Captain; Jacob Brown, of Concord, Lieutenant; and Josiah Stearns, of Weston, 2d Lieutenant; William Burrows, Orderly Sergeant. They marched to New-York and New-Jersey before they returned, and were stationed at Woodbridge. Dissolved March 6th.</p> | | | | | |
| December 1, 1776 | 8 | | Boston | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| It appears from a roll of this company in the Secretary's office, that Capt. John Hartwell was commander of it [the above]. Thirteen in this and six in other companies were from Lincoln. They were attached to Col. Dykes's Regiment. | | | | | |
| December 1776 | 6 | | Rhode Island | | |
| These [the above] were attached to the Artillery. | | | | | |
| January 26, 1777 | 44 | 3 years | Continental Army | 20 | 880 |
| These [the above] were the first three-year men enlisted. Col. James Barrett mustered all the men from this county. Ephraim Wood paid the bounty of those enlisted in Concord . Nathan Wheeler, Ephraim Wheeler, Ephraim Minott, and Wareham Wheeler, were Lieutenants in the three years' service. The forty-four names follow. Thomas Wood, Matthew Jameson, Amos Nutting, Job Spaulding, John Hodgman, William Wilson, Josiah Blood, Patrick Neiff, David Jenners, Abraham Davis, Thomas B. Ball, Pomp Cady, James Bray, Daniel Brown, James Barrett, Edward Butt, Edward Wilkins, John Sherwin, Samuel Dutton, John Corneil, Samson Yammon, Daniel Stearns, Amos Darby, William Wheeler, Nathaniel Draper, Oliver Rice, Stephen Stearns, James Melvin, James Allen, Richard Anthony, Oliver Barnes, John McGath, Thomas Fay, Cesar Minott, Samuel Butler, Francis Legross, Charles Swan, James Marr, Nathaniel Taylor, Tilly Holden (died), Samuel Blood, Daniel Cole. | | | | | |
| April 12, 1777 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 6 | 66 |
| This [the above] was a detachment to reinforce General Spencer. Amos Hosmer and Thaddeus Hunt were Lieutenants. | | | | | |
| April 30, 1777 | 5 | 6 months | Continental Army | 8 | 40 |
| July 1777 | 29 | | Rhode Island | 10 | 290 |
| Abishai Brown was Captain [of the above]; Daniel Davis, of Acton , 1st Lieutenant; James Brown, of Lexington, 2d Lieutenant; Thaddeus Blood, Orderly Sergeant; Abel Davis, Drummer. They left about the 1st of June. Dr. Isaac Hurd was Surgeon of the regiment, which was commanded by John Jacobs and Lt. Colonel Robinson, and was under Gen. Spencer. Abishai Brown was appointed Major in this campaign. The town estimate gives fourteen only in this campaign, but is probably incorrect. Dea. White's MS. says, "July 23, 1777, an alarm, — draughted the following persons to go to R. Island [Rhode Island]," and gives the names of twenty-nine. | | | | | |
| August 9, 1777 | 16 | 5 months | Northward | 35 | 560 |
| These [the above] constituted one sixth of the militia. George Minott was Captain. They were at the battle of Saratoga, and at the taking of Burgoyne. They subsequently marched to New Jersey. | | | | | |
| September 22, 1777 | 46 | 41 days | Taking of Burgoyne | 16 | 640 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|--------|--------|
| <p>This [the above] was a volunteer company of sixty-three men from Concord and Acton, commanded by John Buttrick. John Heald and Silas Mann, were Lieutenants; John White, Samuel Piper, Reuben Hunt, and Peter Wheeler, Sergeants. They were under Colonel Reed. They left Concord, October 4th, passed through Rutland, Northampton, &c., and arrived at Saratoga on the 10th, where they encamped two days. The 13th they went to Fort Edward. The 14th and 15th, went out on a scout, and the 16th brought in fifty-three Indians, several Tories (one of whom had 100 guineas), and some women. The 17th "we had an express," says Deacon White's Journal, "to return to Saratoga, and had the pleasure to see the whole of Burgoyne's army parade their arms, and march out of their lines; a wonderful sight indeed; it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes." They guarded the prisoners to Cambridge. \$206 were subscribed to encourage these men, beside the bounty specified in the table. Samuel Farrar commanded a company from Lincoln and Lexington in this campaign.</p> | | | | | |
| November 28, 1777 | 23 | 5 months | Guard at Cambridge | 9 | 207 |
| <p>Capt. Simon Hunt, of Acton, commanded the company [above] to which most of the Concord men were attached, under Col. Eleazer Brooks and Gen. Heath. Nine companies guarded Burgoyne's troops down, five marching before and four behind.</p> | | | | | |
| March 3, 1778 | 22 | 3 months | Guard at Cambridge | 10 | 220 |
| <p>Resolutions were passed February 7th, for four hundred men [above], and March 11th and 13th, each for five hundred more to guard the stores at Boston. These men were called out for that purpose, and were under the command of General Heath. Thomas Barret was Captain a part of the time; Daniel Harrington, the other part; Elisha Jones and Asa Green, Lieutenants. They were under Col. Jonathan Reed.</p> | | | | | |
| April 12, 1778 | 11 | | Rhode Island | 18 | 198 |
| <p>These [the above] men were raised for the defence of Rhode Island under Gen. Spencer. The officers of the regiment were John Jacobs, Colonel; Frederick Pope, Lieutenant-Colonel; Abishai Brown, Major. They were chosen February 27th. Thaddeus Blood of Concord was Ensign in this campaign. The committee chosen by the town to hire them, were Col. James Barrett, Col. John Buttrick, Mr. Ephraim Wood, Jr., Jonas Heywood, Esq., and John Cuming, Esq.</p> | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army | 130 | 1300 |
| <p>These [the above] men were Oliver Buttrick, Benjamin Gould, Jason Bemis, William Diggs, Joseph Plummer, Cesar Kettle, David White, Benjamin Perkins, Jeremiah Hunt, Jr., and John Stratten. These were hired by the town, as in the last, and all subsequent campaigns. These were part of two hundred men. Acton and Lincoln furnished five each, and Bedford, three. They marched first to Rhode Island, and afterwards to New York. They were to serve nine months from the time they arrived at Fishkill.</p> | | | | | |
| April 20, 1778 | 9 | 8 months | Guard at North River | 100 | 900 |
| <p>Their names [the above] were William Burrows, (a Lieutenant), Reuben Parks, Timothy Merriam, Jeremiah Williams, Jonathan Curtis, Jacob Ames, Timothy Hoar, Wareham Wheeler, Joseph Cleisby.</p> | | | | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| June 23, 1778 | 8 | 6 months | Guard at Cambridge | 15 | 120 |
| These [the above] men guarded the prisoners to the new barracks built at Rutland. Ephraim Wood was appointed to superintend their removal. | | | | | |
| June 27, 1778 | 26 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | 30 | 780 |
| These [the above] men were sent to reinforce General Sullivan. John Buttrick was Lieutenant-Colonel, and was wounded at Sullivan's retreat. Samuel Jones and Emerson Cogswell were lieutenants under Capt. Francis Brown, of Lexington. Thaddeus Blood was Ensign in the State troops at the same time. Benjamin Prescott was Surgeon. One Sergeant and three Corporals were from Concord . | | | | | |
| September 6, 1778 | 7 | 4 months | Rhode Island | 73½ | 514½ |
| The town received the order, September 10th, and held a meeting the next day, when a committee was chosen to hire them [the above]. They were paid £23 per month, including the public wages. The men were, Timothy Killock, Charles Shepherd, Daniel Wheat, Timothy Wetherbee, Jesse Parkins, Thomas Hodgman, and Silas Parlin. | | | | | |
| September 19, 1778 | 46 | | To march to Boston | \$3 | \$138 |
| This [the above] constituted one third of the militia, required to march to Boston at a minute's warning. They volunteered under Col. Cuming, and were to receive \$5 bounty, and \$15 per month, including the pay allowed by the public. The orders were countermanded and they did not march. This is the only instance in all the campaigns of the men not marching when called. | | | | | |
| April 27, 1779 | 5 | 6 weeks | Rhode Island | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 8 | 9 months | Continental Army | | 3248 |
| The town chose a committee June 16th, to hire the men [both lines above] for these two campaigns, consisting, of Col. Nathan Barrett, the four commanding officers of the militia companies, the Selectmen, Col. John Cuming, Mr. Jonas Heywood, Capt. David Brown, Capt. Joseph Butler, and James Barrett, Esq. Acton furnished four; Bedford, three; Lincoln, five; and the whole county, two hundred and forty-five in the nine months' campaign. The detachment to Rhode Island took one hundred men more from this county, who were under Col. Jacobs. The 3d Regiment was required to furnish one Sergeant and eleven privates. Thaddeus Blood was a Lieutenant in the United States' service; Jonas Wright was Sergeant. | | | | | |
| June 8, 1779 | 4 | 6 months | Rhode Island | | |
| The town received orders for these men [the above] September 1st and chose the Selectmen, Col. Nathan Barrett, Jonas Heywood, Esq., and the four militia Captains, a committee to procure these and other four militia captains, a committee to procure these and all others, "when small drafts are called," without calling the town together. | | | | | |
| August 9, 1779 | 9 | | Rhode Island | | |
| September 1779 | 4 | | Works at Boston | 12 | 48 |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|---|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| <p>These [the above] belonged to a company of thirty-eight men from this and the adjoining towns, under Samuel Heald, Captain; Enoch Kingsbury, Lieutenant; Stephen Hosmer, 2d Lieutenant; and John Jacobs, Colonel. Henry Flint was Sergeant Major. They were discharged in November, and the whole amount of their wages was 10s. 6p. in silver each!</p> | | | | | |
| September 1, 1779 | 20 | 2 months | Rhode Island | | |
| <p>The names of these [the above] men were, Charles Shepherd, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Timothy Wesson, Nathan Page, Asa Piper, Timothy Sprague, Nathaniel Breed, Charles Hanley, John Stratten, Ezekiel Hager, Jeremiah Shepherd, Nathaniel French, Josiah Melvin Jr., Joshua Stevens, Phillip Barrett, Lemuel Wheeler, Chandler Bryant, Daniel Cole. Acton furnished eleven; Bedford, seven; Lincoln, nine; Carlisle, seven. These men were procured by a committee chosen by the town, June 12th, in addition to that chosen in September previous, consisting of John Cuming, Esq., Capt. David Brown, Capt. Andrew Conant, Capt. David Wheeler, Lieut. Stephen Barrett. They were also to procure others, "if the draught does not exceed sixteen; if it does, the town to be called together."</p> | | | | | |
| June 5, 1780 | 19 | 6 months | Continental Army | 1000 | 16000 |
| <p>These [the above] men were hired by the same committee. They were intended to march to Albany to prevent the incursions of the Indians, but counter orders were issued and they went to Rhode Island. Cyprian How was Colonel; ——— Bancroft of Dunstable, Lieutenant-Colonel; ——— Stone, of Ashby, Major; Abraham Andrews, Captain; Silas Walker and Eli Conant, Lieutenants. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, eleven; Lincoln, twelve; Carlisle, nine.</p> | | | | | |
| June 22, 1780 | 19 | 3 months | Rhode Island | | 17090 |
| December 2, 1780 | 16 | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |
| <p>These [the above] men were to serve three years or during the war. The town decided, after considerable debate, by a vote of 53 to 42, to hire them in classes. The Selectmen, James Barrett, Esq., Jonas Heywood, Esq., Mr. Isaac Hubbard, Mr. Samuel Hosmer, Col. Nathan Barrett, and Mr. Job Brooks were chosen to divide the town into as many classes as there were men to hire, according to wealth. The town voted to "proceed against" any who should neglect to pay their proportion in the several classes; each one of which hired a man at as low a rate as possible. The men's names were Charles Adams, Richard Hayden, Jonathan Wright, Joseph Dudley, Isaac Hall, Lot Lamson, Francis Baker, Joseph Adams, Benjamin Barron, William Tenneclaf, Richard Hobby, Leonard Whitney, Samuel Farrar, John Stratten, Daniel McGregor, and Jonathan Fiske. Bedford furnished eight; Acton, ten; Lincoln, ten; Carlisle, six. They were mustered by Capt. Joseph Hosmer.</p> | | | | | |
| December 28, 1780 | 10 | 9 months | Continental Army, Fishkill | | |



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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| WHEN REQUIRED | MEN | TIME | WHERE EMPLOYED | BOUNTY | AMOUNT |
|--|-----|----------|------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| June 15, 1781 | 3 | 5 months | Rhode Island | | |
| Bedford furnished seven; Acton , eight; Lincoln, eight; Carlisle, four, for this [the above] campaign. The whole State furnished two thousand seven hundred. | | | | | |
| June 30, 1781 | 14 | 4 months | Continental Army | | |
| These [the above] men were hired by classes. Dea. John White was Chairman of the 3d class, which was assessed £180 to hire Joseph Cleisby. The 5th class, of which Reuben Hunt was Chairman, hired Jacob Laughton, for £90 lawful money as a bounty. Sometimes \$100 were given by a single individual. All property seemed to be at the disposal of government, if required. The soldiers were paid off in government sureties which were sold for 2s. 6d. on the pound. Nathaniel French received ninety bushels of rye. | | | | | |
| March 1, 1782 | | 3 years | Continental Army | Hired in Classes | |

March 4, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Morrisania, New York.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

March 5, Tuesday: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 10 was published.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

READ THE FULL TEXT

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

March 9, Saturday morning: During the Revolution, the Christianized native Americans were being trusted by the whites and by non-Christianized native Americans no more than they had been trusted earlier, during King Phillip's War. The village of Gnadenhutzen had about 100 Christian Indians, mostly Delawares, there to gather crops from their fields. Although the Christianized natives professed and practiced neutrality, the British, Americans, and other native Americans did not trust those living at Gnadenhutzen. The leader of the mission, the Reverend David Zeisberger, had been tried by the British for treason but had been cleared of the accusations.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



Rev. D. Zeisberger!

FROM A PORTRAIT PAINTED AT THE AGE OF FIFTY.

During the maize harvest, some white settler families were attacked, and whites blamed those at Gnadenhutzen for the violence. An American militia unit marched on Gnadenhutzen and claimed to find there clothing from the murdered whites. They incarcerated these Christians in their church while they voted on their fate. Fewer than 20 of the approximately 100 whites voted against the slaughter. When the Christians learned of their fate, they spent the night praying and singing hymns, until the following morning all 28 adult males, 29 adult females, and 39 children were led from the church in pairs to have their skulls crushed with mallets. Soon after this massacre, other native Christian towns such as Schoenbrunn would of necessity be abandoned. After a final service was held at the church in Schoenbrunn the structure would be torn down to prevent desecration as the settlement was abandoned. Eventually everything that had been created in Schoenbrunn would be torched. The life work of the missionary teacher [John Gotlieb Ernestus Heckewelder](#) was quite destroyed. All that would remain would be the record of the attempt that had been made. Hey, guys, you made a jolly good try, you did, and blessings on you for that!



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

March 28, Thursday: The Province of Holland recognized the independence of the United States of America. Other Dutch states would soon follow.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A Bassoon Concerto by Joseph Boulogne, Chevalier de Saint Georges was performed for the initial time, at the Concert Spirituel, Paris.

April 12, Friday: Talks between British and American ministers opened in Paris.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Pietro Metastasio, author of numerous opera libretti, died in Vienna after having received the Last Rites from Pope Pius VI (who happened to be in the city).

British naval forces engaged the French in the West Indies in the Battle of the Saints. Nine major French ships were lost including the flagship Ville de Paris. The action blocked a French-Spanish plan to invade Jamaica and restored British supremacy in the Atlantic Ocean.

April 19, Friday: The Estates-General of the Netherlands admitted John Adams as minister from the United States, thus beginning the longest friendly diplomatic relations still in existence. The Dutch Republic recognized the United States of America as a legitimate and independent nation (John Adams's home at The Hague, Netherlands would become our initial US embassy).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In Connecticut, Nathaniel Shaw died:

*I do hereby Emancipate & set at Liberty all my Negro slaves
Except Silah who is to be free at Twenty One Years of Age.*

MANUMISSION

April 22, Monday: [Grace Kennedy](#) was born at Pinmore, the 4th daughter of Robert Kennedy, Esq. of Pinmore, in the county of Ayr, Scotland, with Robina Kennedy, daughter of John Vans Agnew, Esq. of Barnbarrow, in the county of Galloway. This family would soon relocate permanently to Edinburgh.

American Minister John Adams was presented to Prince Willem V and his wife Wilhelmina at Huis ten Bosch Palace at The Hague.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 24, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Dorchester, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 25, Thursday: The British cabinet voted to negotiate peace terms with the United States of America.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

May 19, Sunday: Prussia declared armed neutrality in the war between Great Britain and the United States.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Il ritorno di Tobia, a sacred cantata by Baldassare Galuppi to words of Gozzi, was performed for the initial time, in Venice.

May 21, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Ogechee Road near Savannah, Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

May 22, Wednesday: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 11 was published.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

May 24, Friday: People were trying to kill each other near Sharon, Georgia.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



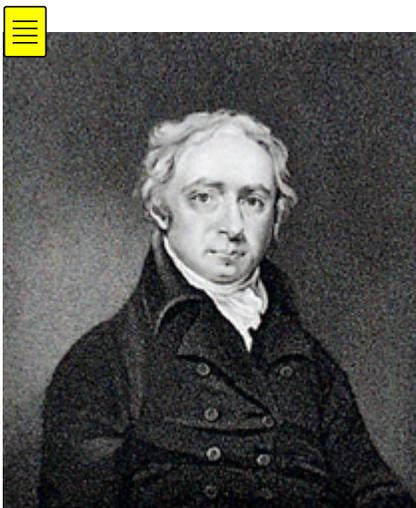
1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

May 27 (Trinity Monday): An opera and ballet performance took place in London for the benefit of Mrs. Johann Christian Bach (not enough of an audience showed up, to meet expenses).

[Henry Headley](#) was elected scholar at Trinity College, [Oxford](#). Other students there, the critic William Lisle Bowles and the classicist William Benwell, would become his friends. Headley would fall under the influence of Poet Laureate [Thomas Warton](#), then a fellow of this college.



[Aaron Lopez](#) was in a carriage, returning to [Newport, Rhode Island](#), and stopped off at Scott's Pond in [Smithfield](#) to let his horse drink. The horse bolted into deep water, the carriage overturned, and the rich man drowned.²¹⁵

On this day the course of instruction at the [College of Rhode Island](#) atop College Hill in [Providence](#) was resuming after the wartime hiatus. Long live peace!

AMERICAN REVOLUTION
BAPTISTS
BROWN UNIVERSITY

May 31, Sunday: [Thomas Paine](#)'s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, A SUPERNUMERARY CRISIS - I was published.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

215. To get some idea of just how easily one might become entangled in apparatus and unable to extricate oneself underwater from the wreckage of this sort of conveyance, you might take a close look at John Brown's "chariot" — which is stored behind the John Brown mansion in Providence, Rhode Island.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

June 4, Tuesday: "Still does reluctant Peace refuse," an ode by John Stanley to words of Whitehead, was performed for the initial time, to honor the birthday of King George III.

People were trying to kill each other at Sandusky, Ohio.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 11, Tuesday: John Adams obtained a loan of \$2,000,000 from Dutch bankers and thus established American credit in Europe.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 20, Thursday: The US federal Congress adopted the "Great Seal of the United States" with its bald eagle as our corporate seal.²¹⁶

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

June 23, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at Ebenezer, Georgia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



The 4th of July: At Saratoga, New York, the "officers of the Regement" of the Continental Army played a drinking game that must have been a whole lot of fun, celebrating their nation's birthday with toasts, featuring a "volley of Musquets at the end of each."



AMERICAN REVOLUTION
CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



William Petty-Fitzmaurice, Earl of Shelburne replaced Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquess of Rockingham as Prime Minister of Great Britain.

July 11, Thursday: Savannah, Georgia was evacuated by the British.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

July ----: People were trying to kill each other at James Island, South Carolina.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

216. Thus exhibiting the usual failure of imagination. We could have had a seal as our seal! Erk! Erk!



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

July 16, Tuesday: Die Entführung aus dem Serail K.384, a singspiel by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart to words of Stephanie after Bretzner, was performed for the initial time, in the Vienna Burgtheater. It was very successful and would become during his lifetime his most performed opera.

On this day, Mozart decided to proceed with his marriage to Constanze Weber.

Contract Between the King of France and the Thirteen United States of North America, signed at Versailles.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

READ THE FULL TEXT

July 24, Wednesday: Portugal declares armed neutrality in the war between Great Britain and the United States.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 7, Wednesday: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote to his father, "My opera (Die Entführung aus dem Serail) was given yesterday — and that too at Gluck's request. He has been very complimentary to me about it. I am lunching with him tomorrow."

General George Washington created the Order of the Purple Heart.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 19, Monday: At Blue Licks, Kentucky, American revolutionaries (including Daniel Boone) attacked Loyalists and native Americans, but were repulsed. The revolutionaries lose 70 out of a company of 182.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

August 27, Tuesday: People were trying to kill each other at Combahee Ferry, South Carolina.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 16, Monday: The Great Seal of the United States of America was used for the 1st time.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

September 27, Friday: Formal peace negotiations between Great Britain and the United States begin in Paris.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 30, Monday: A Pay Table document issued in Hartford, [Connecticut](#) was marked with an “X” in ink by “Plimouth Niger,” one of some 5,000 black Americans who had fought on the Patriot side in the American Revolution, and he then received his military pay –for the year of service 1780– which amounted to “Twenty-six pounds two shillings and Eight pence.” This patriot is listed in David O. White’s [CONNECTICUT’S BLACK SOLDIERS, 1775-1783](#) (Chester CT, 1973) as Plymouth Negro of [Windsor](#), who had enlisted on May 26, 1777 for the duration of the war and had been initially assigned to Captain Abner Prior’s company of the 5th Connecticut Regiment. He had then been reassigned to Captain Thaddeus Weed’s company of the reorganized 2d Regiment during the period from 1781 to 1783.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 8, Tuesday: A treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed at The Hague between the Netherlands and the United States of America, represented by American ambassador John Adams.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Professor Robert Hamilton¹ of [Marischal College and University](#) in Aberdeen, [Scotland](#) remarried, with Jean Morison.

TWO OR THREE ROBERT HAMILTONS

October 17, Thursday: [Dr. Erasmus Darwin](#) wrote to Josiah Wedgwood sympathizing with the American colonies in their revolt: “I hope Dr. Franklin will live to see peace, to see America recline under her own vine and fig-tree, turning her swords into plough-shares.”

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 29, Tuesday: Gilman Frothingham conveyed to [Timothy Dexter](#), leather dresser, 1/5th of the place in Newburyport, Massachusetts in which he had grown up, where his mother [Elizabeth Frothingham Dexter](#) resided with her new husband, and on this same day the married couple sold that property to the widow Meriam Tracy of Newburyport.

[Thomas Paine](#)’s THE AMERICAN CRISIS, No. 12 was published.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 30, Wednesday: Peace negotiations began between British and American representatives in Paris.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 4, Monday: Elias Boudinot replaced John Hanson as president of the Congress of the United States.

People were trying to kill each other at John’s Island, South Carolina.²¹⁷

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

217. All these “People were trying to kill each other at” entries are based upon a list of engagements offered by Francis B. Heitman, HISTORICAL REGISTER OF OFFICERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY DURING THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION – APRIL 1775 TO DECEMBER 1783.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

November 10, Sunday: American revolutionaries defeated Shawnee warriors at Chillicothe in Ohio.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 23, Saturday: The politicians of [Rhode Island](#) had been resisting the funding of the new federal government of the United States of America. They had, for instance, refused to join in imposing a continental duty upon imports. The 1st of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to Rhode Island" arguing the necessity of such funding, "In Answer To the Citizen of Rhode Island / On the Five Per Cent. Duty," appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#). Paine criticized the Rhode Islanders for their unwillingness to work within the federal union and to contribute their fair share to the conduct of the revolution. He feared that England was going to monopolize American commerce through the subornation of disunity among the states of the new union.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 30, Saturday: At the Grand Hôtel Muscovite in Paris, the United States of America and Britain signed a Preliminary Articles of Peace treaty document that hopefully would bring an end to the Revolutionary War.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

READ THE FULL TEXT

December 4, Wednesday: The 2d of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

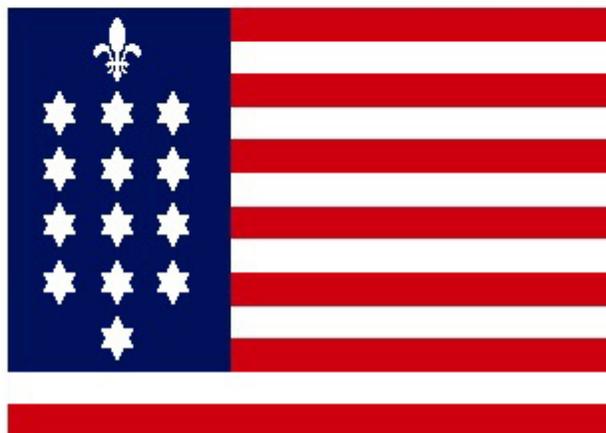
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

December 5, Thursday: In Kinderhook, [New York](#), the 1st US President to be “born in the USA” was born: Martin Van Buren, who would become our 8th President (1837-1841), was born to Abraham and Maria Hoes Van Buren.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

King George III formally acknowledged the independence of the former North American colonies. Having won a lottery in Europe [Elkanah Watson](#) commissioned John Singleton Copley to paint his portrait, and we can see in the background of this painting that a sailing vessel is displaying the US flag of the period, honoring the original thirteen colonies and their alliance with France.





1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



December 14, Saturday: Publication of Muzio Clementi's 3 keyboard sonatas op.8 was announced in the Journal de Paris.

Charleston, South Carolina was evacuated by the British.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1783

Toward the end of his 15th-Century captivity in England, Prince [James Stewart](#) of [Scotland](#) had written a long poem for Lady Joan Beaufort, "The Kingis Quair." In this year William Tytler discovered the poem among manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. Its 7-line stanza scheme would become known as "rime royal."

US independence was recognized in the Treaty of Paris.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

The "Peace of 1783" with England, signed by [Benjamin Franklin](#), gave the new national government in North America a chance to settle scores at home. Among other punishments for disloyalty (loyalty), the mansion and estate of Colonel [Elisha Jones](#) outside Weston, Massachusetts, at which the Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) and his wife [Mary Jones Dunbar](#), the Colonel's daughter, had been residing in 1775 and 1776, was confiscated by representatives of the new American government. Suddenly they belonged to someone else.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[DUNBAR FAMILY](#)

(Oh, well, you didn't want David Henry to grow up a poor little rich kid, now did you!)



In Nova Scotia, the number of loyalist refugees from the other colonies who had arrived in Nova Scotia this year was estimated at 20,000. The county of Shelburne was erected. New Edinburgh, in the county of Annapolis, was settled by a party of refugees.

[CANADA](#)

With the completion of the American Revolution, United Empire Loyalists, both white and black, who wished

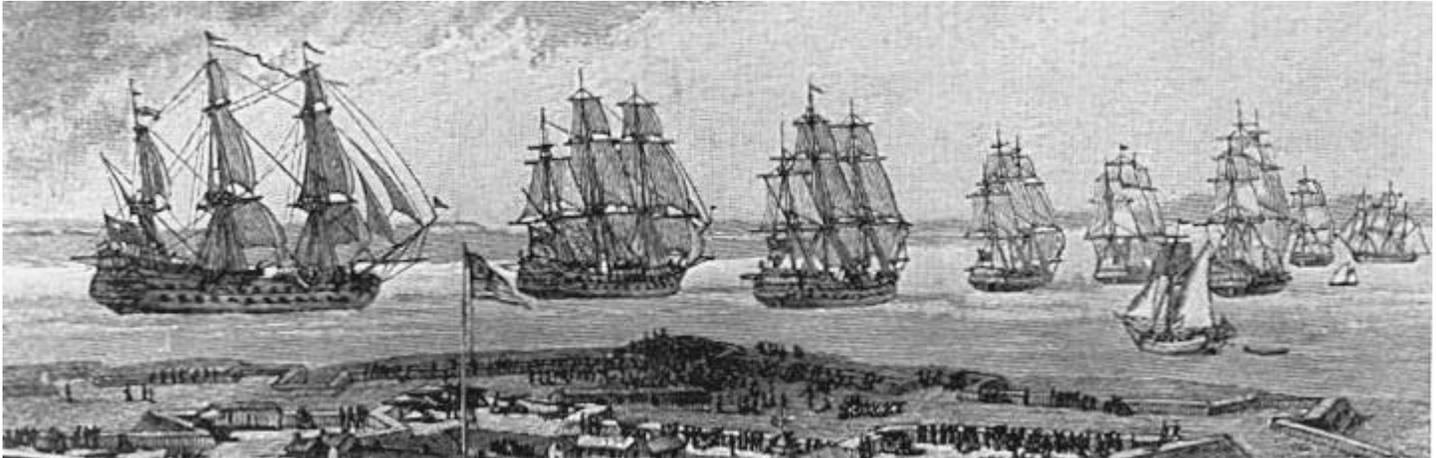
1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

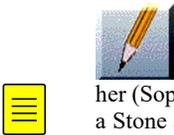
GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

to remain loyal to Britain, moved to Canada — some accompanied by slaves.

Here are a bunch of American loyalists, leaving everything behind and fleeing to Canada (think of the helicopters taking off from the roof of the American Embassy in [Saigon](#), crowded with panicked refugees — it was that sort of situation):



Early in the year [Asa Dunbar](#) was admitted to practice law in [New Hampshire](#), and when [Elijah Dunbar](#) graduated from [Dartmouth College](#) later on during this year he came to study law in the Keene office of his Uncle Asa before beginning to practice law in [Keene, New Hampshire](#) and Claremont. At that time Asa, Simeon Olcott, Benjamin West (neither the famous painter nor the Rhode Island almanac-maker), and Daniel Newcomb were the only lawyers in Cheshire County.



January 23, Saturday, 1858: ... Mrs. William Monroe told Sophia last evening that she remembered her (Sophia's) grandfather very well, that he was taller than Father, and used to ride out to their house—she was a Stone and lived where she and her husband did afterward, now Darius Merriam's—when they made cheeses, to drink the whey, being in consumption. She said that she remembered Grandmother too, Jennie Burns, how she came to the schoolroom (in Middle Street (?), Boston) once, leading her little daughter Elizabeth, the latter so small that she could not tell her name distinctly, but spoke thick and lispingly,—“Elizabeth Orrock Thoreau.”²¹⁸

JEAN THOREAU
JANE “JENNIE” BURNS THOREAU

One should not forbear to mention that it would not have taken much to be “taller than Father” [John Thoreau](#), who was a remarkably short man, and that thus this passage in the journal in no way implied that [Jean Thoreau](#) had been tall.



February 7, 1858: ... Aunt Louisa Dunbar has talked with Mrs. Monroe, and I can correct or add to my account. She says that she was then only three or four years old, and that she went to school somewhere in Boston, with Aunt Elizabeth and one other child, to a woman named Turner, who kept a spinning-wheel a-going while she taught these three little children. She remembers that one sat on a lignum-vitæ mortar, turned bottom upward, another on a box, and the third on a stool; and then she repeated the story of Jennie Burns bringing her little daughter to the school, as before. ...

JANE “JENNIE” BURNS THOREAU

218. Vide February 7th.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



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February 8, 1858: ...Mrs. Monroe says that her mother, Mrs. Stone, respected my grandfather Thoreau very much, because he was a religious man. She remembers his calling one day and inquiring where blue vervain grew, which he wanted to make a syrup for his cough; and she, a girl, happening to know, ran and gathered some. ...

JEAN THOREAU

A consignment of convicts transported from England was refused entry into the United States of America, and the ship conveying them needed to return to England. "Thank you, we've already taken delivery of your garbage."

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

During the Revolution the proprietors of the [King's Chapel](#) had allowed the members of the Old South Church (Congregational), displaced from their own meetinghouse by British troops, to worship under their roof. Because of anti-British sentiment, the structure had come to be popularly known as the Stone Chapel (think, "Freedom Fries"). Before long the original Episcopal (Church of England) congregation had returned to the Chapel, and the two societies, Episcopalian and Congregational, had shared the venue. In this year, however, the Old South Church congregation was able to recover control over its newly renovated building and no longer needed access to the Stone Chapel facility.

[James Freeman](#) got married with the widowed [Martha Curtis Clarke](#), and accepted her nine-year-old son [Samuel Clarke](#) as his own (since this adoptee Samuel Clarke would father James Freeman Clarke, eventually James Freeman would be also serving as James Freeman Clarke's grandfather, or grandfather surrogate).

[Rhode Island](#)'s black military unit was disbanded in Saratoga, New York, without pay, and its soldiers were abandoned to find their own way home.²¹⁹



AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Elbridge Gerry would be serving from this year into 1785 as a representative in the national Congress, although it would seem to many of his colleagues he had had more talent for Revolutionary agitation and wartime rinkydink than he was able to reveal for the rounds and routines of stabilizing a national government. Maybe he had been playing hero for too long without a helmet?

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The British army having blown up Boston Light on Little Brewster Island when they evacuated [Boston](#) in 1776, at this point the present structure was built. (A cast-iron stairway would be added in 1844. In 1859 the tower would be raised 14 feet to its present height of 102 feet above sea level and a 2d-order Fresnel lens would be installed.)

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The unrest of the American Revolution safely over, the family of Captain [Mark Anthony DeWolf](#) returned from its farm refuge in Swansea to [Bristol, Rhode Island](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

219. A monument to these 138 loyal troops has been positioned at the junction of Route 114 with Route 24 in [Portsmouth](#), which is on Quaker Hill or Butts Hill, the site of the Battle of Rhode Island.

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1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

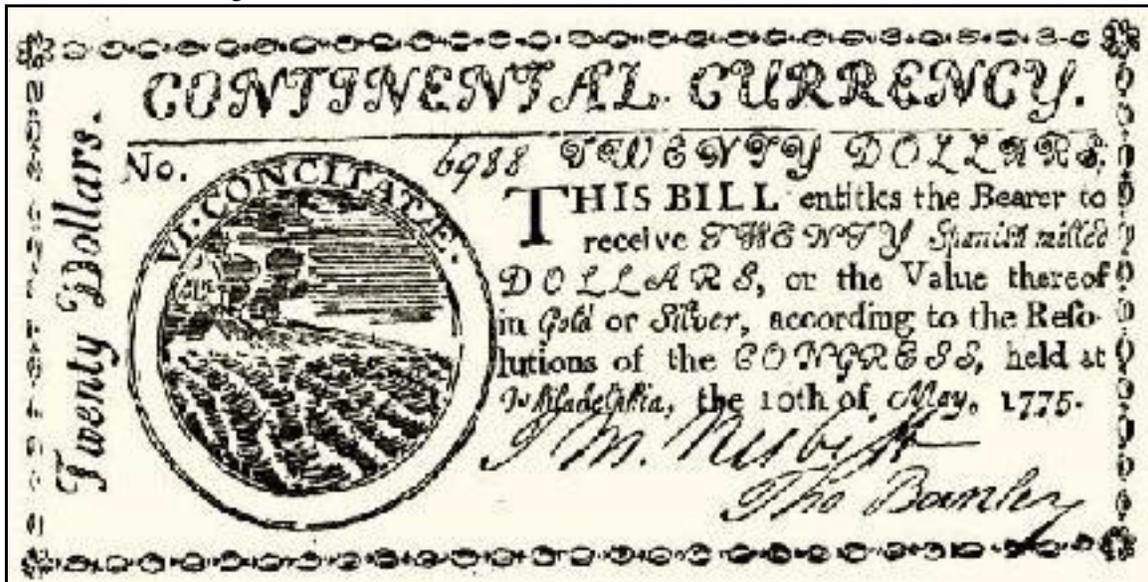
[GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE](#)

The Continental Congress met in the College of New-Jersey's Nassau Hall, which served as the center of United States government from June into November.

[PRINCETON UNIVERSITY](#)[CONTINENTAL CONGRESS](#)[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

At the age of about 10 [Oney "Ona" Judge](#) was brought to the Mansion House at [Mount Vernon](#), presumably to serve as a playmate or plaything for [Martha Washington](#)'s granddaughter Nelly Custis. (In her old age she would indicate that during her childhood and youth at the plantation she had obtained no education or religious instruction whatever.)

Inflation was so severe in the former American colonies of England, due to the debts of the war, that [George Washington](#) commented, with only a fair degree of exaggeration, that it took a wagonload of paper money going into town, to obtain a wagonload of supplies to take back to the plantation. The expression "not worth a Continental" began to be used.



In the midst of this inflation crisis, the *Marquis de Lafayette* wrote to Washington to suggest that they join



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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together and “try the experiment to free the Negroes.” The French leader pointed out, sucking up, that “such an example as yours might render it a general practice.” The American leader responded the two men would be meeting again in person and would be able to chat about this proposal (when they would meet and chat in the following year, Washington’s answer would of course be no).

SLAVERY
EMANCIPATION

When the new federal government of the United States of America would accept the advice of its first treasurer Alexander Hamilton and honor its war debt at part, [Timothy Dexter](#) would “make his nut” because he was one of the currency speculators who had heavily bought up this almost valueless revolutionary-war “Continental Currency” at a small fraction of its face value and was able to turn it in to the new federal treasury for a windfall profit. The money would go directly to this man’s head and he would begin to refer to himself as “Lord” Dexter, “by the will of the people.”²²⁰

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

[Rhode Island privateering](#) during the [Revolutionary War](#):

| | |
|------|----|
| 1776 | 57 |
| 1777 | 17 |
| 1778 | 17 |
| 1779 | 39 |
| 1780 | 13 |
| 1781 | 9 |
| 1782 | 26 |
| 1783 | 17 |

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

220. His son was named [Samuel Lord Dexter](#) because Lord had been his mother’s maiden name before she had gotten married with Mr. Frothingham — this does not seem, to me, to have had much to do with the father beginning to refer to himself as “Lord Dexter” after his so-successful federal currency and frontier real estate speculations.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to [privateering](#) in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— [Thomas Jefferson](#), 1812



"If [privateering](#) had not been already well established in the British Empire when [Rhode Island](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Hawes, Alexander Boyd, page 65²²¹



A group of approximately 200 [disowned](#) former members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who, terming themselves Free Quakers, had responded to the call for arms during the American revolution and marched off to serve as a militia company, at this point founded for themselves on Arch Street between 5th and 6th Streets in Philadelphia a brick Georgian mansion-style meetinghouse of their own. The granite tablet that architect Samuel Wetherill set in their north gable reads "in the year of our Lord, 1783, of the Empire 8," which is an indication that at that point the new country's condition of being was as yet unclear — that it might have become an imperium rather than a republic. Initially 30 to 50 of these disowned Friends would regularly attend worship meetings in their new meetinghouse and the group would never have more than about 100 members. Over the course of several years, actually, participation would wane until in the mid-1830s there would no longer be enough members even to continue to hold meetings for worship. Their leader was Samuel Wetherell, Jr. (1736-1816), a cloth manufacturer who considered the Revolution to be defensive, and who considered defensive war to be not only permitted, but morally obligatory — and had for this been [disowned](#) in 1779.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Also prominent among the disowned Free Quakers were:

Colonel Timothy Matlack
Colonel Clement Biddle
William Crispin
Christopher Marshall
Peter Thomson
[Benjamin Say](#)
"Betsy" Ross
Thomas Ross, Jr.
Isaac Grey²²²

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

221. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF [RHODE ISLAND](#). Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

January 1, Wednesday: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 3d of his “Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#),” arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America (it would appear in the [Providence Gazette](#) on January 4th).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

“Ye nation, hear th’important tale,” an ode by John Stanley to words of Whitehead, was performed for the initial time.

The Reverend Ebenezer Hubbard was ordained in Marblehead.

EBENEZER HUBBARD [of [Concord](#)], son of Ebenezer Hubbard, was graduated [at [Harvard College](#)] in 1777, ordained at Marblehead, January 1, 1783, and died December 15, 1800, aged 43.²²³

January 4, Saturday: The 3d of [Thomas Paine](#)’s “Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#),” arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 6, Monday: Officers at Newburgh petitioned the Continental Congress for their back pay.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 8, Wednesday: French forces embarked at Annapolis and sailed for France.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 9, Thursday: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 4th of his “Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#),” arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America (this would appear in the [Providence Gazette](#) on January 11th).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 11, Saturday: The 4th of [Thomas Paine](#)’s “Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#),” arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

“Mia speranza adorata... Ah, non sai qual pena,” K.416, a concert aria by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart to words of Sertor, was performed for the initial time, in Vienna, 3 days after it had been composed.

222. There’s this jest, that a Free Quaker was someone who was free of Quakerism. This wasn’t the way they thought of themselves, of course, but we don’t have a record that any of these people came back to Quakerism when the bloodshedding came to be over and the Ten Commandments reasserted themselves as guides to our conduct.

223. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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January 16, Thursday: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 5th of his “Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#),” arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America (this would appear in the [Providence Gazette](#) on January 18th).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 18, Saturday: The 5th of [Thomas Paine](#)’s “Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#),” arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#). By this point Paine had been in Providence long enough to begin to suspect the motivation of his opponents (whom he did not name), and wrote about this suspect motivation, accusing them of self-interest and a lack of patriotism. The persons he was attacking included [John Brown](#) and [Nicholas Brown](#) and they of course knew it:

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The objectors to the measure, not choosing to begin the question where it ought to be begun, have formed into an ambuscade to attack it in disguise ... this ambuscade consists originally of about ten or a dozen merchants, who have self-interest in the matter, and who, with a very profitable trade pay very little taxes in proportion ... and who likewise, by their present opposition, are drawing themselves away from the common burdens of the country, and throwing themselves upon the shoulders of others. And this, forsooth, they call patriotism.... Be ashamed, gentlemen, to put off the payment of your just debts, the payment of your suffering army, and the support of your national honor, upon such illiberal and unbelieved pretenses.

THE BROWN BROTHERS

January 20, Monday: 3 separate Declarations for Suspension of Arms and Cessation of Hostilities were signed by British ministers in Paris: with the United States of America, with France, and with Spain.

READ THE FULL TEXT



The reason why you need to read the full text, and carefully, is that this will help you remember an important caveat: signing a cease-fire agreement means you are still at war. Watch your back! Upcoming: the War of 1812, which will amount to a continuation of the Revolutionary War after this convenient, but temporary, and reassuring, cease-fire!

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

January 31, Friday: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote the 6th of his “Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#),” arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America (this would appear in the [Providence Gazette](#) on February 1st).

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THE BROWN BROTHERS

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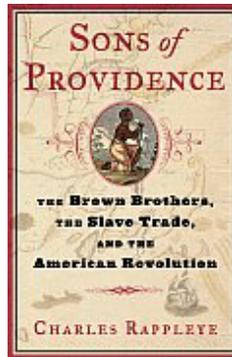
February 1, Saturday: The 6th of [Thomas Paine](#)'s "Six Letters to [Rhode Island](#)," arguing the necessity of funding for the new federal government of the United States of America, appeared in the [Providence Gazette](#). He reacted to the criticisms that had been levied against him by his local critics, criticisms such as that he had once declared bankruptcy, and that he had a fondness for alcoholic beverages:

I have heard a great deal of the angry dislike of a few men, whose niggardly souls, governed only by the hope of the high price which their next or present cargoes may bring.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

Charles Rappleye has commented on this, in his *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 221):

... almost single-handedly, at a critical juncture in the life of the new nation, [John Brown](#) had derailed the momentum for establishing a central government and thrown the faltering federal leadership into disarray.

[THE BROWN BROTHERS](#)

February 4, Tuesday: An earthquake in Calabria killed 30,000.

Great Britain declared a (temporary) end to hostilities (for the time being) in the American war.

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February 5, Wednesday: Sweden recognized the independence of the United States of America.

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February 15, Saturday: Portugal recognized the independence of the United States of America.

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The Emperor Joseph II decided to reopen the Italian opera in Vienna. Singers and instrumentalists were chosen by the Emperor personally, along with Antonio Salieri.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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February 24, Monday: The British Prime Minister, the Earl of Shelburne, resigned after 2 parliamentary defeats of the preliminary peace.

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February 25, Tuesday: Contract between the King of France and the Thirteen United States of North America.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Denmark recognized the independence of the United States of America.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

The Emperor Joseph II decreed that instrumental participation in church music be restricted to Sundays and holy days.

March 10, Monday: Anonymous revolutionary officers issued the Newburgh Addresses, threatening mutiny if they didn't begin to receive their back pay.

The USS *Alliance* and USS *Duc de Lauzun*, sailing from [Havana](#), were set upon by HMS *Sybil* and 2 other ships. The American revolutionaries drove off the attackers, in the final naval engagement of the war.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

March 11, Tuesday: Samuel Ripley was born in [Concord](#), elder brother of Daniel Bliss Ripley, son of the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#), D.D.

[General George Washington](#) forbade meetings at Newburgh of the discontented officers who had not received their back pay.

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March 12, Wednesday: Discontented revolutionary officers reasserted the validity of their claims to their back pay. [George Washington](#) responded by condemning the tone of these Newburgh Addresses.

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March 15, Saturday: [George Washington](#), recognizing the validity of the arguments over back pay for revolutionary officers, urged the dissatisfied to trust in the Continental Congress to see that they got their pay.

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March 16, Sunday: General Greene expressed a fear that the discontent over back pay might spread to southern revolutionary officers.

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19th, 4th day, 3rd Month: “Preparative Meeting of [Portsmouth](#) informed that Weston Hicks [a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)] appeared at a public Town Meeting and there advised the people not to let any refugee Tory or anyone that had been friendly to the British Army while they were in [Rhode Island](#) [on [Aquidneck Island](#)] have any vote or be chosen into any office in the Town [[Portsmouth](#), [Rhode Island](#)], which appearing to us to create strife and animosity and being inconsistent with our religious principles and very unbecoming to a professor thereof, whereupon a committee was appointed to labour with him and bring him to a sense of his misconduct, and for his neglect of attendance of our religious meetings.”

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QUAKER DISOWNMENT

March 22, Saturday: The Continental Congress belatedly voted officer compensation.

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March 24, Monday: Spain recognizes the independence of the United States of America.

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March 30, Sunday: [George Washington](#) advised the discontented revolutionary officers of Newburgh of the Continental Congress’s belated but favorable decision.

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April 11, Friday: Proclamation of the United States Congress Declaring the Cessation of Arms.

READ THE FULL TEXT



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April 15, Tuesday: The United States Congress ratified the cease-fire agreement of the previous November.

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April 16, Wednesday: General Jedediah Huntington recommended a military academy at West Point.²²⁴

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

April 19, Saturday: On the 8th anniversary of the battle of Lexington and [Concord](#), cessation of hostilities was proclaimed and [Thomas Paine](#) issued THE LAST CRISIS. The United States Army, camped at Newburgh, New York, was informed of the end of the war.



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Spanish forces ended their occupation of the Bahamas.

224. West Point isn’t west of anything in particular (it had been named after an early owner).



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April 23, Wednesday: [Dr. Erasmus Darwin](#)'s daughter Violetta was born.

British general Sir Guy Carleton requested the Continental Congress's aid in evacuating [New-York](#).

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April 24, Thursday: The United States Congress appointed 3 commissioners to aid British general Sir Guy Carleton during his evacuation of British troops and American loyalists from the port of [New-York](#).

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April 25, Friday: According to the journal of [Friend Thomas B. Hazard](#) or Hafsard or Hasard of [Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), also known as "Nailer Tom,"²²⁵ there had been a great firing of cannon on account of the "Dickrelashon of Peece."

1783. The news of the restoration of peace, and the acknowledgment of our independence, was celebrated with great pomp, April 22. There was feasting and training, a sermon and an oration, canon-firing, bell-ringing and flag-displaying, from morning till night; and fire-works and a brilliant illumination terminated the joyful demonstration in a blaze of splendor.

April 26, Saturday: 7,000 Loyalists, the final such group, sailed from [New-York](#) for Canada and Europe. 

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225. He was called "Nailer Tom" because his trade was the cutting of nails from scrap iron, and in order to distinguish him from a relative known as "College Tom," from another relative known as "Shepherd Tom," and from his own son who –because he had fits– was known as "Pistol-Head Tom."



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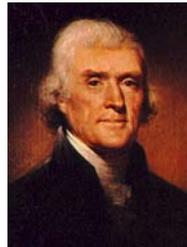
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May 8, Thursday: The earliest known public reference (so far as we presently know²²⁶) to [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s role as the draftsman of the [Declaration of Independence](#) would be a pamphlet version distributed in New England²²⁷ of a sermon of this date by the Reverend President [Ezra Stiles](#) of [Yale College](#) before the Connecticut General Assembly. In this sermon, although Stiles attributed the fine sentiments of the document to all Americans, he also took note of Jefferson's "signal act" of having drafted it on behalf of the Continental Congress.



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It had been Jefferson, according to the Reverend (who was no historian and had no information other than hearsay), who had "poured the soul of the continent into the monumental act of Independence." The style of this brief reference seems suggestive of emphasis being placed upon a known but disregarded piece of information rather than announcement of what it actually was — announcement of what if it could be substantiated a novel piece of new information.



François-André Danican-Philidor provided his 2d multiple chess game demonstration in St. James' Street, London, playing 3 simultaneous games without seeing any of them. He won 2 and the 3d was a draw.

May 9, Friday: The 1st British prisoners were released, in [New-York](#).

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Juliane Benda Reichardt, wife of Johann Friedrich Reichardt and mother of Louise Reichardt, died in Berlin.

May 13, Tuesday: At Newburgh, commissioned revolutionary army officers, including General Henry Knox, organized the Society of Cincinnati.

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226. Detweiler, "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," 560; Boyd, *et al.*, eds., THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, XV, 241n.

227. The sermon would subsequently be issued as a pamphlet: THE UNITED STATES ELEVATED TO GLORY AND HONOR. A SERMON PREACHED BEFORE HIS EXCELLENCY JONATHAN TRUMBULL,... AND THE HONORABLE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT... MAY 8TH, 1783 (New Haven CT: Thomas and Samuel Green, 1783; Worcester MA: Isaiah Thomas, 1785).



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May 18, Sunday: The initial group of United Empire Loyalists arrived at Parrtown, Nova Scotia (now New Brunswick) from [New-York](#).

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May 22, Thursday: A skirmish was narrowly averted, in [New-York](#) Harbor, between British and American vessels.

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June 1, Thursday: [Thomas Jefferson](#) forwarded a copy of the drafting committee's draft for a [Declaration of Independence](#) to [James Madison, Jr.](#), "at full length distinguishing the alterations it underwent."²²⁸

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June 13, Tuesday: [George Washington](#) disbanded his army, at Newburgh.

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Thousands gathered in the street outside the Salle des Menus Plaisirs, Paris before the scheduled premiere of Beaumarchais' "Le mariage de Figaro." Half an hour before curtain time King Louis XVI declared the production to be canceled. Beaumarchais responded, "there may be no performance here, very well, I swear to you that it shall be performed, perhaps in the very choir of Notre-Dame."

June 21, Wednesday: About 300 American soldiers marched on Independence Hall in Philadelphia to petition for redress of grievances. By way of response the Congress adjourned and relocated to Princeton, New Jersey.

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June 30, Friday: The aria for soprano and orchestra Vorrei Spiegarmi, oh Dio K.418 by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was performed for the initial time, as part of Anfossi's "Il curioso indiscreto," in the Vienna Burgtheater.

The United States Congress reconvened in Princeton, New Jersey, at a safe distance from troublesome protesting Revolutionary soldiers.

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July 2, Wednesday: Great Britain closed the West Indies to trade with the United States — unless of course the merchandise was carried in British ships.

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Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: Boston had become, on March 25th, the 1st municipality to designate the



4th as the official day for this national birthday celebration (“Son of Thunder” Reverend [Samuel Dunbar](#), recently deceased, had been the initial minister to read the [Declaration of Independence](#) aloud from the pulpit). Alexander Martin of [North Carolina](#) had become, on June 18th, the 1st governor to issue a state order for celebrating the 4th as our national birthday (the Moravian community in Salem, [North Carolina](#) had responded to this order by planning a “Lovefeast”). The governor of South Carolina hosted a banquet at the State House in Charleston at which the drinking game consisted of toasts in honor of the 13 colonies engaged in the freedom struggle: upon the completion of the 13th toast an artillery battery outside fired off a series of 13 blasts (then the band began a dirge which would go on for 13 minutes: one can imagine that during this period of time, the guests at the banquet would have had an opportunity to visit the sanitary facilities and otherwise compose themselves for their visit to the municipality’s other accommodations).

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)

[DUNBAR FAMILY](#)

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)





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INDEPENDENCE-DAY ORATIONS THROUGH THE YEARS,

SPONSORED BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF BOSTON

Pursuant to a resolution passed in a town meeting in March, in this year the city of Boston forsook its annual celebration of March 5, 1770, the day of the unfortunate "Boston Massacre," in favor of a 4th-of-July celebration:

a day ever memorable in the Annals of this country for the declaration of our Independence shall be constantly celebrated by the Delivery of a Publick Oration, in such place as the Town shall determine to be most convenient for the purpose, in which the Orator shall consider the feelings, manners and principles which led to this great National Event as well as the important and happy effects whether general or domestick which already have and will forever continue to flow from the auspicious epoch.²²⁹

1783. Warren, John (1753-1815). AN ORATION; DELIVERED JULY 4TH, 1783, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF BOSTON; IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE ([Printed by Joh]n Gill, in Court-Street, 1783); INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE AND THE UNIVERSAL ADVERTISER, 4 December 1783, 1.

The oration was delivered in the Brattle Square Church. Warren begins his speech this way: "To mark with accuracy and precision, the principles from which the great and important transactions on the theatre of the political world originate, is an indispensable duty, not only of legislatures, but of every subject of a free State; fraught with the most instructive lessons on the passions that actuate the human breast, the enquiry is amply adapted to the purpose of regulating the social concerns of life."

1784. Hichborn, Benjamin (1746-1817). AN ORATION, DELIVERED JULY 5TH, 1784, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Gill, 1784).

In his oration, Hichborn warned against the dangers of having standing armies: "But I hope the partiality we feel for our patriotic army will never suffer us to forget that military force has always proved dangerous to the liberties of the people, that the natural safeguard of the country is a well-regulated militia, and that America must date the decline of her peace, her glory and independence from the establishment of a

229. Loring, James Spear. THE HUNDRED BOSTON ORATORS APPOINTED BY THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES AND OTHER PUBLIC BODIES, FROM 1770-1852. Boston: J.F. Jewett and Company, 1854.



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regular army" (as reported in Martin, 109).

1785. Gardiner, John (1737-1793). AN ORATION, DELIVERED JULY 4, 1785, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by Peter Edes, State-street, 1785).

Gardiner's address was delivered in the Stone Chapel.

1786. Austin, Jonathan Loring (1748-1826). AN ORATION, DELIVERED JULY 4, 1786, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by Peter Edes, 1786).

Austin, a Revolutionary War soldier, served as secretary to Benjamin Franklin, in Paris. On a second trip to Europe, he was captured by the English, but was eventually released. Following the war, Austin was involved in commercial pursuits.

1787. Dawes, Thomas, Jr. (1757-1825). AN ORATION, DELIVERED JULY 4, 1787, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by S. Hall, 1787).

Dawes was a justice of the Massachusetts State Supreme Court, 1792-1802, and in his oration he espoused the importance of education, especially for those filling government seats. "...In a government where the people fill all the branches of sovereignty, Intelligence is the life of liberty." For commentary on this oration, see "Part of an Oration, Delivered at Boston on the 4th of July, 1787," THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE (August 1788): 619-23.

Dawes begins his oration with these words: "We are convened, my Fellow Citizens, to consider the feelings, manners and principles which led to our Independence—the effects which have flowed, and the consequences that will probably follow, from that great event. In contemplating the principles which originated, let us not confound them with the occasions that only ripened, our Independence."

1788. Otis, Harrison Gray (1765-1848). AN ORATION DELIVERED JULY 4, 1788: AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by Benjamin Russell, 1788).

Otis was born in Boston and eventually became a member of the Massachusetts State House. In 1796 he was appointed U.S. district attorney for Massachusetts, and in 1805 a member of the Massachusetts State Senate. He was mayor of Boston during 1829-31.

From his address, Otis says to his audience, "I pass over the eventful history of the late war—my feelings otherwise would impell me to devote too large a portion of time, to eulogies upon the heroes who have fought and



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bled and those who have returned to the bosom of their country objects of jealousy, victims of neglect. In an attempt to detail the effects which have flown from our independence, and which may hereafter ensue, it is difficult to be concise without seeming superficial or to be diffusive without becoming tedious—My observations will accordingly be general.”

1789. Stillman, Samuel (1738-1807). AN ORATION, DELIVERED JULY 4TH, 1789, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by B. Edes & Son, 1789).

Stillman was minister of the First Baptist Church of Boston.

1790. Gray, Edward (1764-1810). AN ORATION, DELIVERED JULY 5, 1790. AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed and sold by Samuel Hall, 1790).

Gray connected “America’s divine destiny” with America’s mission as the nation that sets examples for all the world.

1791. Crafts, Thomas, Jr. (1767-1798). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4TH, 1791: AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Benjamin Russell, 1791).

1792. Blake, Joseph, Jr. (1766-1802). ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4TH, 1792; AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IM [SIC] COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by Benjamin Russell, 1792).

Blake discusses the circumstances which led up to the declaring of independence and warns his listeners what factors need to be addressed if the new nation is to be successful.

1793. Adams, John Quincy (1767-1848). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4TH, 1793, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by Benjamin Edes, 1793).

John Quincy Adams was the eldest son of John Adams. John Quincy gave other orations on the Fourth of July, one at the Capitol in Washington City in 1821, another at the groundbreaking ceremony of the C&O Canal, north of Georgetown, in 1828, another in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1831, and yet another in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1837. The 1793 speech was reprinted in E. B. Williston, ELOQUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES. 5 vols. (Middletown, Conn.: E.&H. Clark, 1827).

1794. Phillips, John (1770-1823). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4TH, 1794, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston;



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Printed and sold by Benjamin Edes, 1794).

Phillips was born in Boston, studied at Harvard and became a prominent attorney. In 1822, he was elected as Boston's first mayor. His oration was said to bear "the finest marks of intellectual vigor" and "extracts from it have found their way into the school-books as models of eloquence." "Two Reform Mayors of Boston," BAY STATE MONTHLY 3/4 (September 1885): 251-52. A local newspaper reported that Phillips' piece was "expressive of those sentiments which animated the people of the United States while contending against the British nation, in support of the liberties and independence of this country." Phillips presented his address in the First Church before the "Supreme Executive." PHILADELPHIA GAZETTE AND UNIVERSAL DAILY ADVERTISER, 11 July 1794, 3.

1795. Blake, George (1769-1841). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED JULY 4TH, 1795 AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed and sold by Benjamin Edes, 1795).

A Boston editor commented on Blake's address and thought it was excellent: "Not one oration, since that delivered by the great Hancock, on the 5th of March, '73, in the same House, for spirit, energy of style, and truth, can in any degree be compared with it" (BOSTON GAZETTE, 6 July 1795, as reported in Martin, 276).

About his presentation Blake said, "The event which happened on this day, the feelings, manners and principles which led to it, are the subject of our present contemplation—a subject in which is involved a history not more glorious to America, than it is humiliating and disgraceful to the proud nation with whom she contended—the same feelings which are agitated by the first impression of injury, which are heightened by an unwarrantable increase of the imposition, and which are turned to desperation when the injury becomes cruelty insufferable; such were the emotions which first propelled Americans to a contest with Britain."

1796. Lathrop, John, Jr. (1772-1820). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1796, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed and sold by Benjamin Edes, 1796).

Lathrop presented a Fourth of July oration in 1798 in Dedham, Massachusetts. An excerpt of this oration is printed in Robert Haven Schauffler, ed., INDEPENDENCE DAY: ITS CELEBRATION, SPIRIT, AND SIGNIFICANCE AS RELATED IN PROSE AND VERSE (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1912), 52-53.

1797. Callender, John (1772-1833). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1797: AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston:



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Printed and sold by Benjamin Edes, 1797).

Callender opens his address with these words: "The ingenuity of man diligently searches for the authority of precedent, to sanction the propriety of a favorite measure; but the revolution which produced the cheerful [sic] hilarity of this day is entitled to our grateful commemoration, not from a servile imitation of ancient customs, but from its own abstract and intrinsic merits. the preservation of our independence is intimately connected with a preservation of those sentiments and opinions which gave birth to it, and the experience of one and twenty years affords an ample conviction that the spirit which an imated [sic] our countrymen at the glorious epoch we celebrate, still warms our bosoms."

According to one newspaper, Callender's address, presented at the "old Brick Meeting House" was "eloquent, impassioned, and [a] national oration. It is vehemently, and from our knowledge of the ingenious orator deservedly praised." (CITY GAZETTE AND DAILY ADVERTISER, 3 August 1797, 2.)

1798. Quincy, Josiah (1772-1864). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1798, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: John Russell, 1798).

Quincy, a congressman, was born in Boston, graduated from Harvard in 1790. He was elected mayor of Boston in 1823, and in 1829 had been named president of Harvard, where he addressed curriculum reform of the institution. A comment from a contemporary editor about Quincy's address: "Mr. Quincy regards the present moment as too serious and critical to be passed over by him with the common place topics of congratulation and applause." Quincy compared the founders' ideals with his time and warns citizens about the perils of government. An Oration Pronounced July 4th, 1798 ... MONTHLY MAGAZINE, AND AMERICAN REVIEW (June 1799): 1, 3. A reporter for the COLUMBIAN CENTINEL (7 July 1798, 2) thought Quincy's oration "ranks among the most masterly productions, which the effervescence of patriotism, united to the amplest resources of genius, ever originated in any nation, or on any epoch. The elegant flights of its eloquence were attempered by the impressive energies of argument. While it presented a forcible and animating appeal to the passions—it irresistably imposed conviction on the understandings of his auditory. The honor which the Orator has reaped from the occasion, is only to be equalled by the service, which his oration has rendered to his country."

1799. Lowell, John, Jr. (1769-1840). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1799: AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston:



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Printed by Manning & Loring, 1799).

Compares the French and American revolutions. For comment on this address, see "An Oration, Pronounced July 4th, 1799..." MONTHLY MAGAZINE, AND AMERICAN REVIEW (August 1799): 1, 5.

1800. Hall, Joseph (1761-1848). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1800, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: From the Printing-Office of Manning & Loring, 1800).

1801. Paine, Charles (1775-1810). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1801, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1801).

1802. Emerson, William (1769-1811). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED JULY 5, 1802, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Manning & Loring, printers, 1802).

Clergyman, born in Concord, Massachusetts. Emerson graduated from Harvard in 1789 and in 1799 was pastor at the First Church in Boston where he remained his whole life. One of his sons was the noted literary figure, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

1803. Sullivan, William (1774-1839). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4TH, 1803 AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON: IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed at the "Boston Weekly Magazine" office, by Gilbert and Dean, 1803).

1804. Danforth, Thomas (1774-1817). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1804, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Russell and Cutler, 1804).

1805. Dutton, Warren (1774-1857). ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1805, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: A. Newell, printer, 1805).

The oration, presented at the Meeting House, was described as "spirited and well adapted" (NEW ENGLAND PALADIUM, 5 July 1805, 2).

1806. Channing, Francis Dana.

According to C.W. Ernst, the oration by Channing was not printed.

1807. Thacher, Peter Oxenbridge (1776-1843). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, ON THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Boston: Printed by Munroe & Francis, 1807).

1808. Ritchie, Andrew, Jr. (1782-1862). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1808 AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: From



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the press of Russell & Cutler, 1808).

1809. Tudor, William, Jr. (1779-1830). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1809, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by Joshua Belcher, 1809).

1810. Townsend, Alexander. ORATION, DELIVERED JULY THE FOURTH, 1810, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF BOSTON, ON THE FEELINGS, MANNERS, AND PRINCIPLES THAT PRODUCED AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: John Eliot, 1810).

1811. Savage, James (1784-1873). AN ORATION DELIVERED JULY 4, 1811, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: John Eliot, Jun., 1811).

1812. Pollard, Benjamin (1780-1836).

According to C.W. Ernst, the oration by Pollard was not printed

1813. Livermore, Edward St. Loe (1762-1832). AN ORATION DELIVERED JULY THE FOURTH, 1813 AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF BOSTON: IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: printed by Chester Stebbins, 1813).

1814. Whitwell, Benjamin (1772-1825). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1814, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Charles Callender, 1814).

A report in the WEEKLY MESSENGER (8 July 1814, 3) describes Whitwell's address as "a spirited, elegant and truly independent Oration."

1815. Shaw, Lemuel (1781-1861). AN ORATION DELIVERED AT BOSTON, JULY 4, 1815 BEFORE THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AND THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY AND CITIZENS OF THE TOWN, IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: From the press of John Eliot, 1815).

Shaw became Chief Justice of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on August 31, 1830.

1816. Sullivan, George (1771-1838). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED ON THE FOURTH JULY, 1816, BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN (Boston: Printed by C. Stebbins, 1816).

1817. Channing, Edward Tyrrel (1790-1856). AN ORATION, DELIVERED JULY 4, 1817, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Printed by Joseph T. Buckingham, 1817).

Educator, lawyer, born in Newport, Rhode Island. Channing graduated from Harvard in 1819. In 1818-19, Channing was editor for the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. As a contributor to the journal, his style has been described as "remarkable for its strength and purity and a severe critical taste, which qualities enabled him to exert a great influence over an entire generation of prominent men, whose literary education he directed in his

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pedagogical capacity and through the press." (NATIONAL CYCLOPAEDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY [1906] 13:150-51).

1818. Gray, Francis Calley (1790-1856). ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1818, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Charles Callender, 1818).

1819. Dexter, Franklin (1793-1857). AN ORATION DELIVERED JULY 4, 1819, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Joseph T. Buckingham, 1819).

For a lengthy review and criticism of Dexter's address, see the unsigned article "A Candid and Cautionary Criticism on Mr. Dexter's Oration" (INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE & BOSTON PATRIOT, 17 July 1819, 4) in which the writer refers to Dexter's remarks as "chilling" and "inanimate language." The article is summarized as "We are not disposed to censure the orator as not having a full idea of the blessings of our independence, but merely to prevent a repetition of expressions, which in future may have a tendency to lessen our energies on this anniversary."

1820. Lyman, Theodore, Jr. (1792-1849). AN ORATION DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON: ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, IN THE YEAR 1820 (Boston: Printed by J. T. Buckingham, No. 17, Cornhill, 1820).

1821. Loring, Charles Greely (1794-1867). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1821, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Published by Charles Callender, 1821).

1822. Gray, John Chipman (1793-1881). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1822, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Published by Charles Callender, 1822).

1823. Curtis, Charles Pelham (1792-1864). AN ORATION, DELIVERED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1823, IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, BEFORE THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AND THE CITY COUNCIL AND INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON (Boston: J. W. Ingraham, 1823).

Curtis predicted that Cuba would be annexed by the U.S. as a new state (Martin, 184).

1824. Bassett, Francis (1786-1875). AN ORATION, DELIVERED ON MONDAY, THE FIFTH OF JULY, 1824, IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, BEFORE THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AND THE CITY COUNCIL AND INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1824).

1825. Sprague, Charles (1792-1875). AN ORATION, DELIVERED ON MONDAY, FOURTH OF JULY, 1825: IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, BEFORE THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AND THE CITY COUNCIL AND INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON (Boston: True and Greene, city



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printers, 1825).

As reported in a newspaper column, "we consider Mr. Sprague's oration as an eloquent performance, and one, that, if tolerably well delivered, would produce great effect....It indicates talent and imagination... the language is occasionally extravagant, and the metaphors sometimes scarcely in good taste" ("An Oration, Delivered on Monday, Fourth of July, 1825 ..." UNITED STATES LITERARY GAZETTE [1 August 1825]: 353). Sprague's Fourth of July poem, "Eighty Years Ago," was printed in the BOSTON COURIER, 7 July 1856 and NEW YORK TIMES, 8 July 1856, 3.

1826. Quincy, Josiah (1772-1864). AN ORATION, DELIVERED ON TUESDAY, THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1826, IT BEING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, BEFORE THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE CITY COUNCIL AND INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON. DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST, AND PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL (Boston: True and Greene, 1826).

The oration was given in the Old South Church, with an "excessively full" audience in attendance (BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER, 6 July 1826).

1827. Mason, William Powell (1791-1867). AN ORATION DELIVERED WEDNESDAY, JULY 4, 1827, IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: BEFORE THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AND THE CITY COUNCIL AND INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON (Boston: From the press of Nathan Hale City printer, 1827).

Graduated from Harvard in 1811, studied law and was admitted to the bar

1828. Sumner, Bradford (1782-1855). AN ORATION DELIVERED FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1828, IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, BEFORE THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, AND THE CITY COUNCIL AND INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON (Boston: From the press of Nathan Hale city printer, 1828).

1829. Austin, James Trecothick (1784-1870). ORATION DELIVERED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1829, AT THE CELEBRATION OF INDEPENDENCE, IN THE CITY OF BOSTON (Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1829).

Lawyer, politician, and author who had given an oration on July 4, 1815, in Lexington, Massachusetts. Austin was born in Boston and graduated from Harvard in 1802. He was a member of the state legislature and in 1828 was in charge of determining the boundary line between Massachusetts and Connecticut east of the Connecticut River. From 1822-43, he was attorney-general of Massachusetts. Austin wrote a number of books, including THE LIFE OF ELBRIDGE GERRY, WITH CONTEMPORARY LETTERS (1828-29).

1830. Everett, Alexander Hill (1790-1847). AN ORATION: DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE 5TH OF JULY, 1830 (Boston: Press of John H. Eastburn, City



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printer, 1830).

1831. Palfrey, John Gorham (1796-1881). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4TH, 1831 (Boston: Press of John H. Eastburn, 1831).

Presented at the Old South Meeting House. Out of "the multitude of orations pronounced on the late celebration of independence," a Boston editor reported that Palfrey's presentation was "the best immeasurably the best that we have seen.... the style of Mr. Palfrey's oration is plain, familiar, unaffected, and appropriate. Its politics are sound and practicable." NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE 1/2 (August 1831): 172-73. According to Martin (237), Palfrey "regretted the intellectual dependence of Americans upon England. By allowing England to supply our literature, ... we give her an opportunity 'of an imperial sway over our spirits.'" It was reported in the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER (11 July 1831, 3) that Palfrey's presentation was "a masterly and very appropriate oration."

1832. Quincy, Josiah, Jr. (1802-1882). AN ORATION DELIVERED JULY 4, 1832 BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND INHABITANTS OF BOSTON (Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1832).

1833. Prescott, Edward Goldsborough (1804-1844). AN ORATION: DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE FIFTY EIGHTH [SIC] ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: John H. Eastburn, City printer, 1833).

Note: Prescott gave an oration in Boston on July 4, 1832, "before the officers of the militia, and members of the volunteer companies of Boston" (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, printer, 1832).

1834. Fay, Richard Sullivan (1806-1865). ORATION ON THE FIFTY-EIGHT ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, printer, 1834).

1835. Hillard, George Stillman (1808-1879). AN ORATION PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF BOSTON, JULY THE FOURTH, 1835, IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: Press of J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1835).

Hillard was born in Machias, Maine, and graduated from Harvard in 1828. In 1833, he began co-editing the Unitarian weekly paper, THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER. In 1850, he was elected state senator. Hillard was the author of several books. An editor for a magazine had this to say about his oration: "This is a beautiful production. The thoughts are appropriate, instructive and pointed; the language is finished, imaginative and rich with all the graces of the accomplished writer; the spirit of the oration is of the highest and purest order breathing the strongest devotion to the cause of religion, morals and our country" (THE NEW-ENGLAND MAGAZINE 9/8 (August 1835): 142).



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1836. Kinsman, Henry Willis (1803-1859). AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF BOSTON, JULY THE FOURTH, 1836, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1836).

1837. Chapman, Jonathan. AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE SIXTY FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1837 (Boston: John H. Eastburn, City printer, 1837).

Chapman was elected mayor of Boston in 1840.

1838. Winslow, Hubbard (1799-1864). THE MEANS OF THE PERPETUITY AND PROSPERITY OF OUR REPUBLIC: AN ORATION, DELIVERED BY REQUEST OF THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES, OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1838, IN THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH, IN CELEBRATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: John H. Eastburn, City printer, 1838).

1839. Austin, Ivers James (1808-1889). ORATION DELIVERED BY REQUEST OF THE CITY AUTHORITIES, BEFORE THE CITY OF BOSTON, ON THE SIXTY THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1839 (Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1839).

1840. Power, Thomas (1786-1868). AN ORATION DELIVERED BY REQUEST OF THE CITY AUTHORITIES BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1840 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1840).

1841. Curtis, George Ticknor (1812-1894). THE TRUE USES OF AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, ON MONDAY, THE FIFTH OF JULY, 1841, BEING THE DAY SET APART FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1841).

Lawyer, historian who was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, and graduated from Harvard in 1832. At the time that Curtis presented this Independence Day oration, he was a Whig in the Massachusetts House of Representatives (1840-43). Curtis presented another Fourth of July municipal oration in 1862 (see entry below).

1842. Mann, Horace (1796-1859). AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1842 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printers, 1842).

As reported in Martin (268), Louise H. Tharp, Mann's biographer, estimated that 17,000 copies of one edition and 10,000 copies of another edition were printed. There were no less than 5 editions published.

1843. Adams, Charles Francis (1807-1886). AN ORATION, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4TH, 1843 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1843).

1844. Chandler, Peleg Whitman (1816-1889). THE MORALS OF FREEDOM: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1844 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, city printer, 1844).

A local editor reported: "The author of this excellent



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discourse, one of the most distinguished among the young lawyers of Boston, has done honor to himself, and justice to the occasion, by the manly tone and style of his address. The promptings of national vanity, and the claims of an exaggerated patriotism, have been equally set aside by him, for the teachings of wisdom and truth." NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW 59/125 (October 1844): 502.

1845. Sumner, Charles (1811-1874). THE TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1845 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1845; American Peace Society, 1845).

This statesman graduated from Harvard and was active as a orator in the movement for outlawing war and was equally outspoken against slavery. Sumner spent much of his political career in Congress serving as a senator representing Massachusetts. His address represents one of the most important documents of the pacifist movement, albeit one which garnered considerable criticism. Sumner condemned war saying that military forces cost more money than the commerce they were to protect; Christianity outlawed war and that war would precipitate the downfall of morality. A Boston editor reported years later about his Independence Day address: "Charles Sumner delivered ... an oration on Peace, which provoked much hostile criticism; and on the next succeeding anniversary of American Independence, Fletcher Webster delivered an oration on War, which was designed to show that there are cases 'where war, with all its woes, must be endured'" (Charles Cowley, "Colonel Fletcher Webster," BAY STATE MONTHLY 1/3 [March 1884]: 145). Years later an editor of a magazine recalled what Sumner told him about that day: "Peace among the nations has been the great idea and purpose of my life. When a young man, and having no expectation of, or aspiration for public life, I was prevailed upon by the city authorities of Boston to accept an invitation to pronounce the 4th of July oration. I determined to select a theme worthy of the occasion, and worthy of myself, and I chose 'The True Grandeur of Nations'" ("Charles Sumner," THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE 5/4 [April 1874]: 28). For a criticism of Sumner's oration, see BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT, 5 July 1845.

1846. Webster, Fletcher (1813-1862). AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON IN THE TREMONT TEMPLE, JULY 4, 1846 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1846).

Webster's oration was a response to Sumner's address the year prior. Webster argued for the lawfulness of war and that it was the duty of citizens to obey the government in these matters.

1847. Cary, Thomas Greaves (1791-1859). AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE DECLARATION



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OF INDEPENDENCE: JULY 5, 1847 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1847).

1848. Giles, Joel. Practical Liberty. An Oration Delivered before the City Authorities of Boston in the Tremont Temple, July 4, 1848 (Boston: Eastburn's press, 1848).

1849. Greenough, William Whitwell (1818-1899). THE CONQUERING REPUBLIC. AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1849 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1849).

Greenough served on the Boston City Council (1847-49) and was trustee of the Boston Public Library (1856-88).

1850. Whipple, Edwin Percy (1819-1886). WASHINGTON AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE REVOLUTION: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1850 (Boston: Ticknor, Reed and Fields, 1850; J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1850).

Whipple, a critic, essayist, and lecturer. According to one editor, compared to other orations that year, Whipple's was "the most racy and vigorous of any of them.... He attempts to place the intellectual character of Washington in a brighter light than it has usually been regarded. He carries his point by force of argument, rather than by a gush of enthusiasm. It is a pleasant surprise to find so hackneyed a theme treated with so much wisdom and originality" (SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER 16/10 (October 1850): 591). According to another account, "As an orator, ... his style of delivery is exhilaratingly piercing and inspiring, and though quiet, is withal very peculiar and original" ("Edwin Percy Whipple," GRAHAM'S AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF LITERATURE, ART AND FASHION 42/4 [April 1853]: 448- 55).

1851. Russell, Charles Theodore. AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1851 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, city printer, 1851).

Russell discusses the meaning of the day, the colonists who settled in their new land, events leading up to the declaring of independence and the rationale for "throwing off British allegiance," the resulting government, the Constitution, and the importance of "Christian benevolence" bestowed by God.

1852. King, Thomas Starr (1824-1864). THE ORGANIZATION OF LIBERTY ON THE WESTERN CONTINENT: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 5, 1852 (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City printers, 1892 [sic]).

Lecturer and Universalist minister. King was born in New York City but spent his youth in Massachusetts. He pursued theological study and was named minister of the Hollis Street Unitarian Church in Boston in 1848. In



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1860 King moved to California where he helped establish Unitarianism there. Apparently some 1,500 copies of this oration were printed (Martin, 268).

1853. Bigelow, Timothy. AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1853 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, printer, 1853). Oration presented at the Old South Church. Additional information in "The Celebration Yesterday," BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT, 5 July 1853, 2.

Edward Everett, the popular orator who himself had presented an oration in Boston's Faneuil Hall that day had garnered a copy of Bigelow's address and commented on the presentation and Bigelow's principal theme at a dinner later that day: Everett "styled it [Bigelow's oration] a manly, ingenious, fervid discourse, rising far above the common-place eloquence customary on such occasions, and throwing new light upon its theme. It was a smoothly-written oration, and one or two paragraphs were admirably composed. But it was too florid-too long, and not capable of bearing a criticism, when viewed as a whole. It showed, however, that its author had thought out several chapters of a Philosophy of American History. In his fine contrast between America and other countries, he neglected to allude to those points on which we have an immaterial superiority." ("Massachusetts: The Fourth in Boston," NEW YORK TIMES, 7 July 1853, 3.) See also, "Mr. Everett's Remarks on the 4th," FARMER'S CABINET, 14 July 1853, 2.

Of note, Bigelow made mention of the death of Daniel Webster, one of the nation's most popular orators: "But though the republic is safe even when the great citizens are removed, we cannot forget today the death, a few months since, of her greatest statesman. The mountains of New Hampshire gave Daniel Webster to America, and his character and conduct always bore the colossal imprint of his birthplace."

1854. Stone, Andrew Leete (1815-1892). AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON: AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1854 (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, City printer, 1854).

Stone condemns the fugitive slave law.

1855. Miner, Alonzo Ames (1814-1895). AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON: AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE SEVENTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1855 (Boston: Moore & Crosby, city printers, 1855).

1856. Parker, Edward Griffin (1825-1868). THE LESSON OF '76 TO THE MEN OF '56: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE EIGHTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1856 (Boston: G. C. Rand & Avery, city printers, 1856).

1857. [William Rounseville Alger](#) (1822-1905). THE GENIUS AND POSTURE



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OF AMERICA: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1857 (Boston: J. E. Farwell and Company, 1864).

Clergyman, born in Freetown, Massachusetts. Rounseville graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1847. After a pastorate at the Mount Pleasant Congregational Society in Roxbury, he was installed at the Bullfinch Street Society in Boston. Rounseville's oration included his anti-slavery views regarding the slave power in the South and its upholders in the North. According to the NATIONAL CYCLOPAEDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY (1896), Boston's "board of aldermen refused to pass the customary vote of thanks [for the oration], but seven years later, in 1864, the vote was passed." There were 5 editions of this oration published.

1858. Holmes, John Somers. AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 5, 1858 (Boston: G. C. Rand & Avery, city printers, 1858).

1859. Sumner, George (1817-1863). AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1859 (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City printers, 1859).

There were 3 editions of this orations published. Sumner's address caused such a furor that the Boston City Council immediately adjourned to a closed room and deliberated whether to send the orator a "vote of thanks" for giving the address. Sumner's views as "a well-known sympathizer with the European Republicans abroad, and with the American Republicans at home" were not received well. In addition, according to a newspaper report, Sumner spoke in "disrespect" of Chief Justice of the U.S. Roger Brooke Taney. ("Boston Thunders," NEW YORK TIMES, 13 July 1859, 4.)

1860. Everett, Edward (1794-1865). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1860 (Boston: G. C. Rand & Avery, City printers, 1860).

Printed also in "Mr. Everett's Oration," NEW YORK TIMES, 7 July 1860, 1-2; LIVING AGE 66/844 (4 August 1860): 286-96; NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, 11 July 1860, 2.

1861. Parsons, Theophilus (1797-1882). AN ORATION DELIVERED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1861: BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON (Boston: J. E. Farwell & Co., printers, 1861).

Parsons, a lawyer and author, was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts. In 1825 he established the UNITED STATES LITERARY GAZETTE and later taught law at Harvard. Throughout his life he produced numerous legal writings. In his oration, Parsons discussed the value of self-government and the nation's Constitution.

1862. Curtis, George Ticknor (1812-1894). AN ORATION; DELIVERED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY 1862, BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF



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BOSTON (Boston: J. E. Farwell & Co., Printers to the city, 1862).

Curtis gave a Boston municipal oration in 1841 (see entry above). Curtis represented Dred Scott before the Supreme Court in 1856-57.

1863. Holmes, Oliver Wendell. ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1863 (Boston: J. E. Farwell & Co., Printers to the city, 1863; Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863).

1864. Russell, Thomas (1825-1887). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1864 (Boston: J. E. Farwell, 1864).

1865. Manning, Jacob Merrill. PEACE UNDER LIBERTY: ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1865 (Boston: J. E. Farwell & Co., printers, 1865).

Clergyman, born in Greenwood, New York. In 1854 Manning was pastor of a Congregational Church at Medford, Massachusetts, and in 1857, became assistant pastor of Old South Church in Boston.

1866. Lothrop, Samuel Kirkland (1804-1886). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1866 (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, 1866).

Lothrop continued the Fourth of July tradition of hailing George Washington as one of the greatest figures of modern times: "the more I contemplate human nature ... the more the character of Washington, in its glorious beauty, in the august sublimity of its splendid combinations, looms up before my imagination ... as the grandest to be found in the authentic records of our race, save those records, short and simple, that contain the glorious gospel of the Son of God" (Martin, 103).

1867. Hepworth, George Hughes (1833-1902). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1867 (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, City printers, 1867).

Clergyman and journalist, born in Boston. Hepworth graduated from Harvard in 1853 and assumed a number of pastorships. By 1857 he was associated with the Church of the Unity in Boston, later getting involved in the Civil War as an aide to General Bank's command in Louisiana. He then returned to Boston where he founded a preparatory school for Unitarian ministers. By 1880 Hepworth was working to raise money for the Irish famine fund.

1868. Eliot, Samuel (1821-1898). THE FUNCTIONS OF A CITY: AN ORATION BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1868 (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, 1868).

Sixth president (1860-64) of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. Eliot was born in Boston and graduated from Harvard in 1839. From 1866 to 1872, he was "overseer"

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of Harvard University and in 1868 elected president of the American Social Science Association. Among Eliot's books is *PASSAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF LIBERTY* (1847).

1869. Morton, Ellis Wesley (d. 1874). *AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON: ON THE FIFTH OF JULY, 1869, IN CELEBRATION OF THE NINETY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE* (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, City printers, 1869).

1870. Everett, William (1839-1910). *AN ORATION BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1870* (Boston: A. Mudge & Sons, printers, 1870).

1871. Sargent, Horace Binney (1821-1908). *AN ORATION BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1871* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, City printers, 1871).

1872. Adams, Charles Francis, Jr. (1835-1915). *AN ORATION BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1872* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, City printers, 1872).

One of the favorite orations of the nineteenth century, Adams' piece received a favorable review in the *SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN*, 6 July 1872.

1873. Ware, John Fothergill Waterhouse (1818-1881). *AN ORATION BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1873* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, City printers, 1873).

1874. Frothingham, Richard (1812-1880). *ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, IN MUSIC HALL, JULY 4, 1874* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, printers, 1874).

Historian, born in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Published a number of books, including *HISTORY OF CHARLESTOWN* (1848) and *THE RISE OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES* (1881). In this oration, Frothingham discussed the growth and prosperity of Boston, historic events leading up to the Revolution and the issue of slavery and that it was not abolished by the country's founders.

1875. Clarke, James Freeman (1810-1888). *ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, IN MUSIC HALL, JULY 5, 1875* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, city printers, 1875).

Unitarian minister. Clarke considered his oration "a kind of preparatory lecture for the great feast to be held next year in Philadelphia." He dealt with "the worth of republican institutions" and that religious institutions are best left to the support of "the will of the people."

1876. Winthrop, Robert Charles (1809-1894). *ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON: ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1876* (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1876); *ORATION ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE DELIVERED IN THE MUSIC HALL, AT THE REQUEST OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, BOSTON, 4 JULY, 1876* (Boston: J.



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Wilson and Son, 1876).

Winthrop was elected to the Massachusetts house of representatives in 1834, secretary of state in 1850, and for many years was president of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Winthrop was a frequent orator, most of which were commemorative and historical. For example, he spoke at the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Monument in 1848. According to one contemporary account, "it is, however, as orator that Winthrop's fame will be most lasting.... His style was stately and often highly rhetorical" (Frederic Bancroft, "The Late Robert C. Winthrop," HARPER'S WEEKLY 1 December 1894, 1135). This speech was reprinted in Selim Peabody, AMERICAN PATRIOTISM (New York: American Book Exchange, 1880).

1877. Warren, William Wirt (1834-1880). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1877 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1877).

1878. Healy, Joseph (1849-1880). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1878 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1878).

1879. Lodge, Henry Cabot (1850-1924). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1879 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1879).

Senator and historian born in Boston and graduated from Harvard in 1871. In 1878 Lodge, a republican, was elected to the Massachusetts General Court. An editor for a popular newspaper summarized the content of Lodge's oration: "The oration is a comprehensive view of our national achievements, and of our national perils and duties. Mr. Lodge pleads warmly for the careful cultivation of the sentiment of State rights. Two principles will surely save us reverence for the Constitution, and careful maintenance of the State-rights principle. Mr. Lodge's warning against the strife of classes is not less timely and wise, and his oration is as excellent in literary form as in its weight of suggestion." "Echoes of the Fourth of July," HARPER'S WEEKLY, 27 September 1879.

1880. Smith, Robert Dickson (1838-1888). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 5, 1880 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1880).

According to Ernst, the oration is "on Samuel Adams, a statue of whom, by Miss Anne Whitney, had just been completed for the City. A photograph of the statue is added."



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1881. Warren, George Washington. OUR REPUBLIC LIBERTY AND EQUALITY FOUNDED ON LAW. ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, IN THE BOSTON THEATRE, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1881 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1881).

1882. Long, John Davis (1838-1915). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1882, BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN DAVIS LONG (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1882).

32d governor of Massachusetts, congressman, secretary of the navy, who was born in Buckfield, Maine.

1883. Carpenter, Henry Bernard (1840-1890). AMERICAN CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE: ORATION DELIVERED IN BOSTON, JULY 4, 1883 (Boston: s.n., 1883).

1884. Shepard, Harvey Newton (1850-). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1884 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1884).

1885. Gargan, Thomas John (1844-1908). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1885 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1885).

1886. Williams, George Frederick. ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 5, 1886 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1886).

The oration took place at the Boston Theatre and began at 10 a.m. Cited in "The Day in Boston," WASHINGTON POST, 6 July 1886, 1.

1887. Fitzgerald, John Edward. ORATION, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1887 (Boston: City Council, 1887).

1888. Dillaway, William Edward Lovell. ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1888 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1888).

1889. Swift, John Lindsay (1828-1895). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1889 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1889).

Cited under the title "The American Citizen" by C. W. Ernst in O'Neil (1894). According to Ernst, the pamphlet "contains a bibliography of Boston Fourth of July orations, from 1783 to 1889, inclusive, compiled by Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library."

1890. Pillsbury, Albert Enoch (1849-1930). PUBLIC SPIRIT. ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1890 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1890).



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1891. Quincy, Josiah (1859-1919). THE COMING PEACE: ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1891 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1891).

An active politician who was a great grandson of Josiah Quincy (1772-1864). Quincy was elected to the Massachusetts General Court in 1885 and elected mayor of Boston in 1896.

1892. Murphy, John Robert. ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#), JULY 4, 1892 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1892).

1893. Putnam, Henry Ware. ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON: ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#), JULY 4, 1893 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1893).

According to the list of Boston orators by C. W. Ernst, Putnam's orations was titled "The Mission of Our People."

1894. O'Neil, Joseph Henry (1853-1935). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON (Boston: Printed by Order of the City Council, 1894).

Includes appendix: "A List of Boston Municipal Orators," by C. W. Ernst. O'Neil provides a brief history of events preceding the Revolutionary War, the lives of the signers of the [Declaration of Independence](#), John Phillips, who was Boston's orator in 1794, the progress of America, the impact of the Civil War, and the welcoming of immigrants.

1895. Berle, A. A. (1866-1960). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#), JULY 4, 1895 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1895).

The subject is "The Constitution and the Citizens."
Contains "A List of Boston Municipal Orators, by C. W. Ernst," pp. [35]-42.

1896. Fitzgerald, John Francis (1863-1950). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#), JULY 4, 1896 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1897).

Contains a separate appendix: "A List of Boston Municipal Orators," by C. W. Ernst.

1897. Hale, Edward Everett (1822-1909). CONTRIBUTION OF BOSTON TO AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MAYOR AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON AT THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST CELEBRATION OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#), MONDAY, JULY 5, 1897 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, Municipal print. Office, 1897).

Contains a list of Boston municipal orators by C.W.



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(Carl Wilhelm) Ernst (1845- 1919).

1898. O'Callaghan, Denis (1841-1913). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#), MONDAY, JULY 4, 1898 (Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1898).

Contains a list of Boston municipal orators by C. W. Ernst.

1899. Matthews, Nathan, Jr. (1854-1927). ORATION BEFORE THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1899 ([Boston]: Municipal Print. Office, 1899).

The subject is "Be Not Afraid of Greatness." According to the article "The Day in Boston," in BALTIMORE MORNING HERALD, 5 July 1899, 1, the theme of ex-Boston mayor Matthews' speech focused on international "expansion." Matthews said to his audience, "The practical duty of the United States, which no amount of historical misinformation will enable us honorably to avoid, is to re-establish peace and civil order in the Philippine Islands, and to do it at once, and then to formulate a scheme of government for the islands, framed for the sole purpose of promoting the material welfare and political progress of their inhabitants." Another recommended article is "Americans in the Orient," NEW YORK TIMES, 5 July 1899, 5.

1900. O'Meara, Stephen (1854-1918). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#), WEDNESDAY, JULY 4, 1900. (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1900).

1901. Guild, Curtis (1860-1915). ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON: ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#), THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1901 (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1901).

A separate appendix includes a list of Boston municipal orators, by C. W. Ernst. Guild was born in Boston and was Lieutenant Governor of Maryland, 1903-06 and Governor of Massachusetts, 1906-09. In 1908 he ran for the Republican nomination for the vice presidency. The subject of the oration is "Supremacy and Its Conditions."

1902. Conry, Joseph A. FOURTH OF JULY ORATION ... AT FANEUIL HALL, FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1902 (Boston: [City Council], 1902).

1903. Mead, Edwin D. (1849-1937). FOURTH OF JULY ORATION ... AT FANEUIL HALL, SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1903 (Boston, 1903).

The Subject of the oration is "The Principles of the Founders."

1904. Sullivan, John A. ORATION DELIVERED IN FANEUIL HALL BEFORE THE CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON... : MONDAY, JULY 4, 1904 (Boston:



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Printed by order of City Council, 1904).

The subject of the oration is "Boston's Past and Present. What Will Its Future Be?"

1905. Colt, LeBaron Bradford (1846-1924). FOURTH OF JULY ORATION ... AT FANEUIL HALL, TUESDAY, JULY 4, 1905. AMERICA'S SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT (Boston, 1905).

1906. Coakley, Timothy Wilfred. ORATION. THE AMERICAN RACE, ITS ORIGIN, THE FUSION OF PEOPLES; ITS AIMS, FRATERNITY. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1906 (Boston: Municipal Print. Off., 1906; Allied Ptg. Trades Council, 1906).

1907. Horton, Edward Augustus. PATRIOTISM & THE REPUBLIC. AN ORATION DELIVERED AT FANEUIL HALL, JULY 4, 1907 (Boston, 1907).

1908. Hill, Arthur Dehon (b. 1889). THE REVOLUTION AND A PROBLEM OF THE PRESENT. AN ORATION DELIVERED AT FANEUIL HALL, JULY 4, 1908 (Boston, 1908).

1909. Spring, Arthur Langdon. THE GROWTH OF PATRIOTISM DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 5, 1909. Boston: City Printing Department, 1909.

Arthur L. Spring was a Boston lawyer and former Common Councilman (1890-93). Born at Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, Spring was a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts (1894-95) and served in the Massachusetts militia for sixteen years. He was also one of the directors of the Boston Elevated Railway Company (1895-1900). He died on January 2, 1918.

Spring's oration focused on the history and nature of patriotism covering the periods of the Revolutionary War, "The Constitutional Struggle," Civil War, and "Our Own Times." Patriotism consists, he said, of "a love of country based on freedom and righteousness rather than on strength and power." Further, he explained, "to excel in good citizenship: a spirit which loves the flag but cherishes as well each effort to make a better community."

1910. Wolff, James H. THE BUILDING OF THE REPUBLIC. AN ORATION DELIVERED AT FANEUIL HALL, JULY 4, 1910 (Boston, 1910?).

Wolff studied at Harvard and was active on behalf of civil rights during the late 19th century in Massachusetts.

1911. Eliot, Charles William (1834-1926). THE INDEPENDENCE OF 1776 AND THE DEPENDENCE OF 1911. AN ORATION DELIVERED AT FANEUIL HALL, JULY 4, 1911 (Boston, 1911).

Educator, graduated from Harvard in 1853 and appointed president of Harvard in 1869. In his address Eliot calls



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for a new [Declaration of Independence](#) "as a means of resisting the oppressive effects of industrial government." Eliot said that a new declaration "if it were written now would among other things set forth that every citizen in a free State has an unalienable right to that amount of employment which will yield for him and his family a decent living; that every worker has a right to be insured against the personal losses due to acute sickness, chronic invalidism, injuries through accident, and the inevitable disabilities of old age; that every man has a right to the normal pleasures and enjoyments of life and leisure to enjoy himself, and that all the instruments of production, including the land and all the means of distributing products should belong, not to individuals, but to the State or to society as a whole." ("New Declaration Needed," NEW YORK TIMES, 5 July 1911, 16.)

1912. Pelletier, Joseph C. (1872-) RESPECT FOR THE LAW. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1912

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1913. MacFarland, Grenville S. A NEW [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#): AN ORATION DELIVERED AT FANEUIL HALL, JULY 4, 1913 (Boston: City Council, 1913).

1914. Supple, James A. RELIGION: THE HOPE OF A NATION. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1914 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Department, 1914).

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1915. Brandeis, Louis Dembitz (1856-1941). ORATION: TRUE AMERICANISM. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THE UNITED STATES, JULY 5, 1915 (Boston: City of Boston Print. Dept., 1915).

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, Dembitz, was an attorney who practiced in Boston until 1916 when he was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court. Brandeis led the fight for municipal subway systems. His Independence Day oration discussed the Americanization of the immigrant, American ideals, American standard of living, and his belief that education is a lifetime continuum of learning.

1916. Chapple, Joe Mitchell. "The New Americanism."

1917. Gallagher, Daniel J. "Americans Welded by War."

1918. Faunce, William H. P. (1859-1930). "The New Meaning of Independence Day."



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1919. DeCourcy, Charles Ambrose. REAL AND IDEAL AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (Boston: City of Boston Printing Dept., 1919).

DeCourcy was associate justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, 1911 to his death.

1920. Wiseman, Jacob L. "America and Its Vital Problem."

1921. Murlin, L. H. "Our Great American."

1922. Burke, Jeremiah Edmund (1867-). ORATION: DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION; DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, JULY 4, 1922 (Boston: Printing Department, 1922).

1923. Lyons, Charles W. ORATION: THE AMERICAN MIND. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1923 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Department, 1923).

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1924. Ferrell, Dudley H. "The Genesis and Genius of America."

1925. Dowd, Thomas H. OUR HERITAGE: INDEPENDENCE DAY ORATION (Boston: City of Boston Printing Department, 1925).

The oration was presented on Boston Common.

1926. Peters, Andrew James. A CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEMOCRACY; INDEPENDENCE DAY ORATION DELIVERED AT FANEUIL HALL, JULY 5, 1926 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Dept., 1926).

1927. McGinnis, William. "Responsibility of Citizenship."

1928. Rogers, Edith Nourse. "Our Debt to Our Forefathers."

1929. Luce, Robert (1862-1946). LIBERTY AND LAW. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1929 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Dept., 1929).

Contains a list of Boston orators, by C. W. Ernst

1930. Parker, Herbert (1856-1939). PRESERVATION OF CONSTITUTION INVIOLEATE. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1930 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Department, 1930).

Includes a list of Boston orators by C. W. Ernst

1931. Walsh, David I. (1872-1947). ORATION. TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE OUR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SOLUTION, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1931 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Department, 1931).

Lawyer; Walsh was born in Leominster, Massachusetts. He was governor of Massachusetts, 1914-16 and U.S. senator from Massachusetts, 1919-25, 1926-47. He stated in his oration, "'To establish Justice'! This is the alpha and



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omega of Americanism; the aim, ideal, and inspiration of all who seek to live for and to serve America. Equality of rights and opportunity, unmolested pursuit of happiness, permeated with an exalted sense of justice, are the foundations upon which our political and social institutions have been built."

1932. Mayor James M. Curley, "delegate from Puerto Rico to the Democratic convention in Chicago, addressed a crowd of 100,000 at Boston Common. "Boston Welcomes Mayor as Hero," WASHINGTON POST, 5 July 1932, 2.

1933. Tomasello, Joseph A. (1887-). ORATION, ITALY'S CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1933 (Boston: Print. Dept., 1933).

Includes an appendix of Boston orators, 1771-1933

1934. O'Connell, William C. (1859-1944). DEMOCRACY: ITS ORIGINS, PROGRESS AND DANGERS, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1934 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Dept., 1934).

His speech was broadcast over radio station WJZ ("Today on the Radio, July 4, 1934," NEW YORK TIMES, 4 July 1934, 23.

1935. Hart, Albert Bushnell. Oration at Faneuil Hall. Cited in "Two Holiday Flag Raisings," BOSTON GLOBE, 5 July 1935, 5.

1936.

1937. Mercier, Louis J. A. (1880-). INDEPENDENCE DAY ORATION: PRINCIPLES AND PROGRESS, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE 161 ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) ... JULY 4, 1937 (Boston: Printing Dept., 1937).

Includes a list of Boston municipal orators by C. w. Ernst, [23]-32.

1938.

1939. Chadwick, Stephen Fowler (1894-1975). PERPETUITY OF AMERICA CHALLENGED, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1939 (Boston: Printing Dept., 1939).

1940. Sullivan, John P. AMERICAN DEMOCRACY CHALLENGED, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1940 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Department, 1940).

1941.

1942.



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1943.

1944. Maloney, Francis Thomas. NATION CANNOT SURVIVE INTERNAL PERSECUTION OF ITS CITIZENS, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1944 (Boston: Printing Department, 1944).

1946. Kennedy, John F. SOME ELEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN CHARACTER: AN ORATION DELIVERED AT FANEUIL HALL, JULY 4, 1946 (s.l.: King & Queen Press, 1976).

1949. Wright, John J. INDEPENDENCE DAY EXERCISES, FANEUIL HALL, JULY 4, 1949 (Boston: City of Boston Printing Dept., 1949).

1950. Gray, Francis Calley, president of the Fiduciary Trust Company of Boston. Oration at Faneuil Hall. Cited in "Freedom's Pledge Renewed as City Marks Rainy 4th," BOSTON DAILY GLOBE, 5 July 1950, 1, 22.

1953. Johnson, Mordecai W., faculty, Howard University. Address at Faneuil Hall. Cited in "Thousands Celebrate Night before the Fourth," BOSTON GLOBE, 4 July 1953, 1-2.

1958. Linehan, Daniel. AMERICA, A WAY TO HAPPINESS (Boston: City of Boston Administrative Services Department, Printing Section, 1958).

1959.

1960. Barron, Jennie L. (1891-1969). FREEDOM FOR ALL. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1960 (Boston: Administrative Services Dept., 1960).

Judge and women's rights activist. In 1937 was named associate of the Boston Municipal Court and later associate of the Massachusetts Superior Court.

1961. Kennedy, Edward Moore (1932-). FREEDOM'S DESTINY, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1961 (Boston: City of Boston Administrative Services Department, Printing Section, 1961).

1962. Canham, Erwin D. THE AUTHENTIC REVOLUTION. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIXTY ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1962 (Boston Administrative Services Dept., 1962).

1963. Gavin, James M. (1907-1990). THE AMERICAN GOAL. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1963 (Boston: Administrative Service Department, 1963).

Paratroop commander who gained fame during WWII by parachuting with his troops.



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1964. Lyons, Louis Martin (1897-). RIGHTS-DIGNITY OF MAN, RENEWAL-DIGNITY OF CITY: INDEPENDENCE DAY ORATION: DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1964 Boston: Administrative Services Dept., Printing Section, 1964).

1965. Brin, Alexander. THE CHALLENGE OF INDEPENDENCE DAY, DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 5, 1965 Boston: Printing Section, 1971).

1966. McNiff, Philip James. FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1966 (Boston, 1966).

1967. Finn, Daniel J. THE GREAT EXPERIMENT. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1967 (Boston, 1967).

1968. Wood, Robert Coldwell. URBAN INDEPENDENCE. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1968 (Boston, 1968).

1969. O'Leary, Gerald F. THE AMERICAN ODYSSEY. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1969 (Boston, 1969).

1970. Piemonte, Gabriel F. AMERICA: YESTERDAY-TODAY-TOMORROW. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1970 (Boston, 1970).

Candidate for mayor of Boston in 1959.

1971. Homburger, Freddy. INDEPENDENCE OR INTERDEPENDENCE: INDEPENDENCE DAY ORATION, 1971: DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1971 Boston: Printing Section, 1971).

1972.

1973. Labaree, Benjamin Woods. A LESSON FROM THE PAST. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1973 (Boston, 1973).

1974.

1975. Lewis, Elma. THE GLORY OF OUR PRESENCE. DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE [DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#) OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 4, 1975 (Boston, 1975).



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1976. Silber, John (1926-). DEMOCRACY: ITS COUNTERFEITS AND ITS PROMISES (Boston: Boston University, 1976).

Presented at Faneuil Hall on Sunday, July 4, 1976.

1987. Weinstein, Allen. Oration at Faneuil Hall.

President and CEO of the Center for Democracy; professor of history at Boston University, 1985-89; awarded UN Peace Medal Award in 1986 for "efforts to promote peace, dialogue and free elections in several critical parts of the world."

1996. Menino, Thomas. Oration delivered in Faneuil Hall.

Mayor of Boston discussed Bunker Hill to Dorchester Heights

1997. Kelly, James M. Oration delivered in Faneuil Hall.

Boston City Council president

July 21, Monday: The British 7th Regiment staged a ceremonial review in [New-York](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On their way from Reading to give a concert at Oxford, William Crotch and his mother were injured when their carriage overturned.

August 21, day: The deadline for Loyalists to receive permission to evacuate [New-York](#).

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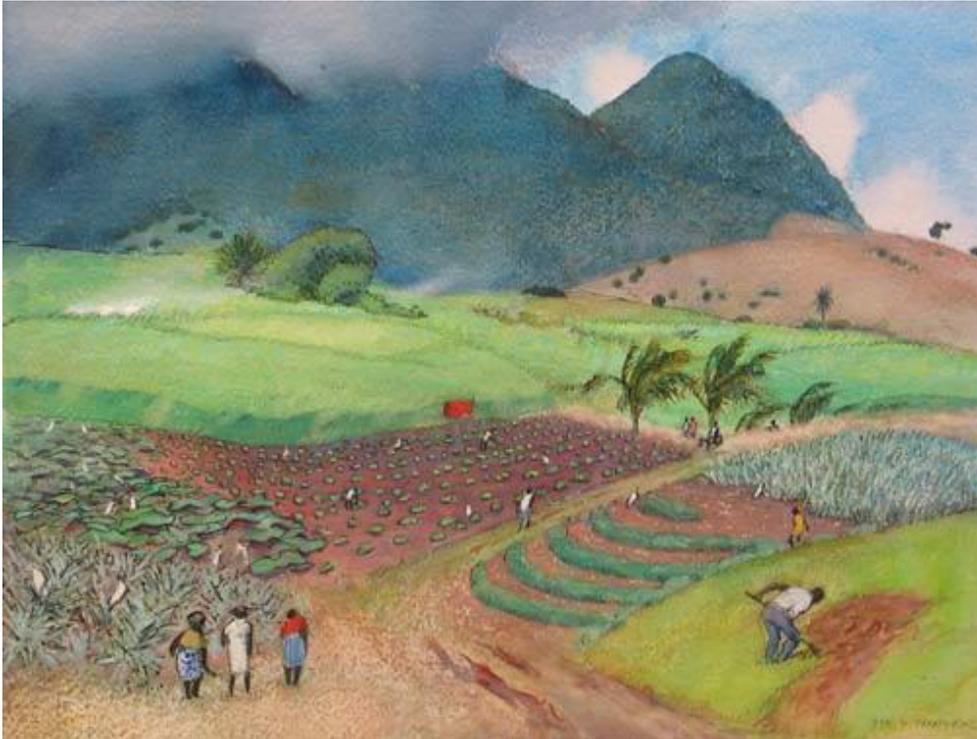
GO TO MASTER INDEX OF WARFARE

September 3, Wednesday: Thomas Wagstaff wrote from London to Friend [Moses Brown](#) about the attitude of the Queen of England toward [Quakerism](#). She allegedly had declared: "I love the Quakers. I love to see them, I have read their writings, I am one in judgement with them."

In Paris, representatives of Great Britain and the new government of its former North American colonies signed a treaty of peace. Great Britain recognized the complete independence of the United States of America. Separate peace accords were signed at Versailles between Britain and France, and between Britain and Spain — more or less, for the time being, the American Revolution became a thing of the past. The new American nation held all land from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River. England retained Canada, while Spain held Louisiana and East and West Florida, returning the Bahamas to England (well, anyway this was a time-out).

READ THE FULL TEXT

France returned Minorca and Montserrat, in the Leeward Islands, to Great Britain, which also received Saint Kitts-Nevis. The northern boundary of [New York](#) State was confirmed as the 45th parallel. Great Lakes boundary lines were set. Great Britain ceded most of the Alabama and Wisconsin areas to the United States. Britain and the United States of America received navigation rights on the Mississippi River.



St. Kitts

September 26, Friday: Under the influence of Adam Smith, a free trade treaty was signed between France and Great Britain. In Britain this would be known after the name of their negotiator, as the Eden Treaty.

[AMERICAN REVOLUTION](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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September 28, Sunday: The main part of the Loyalist army from the United States of America arrived at the mouth of the St. John River. Thousands would be resettled through the Autumn, and create the Province of New Brunswick.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 14, Tuesday: The three piano sonatas of the “Kurfürstensonaten” by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) were published in Speyer.

Governor George Clinton expressed impatience with delays in the final treaty.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 3, Monday: Thomas Mifflin replaced Elias Boudinot as president of the Congress of the United States.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 4, Tuesday: Symphony K.425 “Linz” by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was performed for the initial time, in Linz.

The United States Congress adjourned in Princeton, New Jersey.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 20, Thursday: [George Washington](#) announced the formal discharge of enlisted men at Newburgh.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 21, Friday: British forces completed their withdrawal from northern Manhattan, New-York as American forces occupied the Harlem Heights.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Jean Pilâtre de Rozier and Marquis d’Arlandes made themselves the first humans to ascend in an untethered balloon, reaching an altitude above Paris of 150 meters and travelling 9 kilometers in 20 minutes. [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) would be deeply impressed by this new capability — and a result of his being thus impressed, now hear this, would be a breakthrough in his comprehension of Homeric poetry: for on November 12, 1798, he would write to Schiller that “Your letter found me ... in the *ILLIAD*, to which I always return with delight. It is always as if one were in a balloon, far above everything earthly; as if one were truly in that intermediate zone where the gods float hither and thither.”

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE “LOOKED UPON FROM THE BIRD’S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY, ...” ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER, NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE — BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.

November 24, Monday: [George Washington](#) met with General Carleton to finalize [New-York](#) evacuation plans.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 25, Tuesday: British troops completed the evacuation of Manhattan Island. Immediately afterward, American troops enter the city.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

November 26, Wednesday: The United States Congress convened at Annapolis.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 2, Tuesday: A fireworks display was held in [New-York](#).

December 3, Wednesday: The [New-York Gazetteer](#) began publication.

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December 4, Thursday: [George Washington](#) bade farewell to his officers at Fraunces Tavern in [New-York](#).



The final batch of British troops in the United States of America evacuated Paumanok Long Island and Staten Island, boarding ships in New-York harbor. In a few days they would sail off into our memories.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 23, Tuesday: [General George Washington](#) submitted his resignation of his military commission to the Continental Congress at Annapolis.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 24, Wednesday: [George Washington](#) arrived at [Mount Vernon](#).

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

December 26, Friday: Louis-Sébastien Lenormand made the 1st successful parachute jump, from the observatory in Montpellier (his device has a rigid wooden frame, not unlike an umbrella).

A British order-in-council allowed for the resumption of trade with the United States of America.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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1790

June 1, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) there was a “drunken frolick through the streets” in celebration of [the new Constitution](#), and in the evening “the India ship warren was illuminated with lanterns & rockets were thrown from the great bridge.”

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

During this month [George Washington](#) would give his support to a plan by which the new federal government would be assuming and funding the [Revolutionary War](#) debts of the several states. Congress would be choosing Philadelphia as the interim capital for the United States but, to assuage Virginia, which was the foremost opponent of this assumption of debt, the federal Congress would select a site on the Potomac River in Virginia for its permanent capital, to be occupied in ten years time.

June 20, Sunday: At Secretary of State [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s residence on Maiden Lane in [New-York](#), over dinner, Congressman [James Madison, Jr.](#), Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, and Jefferson agreed to the Compromise of 1790. Hamilton agreed to support the placing of the federal capital on the Potomac in return for Madison's support for the assumption of [Revolutionary War](#) debts of the states by the federal government.

[DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA](#)

July 16, Friday: [George Washington](#) signed the bill he had supported in June, by which the new federal government would assume and fund the [Revolutionary War](#) debts of the several states. Congress established the [District of Columbia](#).



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1792

Congress designated our unit of currency to be the Dollar (in imitation of the Spanish, who had the strongest currency at that time) as proposed by [Thomas Jefferson](#). The first US mint went into operation in Philadelphia, to supplement and eventually to replace the various foreign coinages in circulation. The only previous coinage in Massachusetts had been the one which the General Court there had authorized in 1652, in direct challenge to English law, a minting which had continued only until about 1682. Political parties were forming; Republicans (to be Democrats) versus Federalists. The Post Office was established by Congress to be a separately functioning entity, not part of this political process. The 2d Congress of the United States added license fees for distilleries and excise taxes on liquors distilled from imported materials (to help retire debts from the [Revolutionary War](#) — this tax would after 8 years be discontinued). Incensed by this action, farmers in Western Pennsylvania mobbed revenue collectors and armed to resist this intrusion by the new Federal Government. It would require 15,000 militia to bring the so-called [Whiskey](#) Rebellion to an end.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1794



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: Near Nicholasville in Jessamine County, Kentucky, Colonel William Price opened his home to a celebration in honor of 40 [Revolutionary War](#) soldiers.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



(From July into November, the Whisky Rebellion against federal taxes.)

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1785



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Dignitaries at an Independence Day dinner in New York raised their glasses to George Washington, to the soldiers who died in combat, to our nation’s European allies, and to “Liberty, peace and happiness to all mankind.” Note well that no dignitary proposed raising a glass to any Jefferson, either as the author of our Declaration of Independence or for any other reason.



The victory having been attained and properly celebrated, the victors proceeded to a proper distribution of their spoils of war, the former estates of departed Loyalists. During the latter half of the year, Major General Nathanael Greene would be relocating his family to the piece of the loot that had been assigned to him, a plantation called “Mulberry Grove” on the Savannah River of Georgia.

Boston began sending its convicts out to the Castle in Boston Harbor to serve their sentences.





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NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





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1786

Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: The constitution of [Vermont](#).



READ THE FULL TEXT

In Beaufort, [North Carolina](#) a celebratory artillery shell landed in the wrong place and the Courthouse burned.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1787



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Boston, an oration was delivered at the old brick meeting house, and then six independent companies marched by. [John Quincy Adams](#), a recent graduate from [Harvard College](#) on his way to Newburyport to study law, was present for this demonstration of military prowess.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

NEW "HARVARD MEN"



It is said that on this day [Calvin Philleo](#) was born in Dover, New York. In 1833 he would be a new elder of the First Baptist Church of Christ in Ithaca, New York (a brick church with a basement, costing \$7,000), who had been helping during the paying off of that church's mortgage and the obtaining of a new church bell, and would soon become that group's reverend. (At some point he would get married with Elizabeth Wheeler and the couple would produce a son Calvin Wheeler Philleo in about 1822 in Suffield, Connecticut. On August 19, 1834 he would remarry, with Prudence Crandall, who would adopt his son. In 1849 he would remarry with Elizabeth Pease Norton of Suffield, Connecticut and this 3d marriage would likewise not produce children.)

Raffaele De Ferrari Rodino replaced Giovanni Carlo Pallavicini as Doge of [Genoa](#).

"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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1788

Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: In Marietta in what would become [Ohio](#) (then known as the



Northwestern Territory), James M. Varnum delivered the 1st Independence Day oration ever delivered west of the Alleghenies. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Francis Hopkinson had arranged a “Grand Federal Procession” which amounted to the longest parade in the nation to date. In this year the national birthday celebration turned political as factions struggled with one another in regard to approval of the new federal Constitution. This was especially the case in Albany, New York, where pro-Constitution and anti-Constitution factions clashed (New York would ratify the Constitution on the 26th). The Federalists of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) had scheduled an Independence Day ox roast in celebration of the fact that, when on June 21st [New Hampshire](#) had voted to approve [the federal Constitution](#) –the 9th state to do so– the United States of America had officially come into existence. On the night of July 3d, therefore, the anti-Federalist “Country Party,” in a belated attempt to intercept that celebration, had begun to assemble in a nearby woodland around Colonel William West’s 1st Providence County Brigade (West was also a judge of the Superior Court) marching in from Scituate, Rhode Island. On this morning there had been negotiations, and the insurgent group had disbanded after an agreement that the day’s celebration was going to focus exclusively on an issue in regard to which all could agree, that of simple independence — and that local Federalist orators would courteously refrain from making mention either of the ratification of the Constitution or of the recent event in New Hampshire.

When the Reverend John Pitman went into the city on this day, therefore, the dust was already beginning to settle on this dispute, and what he witnessed there amounted to merely “an Ox roasting whole & the tables set,” and what he heard rumors of was merely that “General West came down at the head of 2 or 300 men armed with guns & bayonets on Poles to distroy the works but was prevented by the Inhabitants turn.g out armed to defend them.”

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)



1788. The anniversary of Independence and the adoption of the Federal Constitution by nine States, were jointly celebrated on the 4th of July. There was a military parade, bells were rung and cannon fired. An address was delivered by Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, in the First Baptist meeting house; and an ox was roasted whole on the plains North of the Cove, at which five or six thousand persons were present. Some three or four hundred men from the country, of the anti-federal party, which then had the ascendancy on the State, appeared near the ground under arms, and threatened an attack. A committee of citizens was delegated to meet and remonstrate with them - the difficulty was compromised, and the enemy quietly withdrew, and left the citizens to enjoy their feast.



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1791



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: George Washington addressed the crowd at Lancaster, Pennsylvania (the only occasion on which he ever would condescend to such undignified speech).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1792



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Washington, District of Columbia, the cornerstone of a "Federal Bridge" was laid by the Commissioners of the Federal Buildings.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1793

July 10, Wednesday: By this point [Timothy Dexter](#) had, in result of his currency speculations among other things, risen from being 16th in wealth in Newburyport, Massachusetts to 4th, behind only yeoman William Bartlett, merchant Moses Brown, and Nathaniel Carter. When he wrote to the [Essex Journal & New Hampshire Packet](#) to report a 4th-of-July toast he had offered at the tavern near the Deer Island Bridge tollhouse, an editor cleaned up his message as follows:

Mr. MyCall, Messrs. Blunt and Robinson took notice in their last Herald that I delivered on the fourth instant on Deer Island a speech in French. This speech I now send you in English, and should you think it worth of a place in your useful paper, you may insert. I did not deliver all that I intended on account of the ill-breeding of a blue puppy, who impertinently endeavored to upset my pulpit, or rather the table on which I stood. The public, considering the small chance I have had to learn French, are a little surprised to hear of my having endeavored to speak it; but, if Gentlemen and Ladies will give themselves the liberty to reflect that Frenchmen express themselves very much by gestures, and that Englishmen have made such a proficiency in the art that a whole play can now be acted without speaking a word, they will cease to wonder.

Timothy Dexter

Ladies & Gentlemen, this day the 18th year of our glorious independence commences – Justice, order, commerce, agriculture, the sciences and tranquility reign triumphant in these United and happy States – America is the asylum for the afflicted, persecuted, tormented sons & daughters of Europe. Our progress towards the glorious point of perfection is unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

Permit me, then, my wife and jolly souls, to congratulate you on this joyful occasion – Let our deportment be suitable for the joyful purpose for which we are assembled – Let good nature, breeding, concord, benevolence, piety, understanding, wit, humor, Punch and wine grace, bless adorn and crown us henceforth and forever. Amen.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



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1794



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: Near Nicholasville in Jessamine County, Kentucky, Colonel William Price opened his home to a celebration in honor of 40 [Revolutionary War](#) soldiers.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



(From July into November, the Whisky Rebellion against federal taxes.)



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1795



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: In Alexandria, Virginia, a battle re-enactment featured infantry, cavalry, and artillery. In [Concord](#), Massachusetts, [William Jones](#) delivered a Fourth-of-July oration the substance of which would be placed on record at the town library.²³⁰ In [Boston](#), [Paul Revere](#) and Governor Samuel Adams laid the cornerstone of a new Massachusetts State House.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



230. Mr. Jones, at this point 23 years of age, would be studying law with Jonathan Fay, Esq., and would practice for a few years in Concord. The Reverend Grindall Reynolds would comment that “While here, he had the reputation of being a wild and dissipated young man, who spent more time in sowing wild oats than in digging down to the roots of legal knowledge. Many stories are handed down more amusing to hear than creditable to their subject. One will perhaps bear repetition. The story runs that he had been suspended from college, whereupon he writes to the old gentleman Jones that his fellow-students have elected him to represent the college in the Great and General Court; that the honor is great, the expense ditto. The father was highly tickled thereat, and actually paid the bills, while the son boarded in style at a tavern in Boston all winter. To keep up the illusion, whenever any Concord people came to Boston, he hung round the State House, apparently full of business.”



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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1796



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: In [Baltimore, Maryland](#) the Republican Society partied at Mr. Evan's Tavern.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1797



July 7, Friday, 12, Wednesday, 13, Thursday, and 15, Saturday: Republican partisan efforts to connect [Thomas Jefferson](#) with the [Declaration of Independence](#) had begun in very earnest after their guy's inauguration as Vice President. They began to raise their glasses to him during their Republican 4th of July banquets and then print these toasts in their political gazettes, such as the [Aurora and General Advertiser](#) and the [Gazette of the United States](#), both published out of Philadelphia. Meanwhile the Federalist partisans had likewise been appropriating the Declaration to enhance the fame of their John Adams and their John Hancock, in their own political organs such as the [Gazette of the United States](#). Federalist historians were always leaving room for doubt of Jefferson's unique contribution to the creation of our Declaration. In the work of John Lowell, Jefferson had been merely the "reputed framer of the Declaration of Independence," and Independence Day orators of the Federalist persuasion generally were ignoring any putative link between this national Republican politician, Jefferson, and our nation's originary charter of freedom. You will read extensively in Federalist birthday oratory without discovering any mention:

- Thomas Fessenden, A SERMON, DELIVERED JULY 4TH, 1802, AT WALPOLE, N.H. IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
- William Emmerson, AN ORATION PRONOUNCED JULY 5, 1802, AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF [BOSTON](#), IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
- Nathaniel Emmons, A DISCOURSE DELIVERED, JULY 5, 1802. IN COMMEMORATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Wrentham MA)
- Joseph Locke, AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED AT BILLERICA, JULY 5, 1802, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE ([Boston](#))
- Asahel Morse, AN ORATION, DELIVERED AT WINSTED, JULY 5TH, A.D. 1802 (Hartford CT)
- The Reverend Samuel Taggart, AN ORATION: SPOKEN AT COLRAIN, JULY 4, 1803 (Greenfield MA)
- Thomas Danforth, AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4, 1804, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF [BOSTON](#), IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
- Ebenezer Moseley, AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED AT NEWBURYPORT, JULY 4, 1804, ON THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE; AT THE REQUEST OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLICANS (Newburyport MA)
- Keating Lewis Simons, AN ORATION, DELIVERED IN THE INDEPENDENT CIRCULAR CHURCH, BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA, ON FRIDAY, THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1806





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1798



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: George Washington attended a national birthday celebration in Alexandria, Virginia, dining there with a large group of the citizens and military officers of Fairfax County. He had nothing much to say. In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the keel of the 20-gun sloop of war *Portsmouth* was laid with appropriate ceremony.

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1799

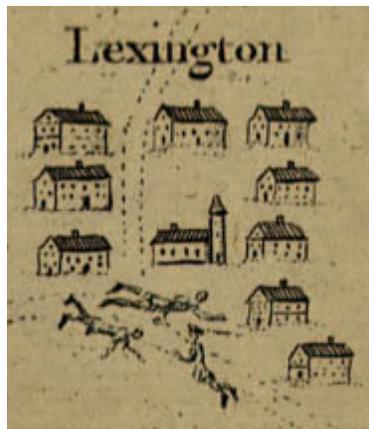
The American soldiers consolidated their hold on the [New York](#) side of the [Niagara River](#) the British soldiers across the river from [Fort Niagara](#) constructed a wooden fortress which they called Fort George, just south of today's village of Niagara-on-the-Lake. Of course they positioned their new fort on higher ground where its guns could dominate the older position. Relations between the two garrisons were for the time being cordial, with the officers eager to socialize among one another. Personnel of the American garrison for instance were known to attend divine services on the British side of the river. Also, during the absence of the American surgeon British doctors filled in, caring for the soldiers of [Fort Niagara](#). Unfortunately, this situation would not endure as the British refused to acknowledge that America had won its [Revolutionary War](#) and disregarded American neutrality and disregarded American maritime rights — and as Americans developed plans for the future of [Canada](#).



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: The “musical drama,” The Fourth of July or, Temple of American Independence (music by Victor Pelissier?), was premiered in New York; George Washington celebrated in Alexandria, Virginia by dining with a number of citizens at Kemp's Tavern.

A monument was dedicated on Lexington green, with the names of the eight slain minutemen of April 19th carved upon it.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1800



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: The Republican orator Matthew Livingston Davis, in New-York, addressing the Tammany Society, praised “the capacious mind and nervous pen of Jefferson,” which had communicated “the voice of a free, united and indignant people” by producing a “Manly and energetic” text distinguished by a “Solemn and impressive ... sound.”²³¹ Meanwhile the Republican orator John J. Pringle, in Charleston SC, was extolling “JEFFERSON, in whose perspicuous and energetic language is expressed that sublime memorial of the rights, and the spirit of free-born Americans.”²³² How bad was this cult of personality getting? –Was it getting as bad as the cult of personality in regard to Hitler that was exhibited by Germans during the Third Reich? –Was it getting as bad as the cult of personality in regard to Mussolini that was exhibited by Italians under Fascism? –Was it getting as bad as the cult of personality in regard to Hirohito that was exhibited by the Japanese in the era of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere? –Was it getting as bad as the cult of personality in regard to Mao that has been exhibited by the Chinese of the PRC? –Was the cult of personality in the young United States of America getting as bad as the adoration of Uncle Joe Stalin that had been put on display by the ever-so-loyal commie symps of the USSR? It must have been getting pretty damned annoying, for in Philadelphia at this point a couple of Federalist schoolmasters got up and stomped out of a patriotic celebration when one of their own pupils stood up to recite the [Declaration of Independence!](#)

THOMAS JEFFERSON

In [New-York](#) the first local advertisements for fireworks appeared and at the Mount Vernon Garden there was a display of “a model of Mount Vernon, 20 feet long by 24 feet high, illuminated by several hundred lamps.” In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania the US Marine Band, directed by Colonel William Ward Burrows, provided music for the Society of the Cincinnati celebration held at the City Tavern. At [Dartmouth College](#) in Hanover, New Hampshire a student named [Daniel Webster](#) delivered what would turn out not to be his last Fourth of July oration.



Etienne-Nicolas Mehul lent Ignace Pleyal 10,000 francs, to expand his business.

231. AN ORATION, DELIVERED IN ST. PAUL’S CHURCH, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1800 (NY, 1800)

232. AN ORATION, DELIVERED IN ST. PHILIP’S CHURCH, BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1800 (Charleston SC, 1800)

HDT

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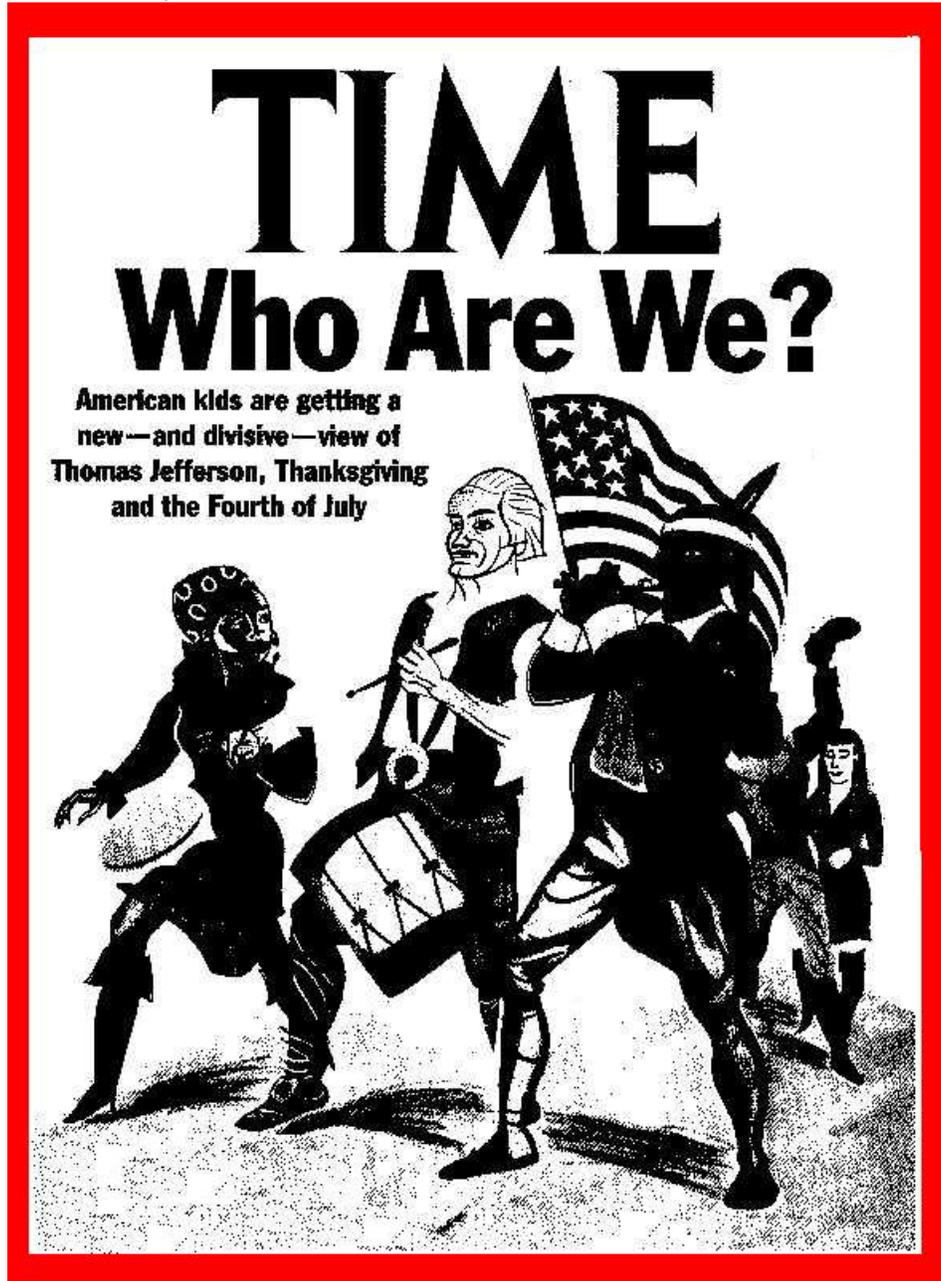
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As TIME Magazine has pointed out on its cover, American kids were being given a very new and very divisive idea of the 4th of July:





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1801



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: The Republican orator James Kennedy, displaying a spirit of bipartisanship uncommon in Charleston SC, honored “that celebrated declaration, penned by the enlightened, dignified and patriotic Jefferson, and advocated by the firm, honest and sagacious Adams.” He was allowing, in effect, that although his party’s politician [Thomas Jefferson](#) had drawn, penned, traced, and phrased the famed document, the idea of independence also had required advocacy by others.²³³

In [Rhode Island](#) this President of the United States was so mistrusted, that when a toast was offered, it was expressed in the form of a hope that he “might prove true to the constitution and the country.”

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

Without pronouncing Jefferson’s name, the Federalist Ezekiel Whitman of Massachusetts noted that from “the pen of one of these Sages, and from the hearts of all his Copatriots, issued that memorable instrument ... known by the name of ‘The Declaration of American Independence’.”²³⁴ This notice of the fact that the writing up of the Declaration did not equate with the authorization of independence reflects the traditional understanding of the document as a corporate statement, but leaves in question the provenance of the various noble assertions of the document such as “all men are created equal” — sentiments which seem so utterly strange when they appear (through ventriloquy?) to be coming out of the mouth of that Virginia slavemaster who was keeping a dusky sex slave.

[DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE](#)

During this year, Martin Van Buren was a delegate to the Republican Party (that’s the old Republican Party) caucus in Troy, New York. He would avidly support the Jeffersonian principles of that party for the remainder of his life.

This was the year of the initial public 4th-of-July reception at the [Executive Mansion](#) in [Washington DC](#). In Marblehead, Massachusetts an oration was delivered by Joseph Story at the New Meeting House. In Boston, Massachusetts the frigates USS *Constitution* and USS *Boston* and the French corvette *Berceau* fired salutes.



233. AN ORATION, DELIVERED IN ST. PHILIP’S CHURCH, BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1801 (Charleston, 1801)

234. AN ORATION, COMMEMORATIVE OF THE DAY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Portland ME, 1801)



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July 10, Friday: [Revolutionary War Brevet Major Thomas Boude](#), who lived on Front Street in Columbia, Pennsylvania and had a lumberyard in that town, purchased [Stephen Smith](#) at the age of 5 from a Cochran family that resided near Harrisburg.²³⁵

The 1st reported case of the attempted kidnapping of a [slave](#) in Columbia was at the Boude home. Shortly after Boude purchased “Black Steve,” Stephen’s mother Nancy Smith ran away from the Cochrans and came to General Boude’s. Soon a white lady arrived on horseback and, coming through the Boude home into the kitchen, seized Nancy. Dragging her into the street, she attempted to tie her slave to the horse with a piece of rope. Boude, in his lumber yard at some distance, heard the outcries and Mrs. Cochran needed to ride off without her slave in tow. Fearing that the next thing to happen would be, that Mr. Cochran would arrive to retrieve Nancy, Boude went to Harrisburg and purchased her.

235. Stephen was said to be the son of the black slave Nancy Smith by her white slavemaster. Mr. Cochran would then be on our one-person candidate list, to answer the question of who it was specifically who had been Stephen’s father.



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1802



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: The first class of cadets matriculated at a new U.S. Military Academy at West Point (in those early years this military school was, basically, an engineering school).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1803



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: An Italian band of musicians performed for President [Thomas Jefferson](#) at the Executive Mansion.

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1804



 Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: The 1st Fourth of July celebration west of the Mississippi occurred at Independence Creek and was celebrated by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

Born at 27 Union Street in Salem, Massachusetts, 2d of three children of Nathaniel and Elizabeth Clarke Manning Hathorne, a manchild named [Nathaniel Hathorne, Jr.](#)²³⁶

The expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, passing through northeastern [Kansas](#) (part of area then known as Territory of Orleans) marked the first Fourth of July ever celebrated west of the Mississippi by firing its keelboat's cannon, by drinking an extra ration of whiskey, and by naming a creek (near what has become Atchinson) "Independence Creek." A good time was had by all.

The new "Concord Artillery" militia formation made its 1st march through the town of [Concord](#).

The charter says, "Whereas Major John Buttrick and Captain Isaac Davis, with a party of the armed yeomanry, did, on the birthday of our revolution, attack and defeat a superior number of the invaders of our country, who were most advantageously posted at the north bridge of Concord," it is ordered that the prayer of the petition be granted, and that two brass field-pieces, with proper apparatus, be provided for said company, with suitable engravings, "to commemorate and render honor to the action which led to the victory of the day, and to perpetuate the names of the gallant Buttrick and Davis, and also to animate in future the ardour and bravery of the defenders of our country." The inscription is as follows: "The Legislature of Massachusetts consecrate the names of Major John Buttrick and Captain Isaac Davis, whose valour and example excited their fellow-citizens to a successful resistance of a superior number of British troops at Concord Bridge, the 19th of April, 1775, which was the beginning of a contest in arms that ended in American Independence." The Captains have successively been, Thomas Heald, Jesse Churchill, Henry Saunderson, Reuben Brown, Jr., Francis Wheeler, Cyrus Wheeler, Elisha Wheeler, Eli Brown, William Whiting, John Stacy, Joshua Buttrick, and Abel B. Heywood. Cyrus Wheeler and William Whiting were promoted to the office of Colonel.²³⁷

236. Nathaniel would be able to say, with President [Thomas Jefferson](#), "The only birthday I ever commemorate is that of our Independence, the Fourth of July." (There's no reason to suppose that Tom even knew what his Sally's birthday was, let alone the birthdays of one after another of her little tan babies.)

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

237. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



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1805

 Deborah Sampson Gannett, largely at the insistence of [Paul Revere](#), was awarded a \$4.⁰⁰-per-month pension as a veteran of the [Revolutionary War](#). (Deborah had flattened her breasts with a bandage and fought with the 4th Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Army. Under the name Robert Shurtleff, she had been wounded in several battles, and her sex had been discovered only when a physician had treated her for a fever in 1783. With “her chastity inviolate,” she had been honorably discharged. When she would die, in 1827, her husband would be awarded the equivalent of a revolutionary widow’s pension, \$80.⁰⁰ per year. A small marker by her grave in Rockridge Cemetery characterizes her as “a revolutionary soldier.”)



 Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July.²³⁸ The toasts at a Republican 4th of July banquet in Washington DC described their politician [Thomas Jefferson](#) as “the penman of the declaration of Independence” and noted that it was their candidate’s “hand that drew the declaration of Independence.” The [National Intelligencer](#)’s lowercasing of this word “declaration” (on July 6th and then again on July 16th) suggests that the task of inscribing the words on the face of the document itself was being regarded as separate from the creation of the revolutionary idea of national autonomy, was being regarded as a clerical honor rather than as a full authorship.

Meanwhile, however, in Boston, Ebenezer French, at a gathering of “Young Democratic Republicans,” was praising President Jefferson as “the immortal author of the DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.” French was granting to this politician far more than scribal status and also was reifying the [Declaration of Independence](#) document Jefferson allegedly had authored by conflating it with the achievement of American autonomy. He was coming perilously close to averring that his politician had by a stroke of a pen won for us our [Revolutionary War](#).²³⁹

As a follow-up for this amplitude and grandeur, on this night Boston offered its 1st municipal fireworks display.

In Charleston, South Carolina on this day, the American Revolution Society and the Society of the Cincinnati met at St. Philips Church.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 4 of 7 M 1805 / I feel so poor & barran that I hardly know how to write any thing respecting the day – I had a prospect before meeting of being favord with a good time, but from some cause or another, help was very much withheld It has been a day

238. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s, or [Hathorne](#)’s, 1st birthday.

239. AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED JULY 4TH, 1805, BEFORE THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS, OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE



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of much noise, of Drum & fife, being Independence day as I was walking to meeting, I met the Solders under parade, & thought I was livingly sensible that their conduct was an offence to the Almighty, & that he took no delight in what they were doing Oh may my mind be more & more drawn from the spirit & perishing things of this world, for sure I am, yea indubitably clear, that there is no other way to reach the haven of rest than by an entire surrender of all which the controversy of heaven is against -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1806



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July:²⁴⁰ Ebenezer French caused the attention of an assembly of Maine Republicans to focus on “the glorious instrument written by the illuminous JEFFERSON, called the ‘Declaration of American Independence.’”²⁴¹ Although other speechmakers of this year were merely crediting the hand of [Thomas Jefferson](#) with having drawn up the document, these Republican partisans were averring that their guy’s thoughts had conceived it. During this year, however, the murder of Jefferson’s friend and mentor George Wythe, poisoned by an angry relative,²⁴² was attracting additional attention in regard to the authorship of the [Declaration of Independence](#), for among the Wythe papers was discovered a copy of a draft of the document that, to appearances, Jefferson had sent him at the time.²⁴³ Already the easy assumption was being made, that whatever differed from this draft was the work of others in the Continental Congress and that whatever was in this draft had been created by Mr. Jefferson alone, ignoring the stated fact that in the preparation of this draft Mr. Jefferson had not only been acting under instruction but also had taken at least a part of that instruction back to his chamber that night with him in writing. The nuance, that what was in this rough draft might be or might not have been the originative thought of Jefferson himself, was already being lost on everyone.

In Bennington, Vermont a couple of elderly Revolutionary officers marched in the town parade.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



British forces defeated the French at Maida in Calabria and then returned to Sicily.

The Lord Commissioners of the “Delicate Investigation” ruled that [George, Prince of Wales](#) did not have grounds for divorce from [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#), because they had produced no evidence of her having committed any actual crime. They did consider, however, that her indiscreet conduct entitled him to severely limit her further contact with their daughter, [Princess Charlotte Augusta Hanover of Wales](#) (henceforward she would be able to see her daughter only once a week at most, and only in the presence of her mother –her daughter’s grandmother– Her Grace the Dowager Duchess of Brunswick).

240. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s, or [Hathorne](#)’s 2d birthday.

241. AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN INHABITANTS, OF PORTLAND, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1806, BEING THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Portland ME: 1806)

242. Boyd, Julian P. “The Murder of George Wythe,” [William and Mary Quarterly](#), 3rd Series, [XII](#) (1955):513-74

243. Boyd, Julian P. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXT AS SHOWN IN FACSIMILES OF VARIOUS DRAFTS BY ITS AUTHOR, THOMAS JEFFERSON. Princeton NJ: 1945, 43-45



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1807



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July:²⁴⁴ In AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED AT BROOKFIELD, UPON THE ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1807; BEFORE A NUMEROUS ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLICANS OF THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER, Levi Lincoln, Jr. applauded [Thomas Jefferson](#), “the sublimity of whose mind first ken’d American Independence and whose pen impressed the solemn Declaration.”

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Richmond, Skelton Jones delivered a funeral oration over the men of the USS *Chesapeake* who two weeks earlier had lost their lives due to an attack by the British warship *Leopard*.

In Petersburg VA, people marched through the streets with an “effigy of George III on a pole” and later burned their effigy on Centre Hill.

The new eagle decoration crowning the gate of the Navy Yard in [Washington DC](#) was unveiled to a federal salute and the sound of music.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



In Nizza near Nice, which at the time was part of the French empire, [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) was born (he would be baptized as “Joseph Marie Garibaldi le” at the church of Saint-Martin-Saint-Augustin in the district Vieux-Nice).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7 day 4 of 7 M 1807 / There has been much noise about our Streets of Guns, Drums &c as they have passed along my mind was affected with Seriousness under the consideration of the depravity of the human mind. I consider all this parade & extravagance as the result of depraved minds, & many times when I have Seen Such conduct I have Said in my soul "Surly [Surely] the Lord taketh no delight herein" -

Towards evening walked to Portsmouth & lodged at Cousin Z Chases. - The next mornng walked up to P Lawtons where I found my precious H in good health & satisfied that she is in her right place, which to me is cause of greatful acknowledgements of thanksgiving - from there to meeting where I sat under much leaness & want of ability to get to the right sorce till a few minutes before it concluded when the precious life arose & was like a Sweet morsel to my poor roving mind, & I concluded I was not Sent quite empty away. I dined at Joseph Motts & after dinner

244. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s 3rd birthday.

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went into the chamber to see my dear old cousin Elizabeth whom I have long wanted to see, for She is one that I loved when a boy & well remember her when I lived with my Aunt Martha Gould, & also her excellent testimonies in our public meetings She recited Some Anecdote of my boyhood which were very interesting to my feelings, her conversation in general was very instructing which made my visit a truly proffitable Season. She Said she was thinking of me the day before but did not expect so soon to see me. She appeared to be much pleased with my coming, & I am Sure I'm glad I went & hope Some of her excellent remarks may never be forgotten but treasured up in my mind as long as I live Spent the remainder of the afternoon with my precious H & in the evening walked home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1808



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s 4th birthday.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

In Richmond, Virginia it was resolved that only [liquor](#) that had been produced in this nation might be consumed on during this nation's birthday celebration.

[Walton Felch](#)'s son Hiram E. Felch of Boston would inform us of a family tradition, that at the age of 18 his father had delivered a Fourth of July Oration.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4 of 7 M / For what it is called Independence day we have had a very still time the least drunkenness & noise I ever recollect at a similar time



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Major-General Alexander Beatson took over as governor of [St. Helena](#) from Colonel Robert Patton.



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1809



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 5th birthday.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Under cover of a heavy bombardment and in a violent thunderstorm, French forces attacked northeast from Lobau Island across the Danube River near Vienna.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 4th of 7th Mo 1809// Much Noise of Drums, fifes Guns
being the Anniversary of what is called the Independence of the
Nation. Such days are allways a burden, I have no delight in
them from any of the Shows or noises that are made - They allways
tend to corrupt the morrals of Youth by leading them into
pernicious company*

*John Rodman & wife were at father Rodmans this afternoon at tea
- I wish them well, & also desire that prudence may mark theer
future steps in Life*

*Sister Mary who has been very kindly with us for about two weeks
past, went home to be with them & Sister Eliza came up in the
eveng to stay all night*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1810



 Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July:²⁴⁵ Steele White of Georgia marveled at the skill with which [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s "illuminated mind could pen a 'Declaration of Independence'."²⁴⁶

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

An entertainment headlined as "Columbias Independence" was presented at the Washington Theatre in Washington City.

After a delay in Albany, [New York](#) for the proper celebration of our Independence Day, DeWitte Clinton's party departed at 4 PM, getting precisely as far as Willard's Tavern in the city's 3rd ward.

In Connecticut, New Haven's citizens had a "plowing match."

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Reviewing [Ludwig van Beethoven](#)'s Symphony no.5 for the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, E.T.A. Hoffmann wrote that Beethoven's instrumental music "opens up to us the kingdom of the gigantic and the immeasurable. Glowing beams shoot through this kingdom's deep night, and we become aware of gigantic shadows that surge up and down, enclosing us more and more narrowly and annihilating everything within us, leaving only the pain of that interminable longing, in which every pleasure that had quickly arisen with sounds of rejoicing sinks away and founders, and we live on, rapturously beholding the spirits themselves, only in this pain, which, consuming love, hope, and joy within itself, seeks to burst our breast asunder with a full voiced consonance of all the passions." He sure had enjoyed the heck out of the performance! Don't you wish you could have been there?

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4th of 7th Mo// It has been a day of much noise & parade about streets, being what is called Independance but no accident has happened that I have heard off from any of the Military exercises - A little boy fell from a Chamber Window (Gilbert Chases Son) but was not very much hurt - My H spent the day out at Jonathon Dennis's with Sister Joanna, I took tea with them. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

245. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 6th birthday.

246. AN ORATION, COMMEMORATIVE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, DELIVERED ON THIS FOURTH OF JULY, 1810 (Savannah GA)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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1811



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 7th birthday.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

The initial national congress of Chile opened in Santiago.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 4th of 7 M 1811// We had a meeting as large as usual, & some attenders who of late, has rarely been seen at our Meetings -but such was the noise of Guns drums & Bells, that we had but very little stillness, yet I thought on coming out the meetinghouse door It was better for me to be there, than to be away feeling a little degree of sweetness to arise near the close, accompanied with an hope that there had been some proffit derived from the Opportunity to others beside myself - It is the day Celebrated as INDEPENDENCE which occasioned the noise alluded to, how much better is stillness, then all this muster & bustle, which can do no good -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1812

 John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Virginia persuaded the federal Congress to declare war upon Great Britain.



During this US/Britain dispute about territorial and shipping rights (and, it must be confessed, about whether the [Revolutionary War](#), which had ended merely with a truce, was already over, or not), [William Guion Nell](#) was a steward on board the *General Gadsden*.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

 Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 8th birthday.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

In the area to the west of the Genesee River that eventually would become Rochester, [New York](#), the family of Hamlet Scrantom moved into a cabin that had been built for them by Henry Skinner.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 7M 4th / This day (being Independence Day) has as usual been very noisy, many guns fired &c – Such seasons of tumult are very unpleasant, but no accident has happened

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1813



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne's](#), or [Hathorne's](#), 9th birthday.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

4,000 of our slaves would be able to depart from their American servitude by way of an arrangement with the Royal Navy during the [War of 1812](#). On the face of it, this was the largest [emancipation](#) between the revolution in Haiti in the 1790s and the British colonial abolition of the 1830s (though the emancipation in New York state on July 4, 1827 is a possible contender). These freedom fighters began to leave American waters left in this month and the last would have departed by April 1815. Just under 1,000 would settle in Trinidad, with the remainder settling in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick — apart from a few who would wind up in Bermuda and a score or so who would reach England.

[Joshua Barney](#) proposed a plan for the defense of Chesapeake Bay.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 4 of 7 M / I staid from Meeting this forenoon for my H to go & took care of our little boy - In the Afternoon went - M Morton preached & C R Prayed - Walked out with D R to J Dennis & took tea & set the eveng very agreeably. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT

HDT

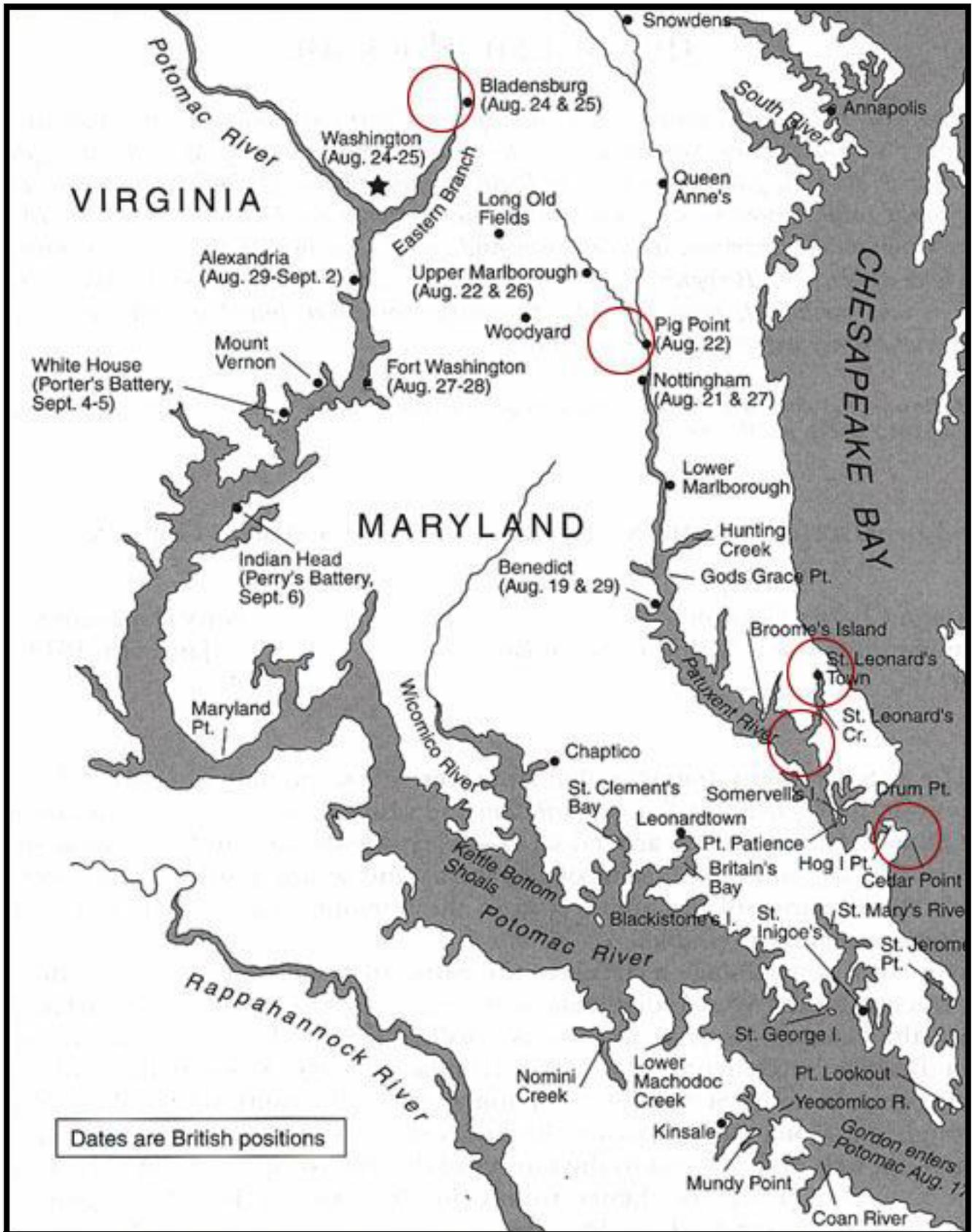
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1814



 Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 10th birthday.

The 4th was celebrated in Honolulu, Hawaii with a dinner ashore, as artillery salutes were fired from ships in the harbor.

In New-York, Uri K. Hill sang an "Ode" written especially for the occasion while Commodore Stephen Decatur, an honorary member of the State Society of the Cincinnati, dined with that association in Tontine Coffee House.

The [Declaration of Independence](#) was printed in the Philadelphia [Aurora General Advertiser](#).

In Ashburton, England, American prisoners of war celebrated the 4th by drinking 18 toasts.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



At Halifax, Nova Scotia, [George Back](#) became a midshipman aboard HMS *Akbar*.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4th of 7 M / Considering It is Independence Day there has been but little Muster in town to what is usual at the Annual return of this Day. it is a time of Mourning in the land. The countenances of most people are sadned at the sorrowful situation of our national concerns in general but particularly the difficulty that we have been placed under since the general Blockade of the British on the Coast. "Commerce does indeed droop her head" & her almost every movement is hung in Cypress, besides the fear which exists of an attack, and our peaceful dwelling, rased to the dust -these things tend to cast a gloom on all around & Oh that the people would turn it to their lasting Benefit. - My heart has been many times affected under a sense of things as they are, but alas to see & feel is all I can do. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1815



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 11th birthday.

The cornerstone for [Baltimore](#)'s Washington Monument was set.

Richard Bland Lee read the [Declaration of Independence](#) in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the Capitol.

In New-York, officers from the French frigate *Hermione* sat in the reviewing stands in front of City Hall as American troops paraded before them. Although “patriotic tars” attempted to “haul down the British colors,” the group was dispersed by the police. In the harbor a “steam vessel of war,” complete with cannon, was being tested — and was passing its tests.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



French Minister of War Louis Davout carried the Convention of Paris to the allies at the Neuilly bridge, where it was signed by all parties.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 4th of 7 M 1815 / This morning took a Walk round fly Market from thence to Washington Market which I think the handsomest I have seen in the City – To a Newporter the Provisions exhibited & sold at these public Stands are almost incredible – At Washington I bought some dry'd Peaches & Cherrys, the latter I hope will keep till I get home, being desirous to treat my H & our little boy with some of them – While walking round great stir begun to take place in the City in commemoration of Independence – The noise & Bustle became unpleasant – I hastened home & in the course of the forenoon called on Saml Wood & took leave of him – employed my time till Dinner time in making a few Memorandums, & writing a short address to Uncle & Aunt wherein I more freely express my feeling at parting with them than I could at the Moment by word of Mouth –

Dined at 1 / 2 OClock & parted with my dear & affectionate relatives which proved quite as much as my Manhood could encounter, & as it was articulation became difficult – when we got to the Wharf the Packet had hauled some distance in the River but at five minutes before 2 OClock we were on board her & at 1 / 2 past 5 OC we passed safely thro' Hurl Gate we saw a schooner on shore that went thro' just before us – At 1 / 2 past 8 OClock off Sands Point Light – a little before which we took tea – The

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Capt Says we are under fine way & a good Prospect before us – We have on board Jacob Bunting a young fr from Philads – who seems to be quite companionable – There is also with us a Presbyterian Minister from Portland whose name is Elijah Kellog he appears to be remarkably liberal in his conversation, & is well acquainted with most of our friends of that Place & speaks well of them – at tea table he took the Liberty to make a Prayer which I did not savor so well as his conversation – There are many other Passengers, & many of them I have not yet ascertained their names – those of [Newport](#) are Jonathon Bowen, Robt Robinson, & Robt Stevens Jr – At the table we found the want of a Woman to do the honors of the table –

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1816



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 12th birthday. The [Declaration of Independence](#) was read aloud by W.S. Radcliff in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the Capitol.

John Binns of Philadelphia proposed the publication of a spiffy new edition of the Declaration of Independence intended to retail at \$13 a copy — which would be at that time considerably more than two weeks' gross wages for a laboring man.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

The initial freshman class, of four scholars, matriculated at [Timothy Alden, Jr.](#)'s Alleghany College in Meadville, Pennsylvania. Classes would be in the Alden home.

The following is a description of the 4th of July celebrations of this year in [New-York](#), from Charles Haswell's AN OCTOGENARIAN REMINISCES:

On the eve of Fourth of July, or Independence Day, booths were erected around the City Hall Park, and roast pig, eggnog, cider, and spruce beer were temptingly displayed. On the following day the militia formed at the Battery, paraded up Broadway to the City Hall, where it was reviewed by the Mayor and Aldermen, and after executing a feu de joie was dismissed. The various civic societies met, formed in line, and marched through some of the principal streets; the Tammany Society, by right of seniority, being assigned to the head of the column.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Francis Marryat has also described for our benefit the events of this festive day:

[O]n the evening of the 3rd ... the municipal police [went round] pasting up placards, informing the citizens of New York that all persons letting off fireworks would be taken into custody, ... immediately followed up by the little boys proving their independence ... by letting off squibs, crackers, and bombs -- and cannons, made our of shin bones, which flew in the face of every passenger... [the morning dawned, 90 degrees in the shade, with hordes of timorous people fleeing the city] On each side of the whole length of Broadway were ranged booths and stands ... on which were displayed small plates of oysters, with a fork stuck in the board opposite to each plate; clams sweltering in the hot sun; pineapples, boiled hams, pies, puddings, barley sugar,... But what was most remarkable, Broadway being three miles long, and the booths lining each side of it, in every booth there was a roast pig, large or small, as the centre attraction. Six miles of roast pig! ... [the booths were also] loaded with porter, ale, cider, mead, brandy,



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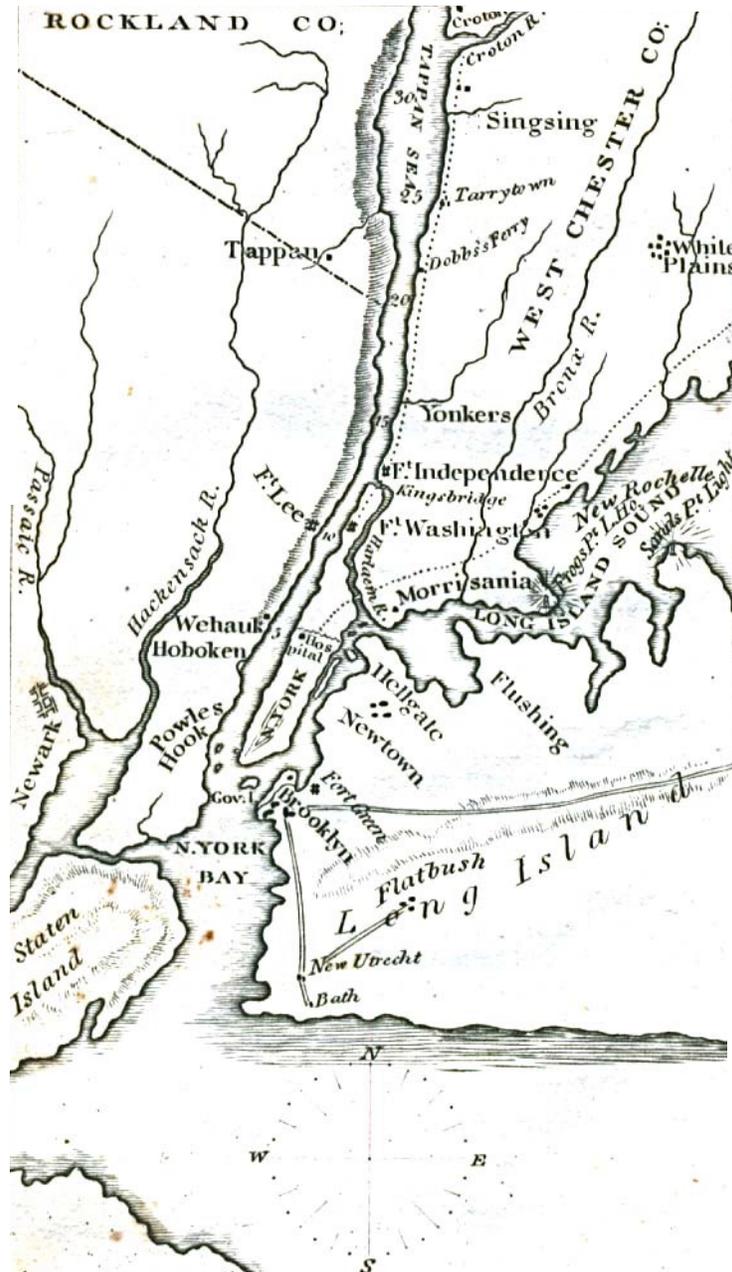
ginger-beer, pop, soda-water, whiskey, rum, punch, gin slings, cocktails, mint juleps ... Martial music sounded from a dozen quarters at once;... At last the troupes of militia and volunteers, who had been gathering in the park and other squares, made their appearance, well dressed and well equipped, and, in honour of the day, marching as independently as they well could. I did not see them go through many manoeuvres, but there was one which they appeared to excel in, and that was grounding arms and eating pies.... The crowds assembled were, as American crowds usually are, quiet and well behaved. I recognized many of my literary friends turned into generals, and flourishing swords ... the shipping at the wharfs were loaded with star-spangled banners; steamers ... covered with flags; the whole beautiful Sound was alive with boats and sailing vessels, all flaunting with pennants and streamers. "...All creation appeared to be independent on this day; some of the horses particularly so, for they would not keep "in no line no how." Some preferred going sideways like crabs, others went backwards, some would not go at all, others went a great deal too fast, and not a few parted company with their riders, ... let them go which way they would, they could not avoid the squibs and crackers. And the women were in the same predicament: they might dance right, or dance left, ... you literally trod upon gunpowder. "When the troops marched up Broadway, louder even than the music were to be heard the screams of delight from the children ... "Ma! ma! there's pa!" "Oh! there's John." "Look at uncle on his big horse." "Unless you are an amateur, there is no occasion to go to the various places of public amusement where their fireworks are let off, for they are sent up everywhere in such quantities that you hardly know which way to turn your eyes. It is, however, advisable to go into some place of safety, for the little boys and the big boys have all got their supply of rockets, which they fire off in the streets -- some running horizontally up the pavement, and sticking into the back of a passenger, and others mounting slantingdicularly and Paul-Prying into the bedroom windows on the third floor or attics, just to see how things are going on there. Look in any point of the compass, and you will see a shower of rockets in the sky: turn from New York to Jersey City, from Jersey City to Brooklyn, and shower is answered by shower on either side of the water. Hoboken repeats the signal; and thus it is carried on to the east, the west, the north, and the south, from Rhode Island to the Missouri, from the Canada frontier to the Gulf of Mexico. At the various gardens the combinations were very beautiful, and exceeded anything that I had witnessed in London or Paris. What with sea-serpents, giant rockets scaling heaven, Bengal lights, Chinese fires, Italian suns, fairy bowers, crowns of Jupiter, exeranthemums, Tartar temples, Vesta's diadems, magic circles, morning glories, stars of Columbia, and temples of liberty, all America was in a blaze; and, in addition to the mode of manifesting its joy, all America was tipsy.



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Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 4th of 7th M / Our Meeting this day was small but a season of precious favor to my mind - During a part of the meeting & while Hannah Dennis was speaking, the Guns were firing for rejoicing on the occasion of Independence, which with the ringing of Bells was a little disturbing but not a word of Hannah's testimony appear'd to be lost & the precious covering continued over us - I thought I could say in Truth & Sincerity



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*that I was thankful I was there. -
I have often in the course of this Day commemorated it with the
same one Year ago when I left N York for home - How time passes
- another Year gone, & we who are now On the Stage of life one
Year nearer to our long homes, & perhaps & indeed no doubt to
many of us who now live in this Town it May be the last we shall
ever see -Well how necessary a preparation for the final solemn
event. - Tho' I have on my own part to acknowledge many
deficiencies, yet I am thankful for a renew'd evidence this day,
of favor still extended. - Sister Ruth dined & spent the
Afternoon & evening with us.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1817

 Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 13th birthday.

The state of New York began to compete with the Cumberland Road by starting work at Rome NY upon a massive engineering project, a canal toward Lake Erie. It was on this day full of national symbolism that Governor DeWitt Clinton removed the first symbolic shovelful of dirt, at Rome, from the ditch that was to connect the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean by a route through the rivers of the United States, to be termed "the [Erie Canal](#)." Benjamin Wright would be chief engineer of the Middle Section. This project to dig a long canal 40 feet wide and 4 feet deep was projected to cost the nation M\$5, would actually cost the nation M\$7 (in money that would now be the equivalent of M\$700), and would be for a great stretch of our national existence our nation's single largest project — until, that is, we outdid ourselves by embarking on a scheme to construct an "[atomic](#)" bomb.²⁴⁷

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

CANALS

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 4 of 7 M / This day has been, ever since my remembrance a noisy one & of great anxiety to parents & those who have the care of children. I feel it more & more so, tho' we have but one to care for, yet with his advance in life we feel care to increase on his account - It has passed away without accident for which I desire to thankful. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

247. The [Erie Canal](#) was a very good bargain despite its cost, and would already have returned its investment, by fees obtained while being only partially open, even before its official completion. The project can be said to be coextensive with Thoreau's life, in that it started in 1817 and came to its far end in 1862.



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1818



Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Saturday: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 14th birthday.

In Paris, the 4th was celebrated by a banquet at the Restaurant Banclin for guests of honor including the former Senator James Brown of Louisiana, the American Minister to Paris, and General Lafayette.

In [Washington DC](#), for \$5 one might purchase a facsimile of the [Declaration of Independence](#) that had been created for the occasion by the printer Benjamin O. Tyler.

At the shipyard of Flannigan and Beachem in Fell's Point of [Baltimore](#), the steamship *United States* was launched.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about the patriotic celebration:

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

*7th day 4th of 7 M / This as usual has been a day of noise,
but no accident has occurred that I have heard of.—*





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1819



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne's](#), or [Hathorne's](#), 15th birthday.

Future governor of the state of [New York](#) Reuben Eaton Fenton was born to George W. Fenton and Elsie Owen Fenton in Carroll, New York.

At Fort Adams near Newport, Rhode Island, an extra gill of rum was dispensed to each soldier in honor of Independence Day. Then Private William G. Cornell went on guard duty at 8PM and was relieved at 10PM. While he was returning as part of the relieved guard to his quarters under the direction of a corporal, carrying his musket bearing a standard load of a ball and three buckshots, Private William Kane was standing in the doorway of the quarters laughing, and after the detail had passed, stepped out and stooped down and picked up a handful of gravel, advancing forward, and pitched it without much violence at the backs of the guard detail. Private Cornell turned and fired, hitting Private Kane just above the hip and severing an artery, causing his death in only a few minutes. A jury of inquest would be summoned on Monday and the accusation made that this was a wilful murder. After a confinement in the Newport County Jail on Marlborough Street, United States Supreme Court Associate Justice Joseph Story would find Cornell guilty on November 18, 1819 (at that time there were no federal judges other than the nine who sat on the Supreme Court). Justice Story would hear an appeal for a new trial on June 15, 1820 and deny the appeal. Eventually Cornell would be pardoned by President James Monroe.

At Mossy Spring in Kentucky, something very unusual and strange, for the United States of America, happened: a woman (a "Mrs. Mead") was able to deliver an Independence Day oration. –This oration was, it goes without saying, delivered to a group of women.

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 4th of 7th M / Our Morning Meeting was large, nearly all the usual attendants were there & a number, who are there but seldom & some strangers, which preety much filled the middle part of the house below stairs. David Buffum was engaged in a lively testimony & Susanna Bateman from [Greenwich](#) bore a short testimony.

In the Afternoon the Meeting was as large as usual & silent. – Abigail Robinsons was at meeting this fournoon, the first time in more than a Year, her infirmities of body being so great as to prevent her attendance I was glad to see heer seat again filled. –2nd day [Monday] 5 of 7 M / Independence has been celebrated in town today & yesterday on the Fort. – What excesses of drunkenness gluttony & vices of various Kinds does such celledrations occasion – I have seen it perhaps today as conspicuously as at any time within my recollection – I have observed many drunken men & some of them quite young – &



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yesterday a man was shot by a sentinel on the Fort in consequence of some affront. - This day a jury of inquest set & brought in the verdict of Willful Murder, - I feel strong desires that the observance of these days may go out of fashion or in some way surpressed, that the people may be preserved in Innocency. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1820



Material on the Reverend Samuel Joseph May's [nonviolence](#) follows:



Peace advocates of the 1820s regularly condemned offensive wars, but few went as far as May and repudiated all war and force. He scorned the Revolution as unchristian. His friend William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, admitted that he had "the same trouble that you [the Reverend Samuel Joseph May] have with the war of the revolution." Like May, Ladd believed that if genuine peace principles had prevailed among the Founding Fathers, England would have granted its colonies independence the same way a father frees his growing son.

May contended that the Founding Fathers' great mistake was their "specious" assertion that the use of force "was justified of God." The country hailed the war as a blessing to the nation and to mankind but forgot the suffering, death, and destruction it had caused. He believed that the Fathers' military victories, unfortunately, helped make war a legitimate instrument to redress national grievances. He later claimed that the [Revolutionary War](#) "was begun in violation of the rights of man — that it was sustained by fraud and corruption ... [and] accompanied by acts of terrible cruelty." Anyone who held that God approved of war advocated atheism. "If wars are necessary and justifiable," May contended, "there cannot be a benevolent being at the head of the universe. He must be malevolent — a devil."

During the early 1830s, other peace advocates followed May in condemning the Revolution as a violation of Christian ethics. Thomas S. Grimké, lawyer, [slaveholder](#), and brother of the famous Grimké sisters [Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#)], also decried the revolutionary generation's use of violence. He believed that the Fathers should have chosen to die as martyrs rather than as warriors; "not on the battle field of murder and suicide, but on the scaffold or in the flames of martyrdom." William Ladd was willing to "beard the lion in his den" and condemned the Fathers for employing violent means, although at the time the American Peace Society would not have approved this declaration.

After formation of the New England Non-Resistance Society in 1838, severe censures of "our Fathers" for their use of violence increased dramatically. Charles K. Whipple's *EVILS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR* emphasized the themes of mercy and forbearance found in the New Testament. He declared that the Founding Fathers could have won independence through passive resistance and thereby put war on the road to complete abolition. Because of the Fathers' ill-chosen course, the nation had been established upon false principles and left a legacy of violence. Samuel May, Jr., reminded his cousin that "our fathers made a wicked covenant with the supporters of the greatest wrongs man can inflict on their fellow man." The nation continued to fill



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the corrupt vessel of the Fathers with war, intemperance, licentiousness, and worst of all, [slavery](#). Instead of freedom and liberty, corruption and irreligion, he believed, were the fruits of independence.



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 16th birthday. [Nathaniel](#) was living with Manning relatives in Salem, Massachusetts, apart from his mother who was still in Raymond, Maine, while preparing for college under the tutelage of Benjamin Lynde Oliver, a Salem lawyer.

Vice President Daniel D. Tompkins attended ceremonies in New-York harbor at which the USS *Constellation* was decorated with numerous national and foreign flags.

Charles Carroll attended a celebration at Howard's Park in Baltimore, [Maryland](#), very impressively showing around his personal copy of the [Declaration of Independence](#). He da Freedom guy!!

An editorial in the Georgetown [Metropolitan](#) was critical of President Monroe for having closed the Executive Mansion on Independence Day.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1821



 Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 17th birthday.

Since President James Monroe was ill, the Executive Mansion was closed to the public. At a ceremony held at the Capitol, Secretary of State [John Quincy Adams](#) read aloud from an original copy of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In Philadelphia, 90-year-old Timothy Matlack, the man who “wrote the first commission” for General George Washington, was chosen to be the one to read aloud that [Declaration](#).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira became Secretary of State (prime minister) of Portugal.

News of the demise of [Napoléon](#) reached London. After the report of the panel of 15 peers, the government introduced a bill in the House of Lords, “Pains and Penalties 1820,” that would deprive Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) of the title of Queen Consort and dissolve her marriage with [King George IV](#) on account of her alleged adultery. Caroline would joke, with friends, that indeed she had once committed adultery, with the husband of a Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4th of 7 M / This has as usual been a day of noise in Town, but with all I have not learned any accident has taken place. — We have had our Cousins John Mary & Edwin Casey with us for a day or two from [Greenwich](#)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1822



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: Hezekiah Prince Jr. lived in the small port town (for the coasting trade) of Thomaston, Maine, and in his journal of 1822-1828 (published by the Maine Historical Society in 1965) he described the July 4th celebrations there. A modest celebration this year was:²⁴⁸

ushered in by the discharge of cannon ... the ringing of bells, and the halloos of the true Sons of Liberty.... The spirit and patriotism of '76 seamed still to flame in the breast of every citizen, especially the young who appeared very much animated. The few surviving veterans around us ... appeared to renew their age and glow with the same spirit which filled their breast in those ever to be remembered days.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Judge Bushrod Washington announced that since Mount Vernon was his private property, he was no longer going to tolerate the celebrants who were in the habit of coming up the river to indulge themselves at annual "Steam-boat parties" and "eating, drinking, and dancing parties."

In Saratoga County, New York, 5,000 citizens and 52 authentic soldiers of the Revolution assembled at the field upon which General Burgoyne had surrendered on October 17, 1777.

In Nashville, Tennessee, after Governor William Carroll presented a sword to General Andrew Jackson, both these dignitaries made speeches.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 4th of 7 M / In the forenoon meeting Hannah Dennis appeared in supplication, then D Buffum in solemn impressive testimony. - Then Hannah Dennis & then Jonathon Dennis in testimony. - it was a solemn favoured testimony. - In the Afternoon the meeting was Silent & good -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

248. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 18th birthday.



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1823



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: An elaborate ceremony took place at Mount Vernon with Vice President Daniel D. Tompkins in attendance.

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)

Timothy Pickering publicly repeated the charge that John Adams had communicated to him on August 22, 1822, of [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s plagiarism of ideas placed in the [Declaration of Independence](#).²⁴⁹



Hezikiah Prince Jr., in the small port town (for the coasting trade) of Thomaston, Maine, in his journal of 1822-1828 (published by the Maine Historical Society in 1965) described a July 4th celebration. He reported more of a formal celebration this year than the previous one, but:²⁵⁰

There being considerable division, the parties divided and the Federalists had this meetinghouse and the Republicans the Brick Meetinghouse at the Meadow. I of course joined the Republicans. The Brick Meetinghouse was very neatly and handsomely decorated. The clerical services were performed by Rev. Job Washburn. The Declaration of Independence was read by William Farley of Waldoboro and an oration by John Ruggles, Esq. which was received with universal applause. [Later] a company of about 300 took dinner with all the usual ceremonies. The party broke up about four o'clock and every one retired to their homes, well pleased with what they had seen, heard, and tasted.



Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN (edited by Count Gallatin with an introduction by Viscount Bryce and published in London by William Heinemann in 1916):

A horrible day here [New-York]; the noise of the July 4 celebration intolerable. I have to rub my eyes to see if I am awake, that it is true I am not in the Rue de l'Université. How I regret it. Father is going alone to see the new house in

249. COL. PICKERING'S OBSERVATIONS INTRODUCTORY TO READING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AT SALEM, JULY 4, 1823. Richard Henry Lee had already suggested that Jefferson had "copied from [John] Locke's treatise on government."

250. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 19th birthday.

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Western Virginia-also to Washington. I take mamma and Frances to Baltimore to-morrow. We are stopping right in the country at a nice old house which belongs to the Montgomery family. But the difference in everything; only about three private coaches in New York- no means of getting about. The streets absolutely filthy and the heat horrible. I have been nearly every night for a long walk. No roads-no paths. I never realized the absolutely unfinished state of the American cities until I returned. The horrible chewing of tobacco- the spitting; all too awful. We have had a charming and hospitable reception, but all is so crude.

In England, the suicide law sponsored by Sir James MacKintosh (4 George IV.c 52) was enacted by the House of Commons. The new suicide arrangements decreed that bodies of suicides could in the future be interred in churchyards or public burial places, so long as the interment took place within 24 hours of the coroner's inquest and certificate, was after 9PM and before midnight, and was bereft of any accompanying Christian religious observance. (This law would be altered in 1882 to allow interment in churchyards at any time of day and to allow the interment to be accompanied by a religious observance. Then, in 1961, suicide would be declared to be no longer a criminal offence in England.) All goods and chattels still were of course forfeit to the Crown (some things don't change).



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1824

 Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In [New-York](#), a “Patriotic Volunteer” ballet performance was



offered at the new theater at Chatham Garden.

Meanwhile, thousands watched as municipal firemen paraded from the lawn in front of the hospital on Broadway between Anthony and Duane streets (Hospital Green) to the Bowery Church.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 4th of 7th M / Our Morning meeting was solid & silent & to me a season of some favour – In the afternoon a few words from D Buffum – pretty good Meeting – With my H & John went out to D B Jr & took tea & set the evening.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Horace Mann, Sr.](#) was invited by the citizens of Dedham to deliver an oration. His oration would impress John Quincy Adams.

In Poultney, Vermont, a couple of hundred men repaired a road, after which they repaired to a locale at which “ladies of the neighborhood” had prepared for them a “plenteous repast.”

[Jefferson Davis](#)’s father Samuel Emory Davis died.

Hezikiah Prince Jr. lived in the small port town (for the coasting trade) of Thomaston, Maine, and in his journal of 1822-1828 (published by the Maine Historical Society in 1965) he described the July 4th celebrations there. On this year the 4th had been a Sunday, so the national birthday celebration actually took place on Monday the 5th.²⁵¹

We had a stage erected in front of the pulpit [of the Brick Meetinghouse] ... The first performance after the reading of the Constitution was an oration by Demerrick Spear, next a written disputation between ... and another between ... we went to the Shore to a dinner provided by the Widow Spear. About 50 set down to dinner after which some appropriate toasts were drunk. [about 3:30 pm] I came home in the chaise I had hired for the day -- Mrs. Hasting’s chaise and Mr. Jourdain’s horse. ... About seven o’clock ... tackled my horse and chaise and carried Miss Henrietta Marsh and Miss Fanny Sprague (two young ladies from Bath and fine agreeable ones, too) over to a ball ... [meeting a party of about 12 couples] ... we spent the evening or rather night in dancing and very pleasantly till about two o’clock when I came away with Miss Marsh and Sprague. Some of the party continued till three o’clock.

4th July, 1826, National Jubilee. A fine morning was ushered in by the roar of cannon in all parts of the town, by a salute of 24 guns

251. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s, or [Hathorne](#)’s, 20th birthday.



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from a brass six pounder on the hill and by the ringing of bells. It is the fiftieth anniversary of that joyous day which we hail as our nation's birthday. It was a glorious day to our country -- it was so to the world, for it declared that "all men are born free and equal" and this principle of equality is gaining upon the old notions of imperial, kingly and lordly characters and as it gains ground, the world becomes enlightened and refined ... After the services at the Meetinghouse the procession formed again walked to the new ropewalks lately erected where a table of 300 plates was spread and a dinner in ample order. Mr. Ruggles presided assisted by five vice-presidents. ... After the cloth was removed and the wine was placed before us, some fine sentiments were drank to and a fine flow of soul seemed to pervade the whole company in number over 200. ... A Mr. Brown sung some fine patriotic songs and towards the last some comic songs in fine style. All was life and spirit, yet all was orderly and harmonious. In the evening a fine display of fireworks was had, procured from Boston ...

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

In a footnote he added that the meetinghouse had been adorned with the names of Washington, Knox, and other patriots in white roses, along with that of [Simón Bolívar](#) who had helped revive their fine sense of a steady march of freedom.



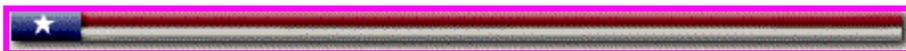
 July 12, Saturday: On the 8th day after our national celebration, according to the journal of Hezekiah Prince



Jr., news of the simultaneous deaths of two Founding Fathers and ex-Presidents during that anniversary came to the small port town of Thomaston in Maine:

Papers brought the news that Presidents Old Adams and Jefferson both died on the 4th of July past.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



[George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s funeral.

Horatio Gates Spafford registered his A POCKET GUIDE FOR THE TOURIST AND TRAVELLER ALONG THE LINE OF THE [CANALS](#) AND THE INTERIOR COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF [NEW-YORK](#) and subsequently would publish this.



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1825



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July:²⁵² In [Washington DC](#), taking part in a 4th-of-July parade that included a stage representing 24 states, mounted on wheels, President John Quincy Adams marched from the [White House](#) to the Capitol building.

In [Boston](#), members of the military shared breakfast at the Exchange Coffee House (which must be what war is all about, unless you have a need to offer some alternate explanation).

Construction began on Connecticut's [Farmington Canal](#), from Massachusetts to Paumanok Long Island Sound, along the Connecticut River.

New York governor De Witt Clinton and Ohio governor Jeremiah Morrow presided at the groundbreaking for the [Ohio and Erie Canal](#) at Licking Summit, Ohio.

The geriatric general [Lafayette](#) came to Brooklyn to lay the cornerstone for the Apprentices' Library, and 6-year-old Walt Whitman was present along with other children. Some of the children were lifted to spots where they could see, and 36 years later Whitman would reminisce that it had been the general himself who had lifted him: "It is one of the dearest of the boyish memories of the writer, that he now only saw, but was touched by the hands, and taken a moment to the breast of the immortal old Frenchman." Young Whitman was so impressed by this event that he would write it up a total of three times (on one occasion he produced

252. [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 21st birthday.



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this memory of a manly kiss for the amazement of his buddy [John Burroughs](#)). No story such as this loses anything in the retelling, and by the time he would get to the 3d version he would not be merely handled at that 4th-of-July dedication long ago — but bussed as well:



On the visit of General Lafayette to this country, in 1824, he came over to Brooklyn in state, and rode through the city. The children of the schools turn'd out to join in the welcome. An edifice for a free public library for youths was just then commencing, and Lafayette consented to stop on his way and lay the corner-stone. Numerous children arriving on the ground, where a huge irregular excavation for the building was already dug, surrounded with heaps of rough stone, several gentlemen assisted in lifting the children to safe or convenient spots to see the ceremony. Among the rest, Lafayette, also helping the children, took up the five-year-old Walt Whitman, and pressing the child a moment to his breast, and giving him a kiss, handed him down to a safe spot in the excavation.

— John Burroughs.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

So who cares what actually happened?

Walt would be learning his letters in a [Quaker](#) school in Brooklyn which taught according to the system pioneered in England by Friend Joseph Lancaster. The class size was a hundred and the children were seated at desks in groups of ten. Some of the older children were assigned as monitors and gave instruction, while the room was supervised by a single adult.





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1826



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: Construction was initiated at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on the [Main Line Canal](#).

The cornerstone was laid for the first lock of the [Oswego Canal](#).

About noon, [Stephen Collins Foster](#) was born in Lawrenceville (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, the 9th child of William Barclay Foster, a businessman, and Eliza Clayland Tomlinson, daughter of a fairly well-off farmer.

[Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) and Eugene Scribe met in Paris to discuss Robert le diable for perhaps the 1st time.

English newspapers picked up and translated, word for word, the hoax or invention that had appeared in the *Journal du Commerce de Lyon* about an Englishman, one [Roger Dodsworth](#), who had apparently been frozen in a Mount Saint Gothard glacier since an avalanche in 1654, and had on July 4th been recovered and reanimated “by the usual remedies” by a Dr. Hotham of Northumberland. [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) read this newspaper account and by October would produce her THE REANIMATED MAN.



The newspapers of 1826 abounded with descriptions of solemn odes, processions, orations, toasts, and other such commemoratives of July 4th, the 50th anniversary of the [Declaration of Independence](#). One reflection of the public conception of the Declaration was Royall Tyler’s “Country Song for the Fourth of July,” a poem that describes a New England celebration of the [Brother Jonathan](#) type, where neighbors gather for food, fun, and festivities. A clear view of just how the political ideals of the Declaration were received by the masses shines through Tyler’s rhymed directions for the country dance. Here is how his dance appeared in an 1841 publication (although Tyler, who would die on August 26, 1826 from cancer of the face, could only have composed this in a considerably earlier timeframe).

Squeak the fife and beat the drum,
Independence day is come!!



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Let the roasting pig be bled,
Quick twist off the cockerel's head.
Quickly rub the pewter platter.
Heap the nutcakes, fried in butter.
Set the cups, and beaker glass,
The Pumpkin and the apple sauce.

Send the keg to shop for brandy;
Maple sugar we have handy,
Independent, staggering Dick,
A noggin mix of swingeing thick,
Sal, put on your russet skirt,
Jotham, get your **boughten** shirt,
To-day we dance to tiddle diddle.
—Here comes Sambo with his fiddle;

Sambo, take a dram of whiskey,
And play up Yankee doodle frisky.
Moll, come leave your witched tricks,
And let us have a reel of six;
Father and mother shall make two;
Sal, Moll, and I, stand all a-row,
Sambo, play and dance with quality;
This is the day of blest equality,

Father and **mother** are but **men**,
And Sambo — is a citizen.
Come foot it, Sal, — Moll, figure in.
And, mother, you dance up to him;
Now saw fast as e'er you can do
And father, you cross o'er to Sambo,
—Thus we dance, and thus we play,
On glorious Independence Day. —

[2 more verses in like manner]

In Salem, Massachusetts, 4th-of-July orator the Reverend [Henry Root Colman](#) delivered the necessary oration. This would be printed by the town as AN ORATION DELIVERED IN SALEM, JULY 4, 1826, AT THE REQUEST OF THE TOWN, ON THE COMPLETION OF A HALF CENTURY SINCE THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. Meanwhile, elsewhere, 4th-of-July orator [George Bancroft](#) was alerting an audience to the fact that his attitudes about government were coming to tend toward the democratic.

On this 50th anniversary of our American independence, which at the time we were referring to as our “Jubilee of Freedom” event, on the 22d birthday of [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), both former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) and former President John Adams died.²⁵³ This was taken at the time to constitute a sign of national favor from Heaven, although why death ought to be regarded as a sign of favor remains untheorized — perhaps once again we Americans were “pushing the envelope” of what it is to be a human being. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: [Jefferson](#): “Is it the 4th?” —Ah.” John Adams: “Thomas Jefferson still survives” (actually Jefferson had died at 12:50PM and then Adams died at 5:30PM.)

Even before news of Jefferson's demise had reached [Washington DC](#), Mayor Roger C. Weightman was having his final letter read aloud at that city's Independence Day national-birthday festivities. The most stirring words 253. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic. Refer to L. H. Butterfield, "The Jubilee of Independence, July 4, 1826," [Virginia Magazine of History and Biography](#), LXI (1953), pages 135-38; Joseph J. Ellis, [Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams](#) (NY, 1993), pages 210-16; Robert P. Hay, "The Glorious Departure of the American Patriarchs: Contemporary Reactions to the Deaths of Jefferson and Adams," [Journal of Southern History](#), XXXV (1969), pages 543-55; Merrill D. Peterson, [The Jefferson Image in the American Mind](#), 1960, pages 3-14.

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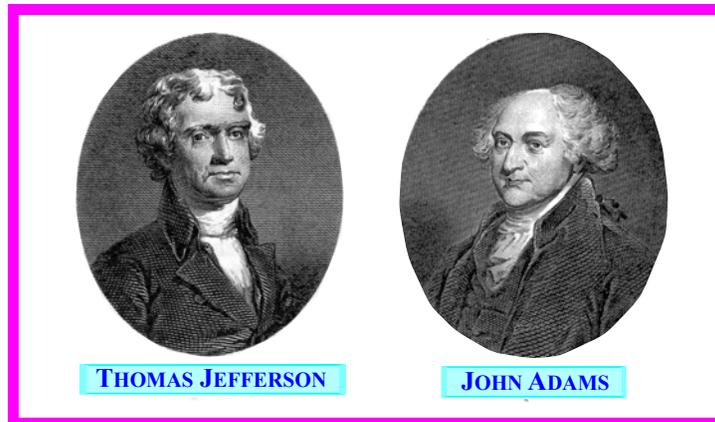
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in that former president's missive—his assertion that the mass of mankind had not been born “with saddles on their backs” nor a favored few “booted and spurred” to “ride” them—had of course originated in the speech delivered by the leveler Colonel Richard Rumbold on the scaffold moments before his execution for treason against the English monarchy, at the conclusion of the English Civil War, in the Year of Our Lord 1685.²⁵⁴ Those who noticed that the former President had intentionally or unknowingly been borrowing sentiments did not see fit to record that fact in writing.²⁵⁵

Former president Jefferson's death at [Monticello](#) (“All my wishes and where I hope my days will end — at Monticello.”) would be followed shortly by the auction of his 90 black slaves over 12 years of age—along with his 12 black slaves between 9-12 years of age, his 73 cows of unknown coloration, and his 27 horses also of unknown coloration—for he had been living quite beyond his means, bringing back with him for instance from France no fewer than 86 large crates of civilized goodies. Jefferson did, however, set free his mulatto blood relatives. Jefferson, one might say, in allowing that after a certain number of crosses with white daddies, an infant ought to be considered to be white, had “pushed the envelope” of what it meant to be a human being. Yeah, right.



[Mary Moody Emerson](#) entered into her Almanack a comment that this was the day on which her Country had thrown the gage (thrown down the gauntlet, issued a challenge to a duel of honor):

254. Macaulay's HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Chapter V; Adair, Douglass. “Rumbold's Dying Speech, 1685, and Jefferson's Last Words on Democracy, 1826,” [William and Mary Quarterly](#), 3rd Series, IX (1952): pages 526, 530:

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.

Rumbold was not merely being [hanged](#) but being hanged, drawn, and quartered — the penalty for an attempt upon the monarch. This trope about horses, saddles, boots, and spurs was taken at the time to have been originated by Jefferson, in John A. Shaw's EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 and in Henry Potter's EULOGY, PRONOUNCED IN FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH-CAROLINA, JULY 20TH, 1826 and in John Tyler's EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, JULY 11, 1826 in A SELECTION OF EULOGIES, PRONOUNCED IN THE SEVERAL STATES, IN HONOR OF THOSE ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOTS AND STATESMEN, JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON (Hartford CT: 1826). See also THE LAST LETTER OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS STATESMAN, THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ. AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: BEING HIS ANSWER TO AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE CITIZENS OF WASHINGTON IN CELEBRATING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: MONTICELLO, JUNE 24, 1826 (Washington DC: 1826).

That 17th-Century incident was not the first one in our history to conform to the dictum “there must be none higher than us, though of course there must always be some lower than us,” for in the 14th Century the Reverend John Ball had been [hanged](#) for preaching against public toleration of privileged classes:

*“When Adam dalf [digged] and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?”*



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tho' the revolution gave me to slavery of poverty & ignorance & long orphanship, - yet it gave my fellow men liberty

HOLOGRAPHIC IMAGES



Isabella ([Sojourner Truth](#)), who would have been approximately 29 years old, had in this year borne another daughter, whom she had named Sophia, who would need to grow up laboring as an indentured servant, by the husband Thomas to whom she had been assigned by her master who would not admit that he was a husband. She had once again increasing the prosperity of the master race! The remaining slaves of New York State were to be freed one year from this date, and John Dumont had solemnly promised Isabella in some earlier period that he would free her and her husband “a year early” and set them up in a nearby log cabin. So it had come time for the white race to be true to its word. However, since the master had made that commitment to this enslaved woman, she had carelessly chopped off one of her fingers while working for him –so he figured she couldn’t work as productively with only nine fingers as she had with ten, and so –he figured she must still owe him some work. Fair’s fair, right? No freedom, no cabin, not yet, instead work some more for nothing. (But don’t lose heart, as maybe later I’ll be able to keep my solemn promise.)

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



255. Note that we have here an American author who is establishing his claim to fame upon his being the author of the memorable phrases of our foundational document, and who is attempting incautiously to do so by appropriating phrases originated by someone else. Also, we have here an American public so stupid or so patriotic that it lets him get away with it. Witness John A. Shaw, EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 in A Selection of Eulogies, Pronounced in the Several States, in Honor of Those Illustrious Patriots and Statesmen, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (Hartford, Conn., 1826), 163; Henry Potter, “Eulogy, Pronounced in Fayetteville, North-Carolina, July 20th, 1826,” A Selection of Eulogies...., 130; John Tyler, “Eulogy, Pronounced at Richmond, Virginia, July 11, 1826,” A Selection of Eulogies...., 7-8; National Intelligencer, July 4, 1826; Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot, July 12, 1826; Philadelphia Gazette, July 5, 1826; Commercial Chronicle and Baltimore Advertiser, July 11, 1826; The last letter of the illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson, Esq. author of the Declaration of Independence: Being his answer to an invitation to join the citizens of Washington in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of American independence: Monticello. June 24, 1826 (Washington, D.C., 1826).



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In New Harmony, Indiana, Robert Dale Owen gave a speech he called his “Declaration of Mental Independence.”

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), four of those who had participated in the capture of the British armed schooner *Gaspe* during the [Revolution](#) rode in a parade.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Major John Handy read the [Declaration of Independence](#) “on the identical spot which he did 50 years ago,” in the presence of Isaac Barker of [Middletown](#), “who was at his side in the same place fifty years before.” Patriotic fun and games! Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) protested to his journal:

3rd day 4th of 7th M 1826 / This is what is called Independence Day - & an exceeding troublesome one it is to all sober Minded people - The expence of this day given to the poor or appropriated to public school would school all the poor children in town for some time. - Last night, we were the whole night greatly troubled & kept Awake, by the firing of squibs & crackers, great Bonfire in the middle of the Parade & tar Barrells, with various noises which were kept up all night & consequently kept us & many others awake, to our great discomfiture - in addition to which is the bitter reflection of the discipation & corruption of habits & morals to which our youth are exposed. - & today we have had numerous scenes of drunkenness both among the Aged & Youth, & many act of wickedness -besides the pomp & vain show apparant in all parts of the Town -This evening again we are troubled with noise & tumult & what kind of a night we are to have cannot be told. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In New-York, 4 gold medals had been ordered to be struck by the Common Council: 3 were for surviving signers of the [Declaration of Independence](#), and the 4th was given to the son of Robert Fulton as a memorial of “genius in the application of steam.”

In a celebration at Lynchburg, Virginia, among the “aged patriots of ’76” were General John Smith and Captain George Blakenmore.

At the South Meeting House of Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas stood on the spot from which he had read the [Declaration of Independence](#) in 1776.

The [Frederick-Town Herald](#) of Frederick, [Maryland](#) announced that it would no longer be publishing the usual round of “generally dull, insipid” dinner toasts, “about which few feel any interest.”

In Salem, [North Carolina](#), the Moravian Male Academy was dedicated.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, Miss Caroline Whitney delivered an address on the occasion of the presentation of a flag to the Quincy Light Infantry.

In Arlington, Virginia, General Washington’s tent, the very same tent that the General had been using at the heights of Dorchester in 1775, was re-erected near the banks of the Potomac River for purposes of celebration.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



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1827



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: One of life's little turning points²⁵⁶ — Isabella Van Wagenen ([Sojourner Truth](#)), with all the 10,000 other remaining slaves of New York State, would become legally free at the stroke of midnight. (Bear in mind that this had some very severe limitations in practice. For instance, a black mother and father would be technically freed, but their children, having already been born free under the "slow eradication of slavery" New York law, would be forced to continue under the category of indentured servants. So a mother and father working on a New York farm were not at liberty to seek other employment or move to another residence, or bargain very much on the local labor market, without the threat of being separated from their hostage children.) However, it was not only the day of freedom, it was also the approach of the annual Pinkster. Isabella was about to take her baby Sophia and go back with her old master John Dumont, who had come to fetch her and take her back to her other children Diana, Peter, and Elizabeth, and to her husband Tom, in his carriage, because over and above a family reunion he was promising that she would be allowed to participate in this greatest of the holidays. She was sorely tempted. Then she had what would strike her to have been a revelation from God, and fell senseless. When she would again become aware of her surroundings, her former lord and master's carriage would have departed — and she would still be with only her baby and with the Van Wagenen family.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



256. This was also [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 23d birthday, if anybody cares.



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1828



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne's](#), or [Hathorne's](#), 24th birthday.

[Waldo Emerson](#) went to McLean's Asylum in Charlestown MA to see how his brother [Edward Bliss Emerson](#) was getting along, but the person in charge turned him away, insisting that it would not be good for the patient to be visited at this point (one wonders what was going on).

At 4:30PM, [Sam Patch](#) again leaped the Passaic Falls, this time before a crowd estimated at 3,000 to 5,000: "One thing can be done as well as another."



CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

That evening Timothy Crane was staging a tickets-only display of fireworks at his Forest Garden, across his new toll bridge on the far side of the Passaic Falls, "where the refinements of taste and art combined with the



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varied and romantic beauties of nature, to afford pleasure and satisfaction to the numerous company present.” (It is to be noted that this was the first 4th-of-July celebration at Paterson NJ to feature such advertised commercial attractions, as in the previous year the fireworks display had been paid for by the municipality and had been free to all.)

Returning to Boston harbor from a cruise, the frigate *Constitution* fired “a salute in honor of the day.”

President [John Quincy Adams](#) officiated at the ground-breaking ceremony of the Chesapeake and Ohio [Canal](#) north of Georgetown, with Benjamin Wright as Chief Engineer. Nathan Roberts was appointed to the board of engineers. (The C&O Canal would turn out to require 22 years.)

The last surviving signatory to the [Declaration of Independence](#), Charles Carroll, keynoted the beginning of construction on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad west from Baltimore which had been chartered in the previous year, by symbolically laying the 1st stone. (This B&O would become the 1st railroad in the US to carry passengers as well as freight.)²⁵⁷



At the end of his 6-month contract, [William Lloyd Garrison](#) resigned from the [National Philanthropist](#).



IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IT IS MORTALS WHO CONSUME OUR HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, FOR WHAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO IS EVADE THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE HUMAN LIFESPAN. (IMMORTALS, WITH NOTHING TO LIVE FOR, TAKE NO HEED OF OUR STORIES.)

257. This 1st stone would be recovered in 1898, and would at that point have been buried by successive fills over the years, some six feet down. It is now relocated to the B&O company museum that has been opened in 1952. (The parking lot for this museum is over the site of the original 1830 station, and it is a replacement station, built in 1851, which serves as this exhibit’s entrance hall.) —Things change, they really change.



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1829



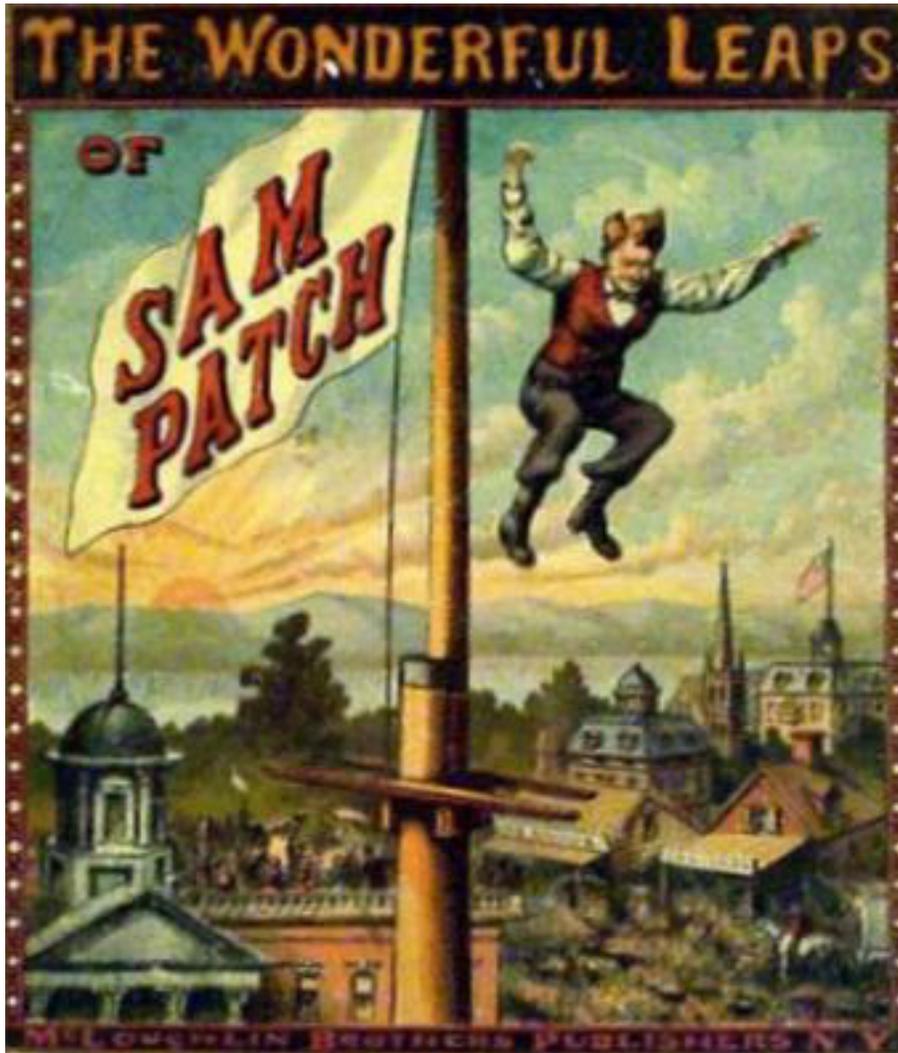
Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 25th birthday.

According to an almanac of the period, "Navigation opened on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, by the removal of the embankment at the summit level. Cornerstone of an edifice for the accommodation of the United States' Mint, laid at Philadelphia."

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

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[Sam Patch](#) leaped at Little Falls on the Passaic River: “One thing can be done as well as another.”

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)

The [Chesapeake and Delaware Canal](#) was complete. The embankments at the summit of the canal were opened and water filled the canal, with large crowds and the Mayor of Philadelphia, Benjamin W. Richards, in attendance.

The ceremonial laying of the cornerstone of one of the Eastern locks of the [C&O Canal](#) near Georgetown was canceled on account of rain. It must not have been raining in Augusta, [Maine](#), for a cornerstone of the “New State House” was ceremonially laid. It must not have been raining in Cincinnati, for an illuminated balloon 15 feet in diameter was sent aloft.

General Van Ness, on behalf of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council of [Washington DC](#), presented a written statement of confidence to President Andrew Jackson — because at the moment he was encountering



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in that city a significant degree of unpopularity.

Lowell Mason directed the music at Boston's celebration. At 4PM at the orthodox Congregationalist church on Park Street on Beacon Hill, [William Lloyd Garrison](#) made his 1st major antislavery speech, "Dangers to the Nation" (in attendance was John Greenleaf Whittier). Expected to orate acceptably in favor of colonization as a way to dispose of American blacks and restore racial separation, he instead espoused abolitionism in the name of freedom and of equal rights.²⁵⁸



James Henry Hammond, at the age of 25, opined at the Columbia Presbyterian Church that the citizenry had begun "to question the value of the American Union ... Patience under usurpation is a word for slaves."



YOU HAVE TO ACCEPT EITHER THE REALITY OF TIME OVER THAT OF CHANGE, OR CHANGE OVER TIME — IT'S PARMENIDES, OR HERACLITUS. I HAVE GONE WITH HERACLITUS.

258. During the following decade of the 1830s the number of free black Americans would increase by nearly 86,000 to over 319,000 while the American Colonization Society would raise some \$113,000, but by use of that money only 1,430 freed American blacks would be transported from "our" shores toward Liberia. (A significant %age of such persons had been freed on condition that they were to "volunteer" for such transportation to a foreign shore.)



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1830



 Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 26th birthday.

In Columbia, South Carolina the 4th had already been celebrated, on Saturday the 3rd — of course because Down Here In God's Country We Remember The Sabbath Day And Keep It Holy.

Vice President John C. Calhoun, at the Anniversary celebration in Pendleton, South Carolina, stirred up a certain amount of controversy with a toast in which "consolidation and [disunion](#)" were the "two extremes of our system" — whatever the hell that was supposed to mean.

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)



Suffer the Little Children to Come Unto Me, an anthem by Lowell Mason, was performed for the initial time, by a children's choir in Park Street Church, Boston.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

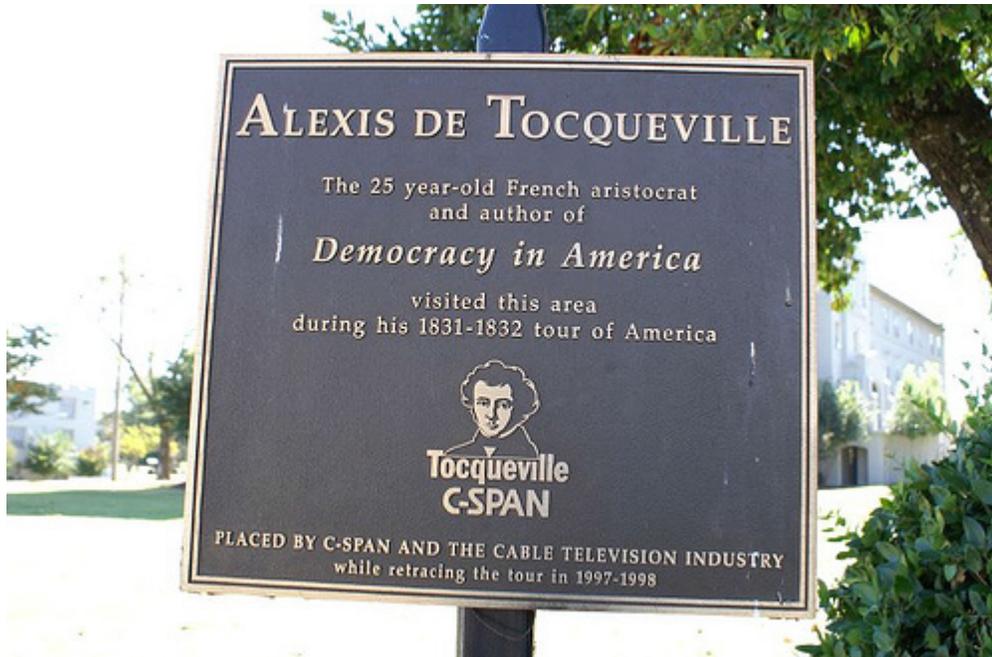
*1st day 4th of 7 M / Both Meetings Silent & in the mornng Enoch & Lydia at [Smithfield](#). —
Benj C Stanton was here in the Mornng & went to Town in the Afternoon. — The more acquaintance I have with him the more I esteem him. —*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

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Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont observed a grand 4th-of-July parade in Albany.



Being in [New York](#) rather than Massachusetts or in South Carolina, they quite missed the 1st public singing of the new “My Country ’Tis of Thee” anthem that had just been authored by the Reverend Samuel Francis Smith and arranged by Lowell Mason—which was taking place at Boston’s Park Street Church—and they quite missed being among the nullifiers at the Circular Church in [Charleston](#) who were hearing Robert Y. Hayne give “the traditional noon oration, with a denunciation of the tariff, defense of [nullification](#)” (though admitting it could lead to [disunion](#)) and in the warm southern evening having a “sumptuous feast and ... fire-eating addresses by Pinckney, Hamilton, Turnbull, and Hayne.”

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They also missed out on the grand opening to the public of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad,

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and the 27th birthday of [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#). During this month and perhaps on this very day of celebration,



the *York*, designed and built by a [Quaker](#) watchmaker named Phineas Davis of York, Pennsylvania who had named it for his home town, was winning the \$4,000.⁰⁰ prize in the steam locomotive contest that had been sponsored by the B&O RR. It could be operated for as little as \$16.⁰⁰ a day, cutting the cost for a train pulled by horses by more than half, plus it would negotiate the sharpest curves on the track at a speed of 15 miles per hour and was able to get up to 35 miles per hour on the straightaways, something of which no dray nag could even dream. [Friend](#) Phineas, the watchmaker of York, would be appointed Master Mechanic of the B&O and his engine would begin a schedule of one trip per day between [Baltimore](#) and Ellicott's Mills, pulling up to five cars. Somewhat later this would be extended into a journey of some 40 miles between Baltimore and Parr's Ridge, which was part way to Frederickstown, Maryland.



"[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly."

— [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#)



A fireworks canister was exploded in front of Albany, [New York](#) mayor Bloodgood's door. A \$100 reward would be offered for the perpetrator.

In [Washington DC](#), the attorney Francis Scott Key delivered himself of an oration in the Rotunda of the Capitol, and Jacob Gideon, Sr., "who had officiated during the Revolutionary War as trumpeter to the commander-in-chief, and had acted in that capacity at the surrender at York Town" sounded his "revolutionary blast" for the benefit of those attending a dinner of the Association of Mechanics and other Working Men. There were separate partisan political ceremonies: a "National Republican Celebration" was observed by the friends of Henry Clay while an "Administration Celebration" was observed by those favoring the re-election of President Andrew Jackson.

Meanwhile, in Alexandria, Virginia, there was a ground-breaking ceremony for the Alexandria branch of the C&O Canal, with G.W.P. Custis and town mayor John Roberts delivering speeches. South of Alexandria, the Pequoad were celebrating the 4th with a war dance at their wigwam



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Meanwhile, in Georgetown, the *George Washington*, a “beautiful new packet boat,” was commencing its first run on the C&O Canal.

Meanwhile, in Hartford, Connecticut, Friend [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) had taken Catherine Beecher up on her invitation to visit her at the Hartford Seminary, and as a result of this visit she would form a plan to attend that seminary. (Her Philadelphia monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would, however, refuse to sanction such a plan for theological education outside their group.)

Meanwhile, in Charleston, South Carolina, citizens were carrying parade banners “on which were inscribed the names of battles fought in the Revolution, and in the late War.”

Meanwhile, in Quincy, Massachusetts, John Quincy Adams was delivering a Fourth of July oration. Per Charles Francis Adams, Sr.’s diary (published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1968):

As my father was to deliver the Oration, I thought I would hear him for the purpose of forming a Judgment upon the character of his Oratory. To do this, I felt as if I should make sure of a good seat only by going through all the Ceremonies. Isaac Hull and I therefore went up ... and endured all the excruciating heat of the sun, ... dust, procession &ca. for three hours, until we reached the Meeting house, thus paying pretty dearly for our privelege. The Oration was and hour and twenty five minutes. The manner was as I expected, perhaps a little better though with a little of the defect I anticipated. [footnote says the main theme was an attack upon the South Carolina doctrine of nullification, which helps explain:]... I fear for him lest in his age it should bring upon him the War of words to which through all his life he has been accustomed. It is the character of my Father vehemently to attack. He does it through all his writings more or less, and attack in every community creates defence; Controversy rises, from which issue anger, and ill blood. All this is not to my taste and therefore I presume I must be set down as preferring insignificance and inglorious ease.” “I attended the Dinner and suffered three hours of excessive heat without any thing to pay me for it, excepting a beautiful tribute to the memory of my Grandfather here in his native town, which affected me even to tears. That is worth having. Removed from all the stormy passions he sleeps in his last mansion, yet the spontaneous effusion of grateful hearts rises up to cheer and invigorate his drooping descendants.

Former president James Monroe died in [New-York](#), where he was living with his daughter and her husband. Allegedly, when the noise of firing began at midnight he opened his eyes inquiringly, and when the occasion was communicated to him, observers noted a look of intelligence come into his eyes. The following is a snippet from Charles Haskell’s REMINISCENCES OF NEW YORK BY AN OCTOGENARIAN:

On the Fourth of July Ex-President James Monroe died in the house of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, in this city. Of four ex-Presidents who then had died, Mr. Monroe was the third to depart on the national anniversary, a coincidence heightened in effect by the simultaneous deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson on July 4, 1826.





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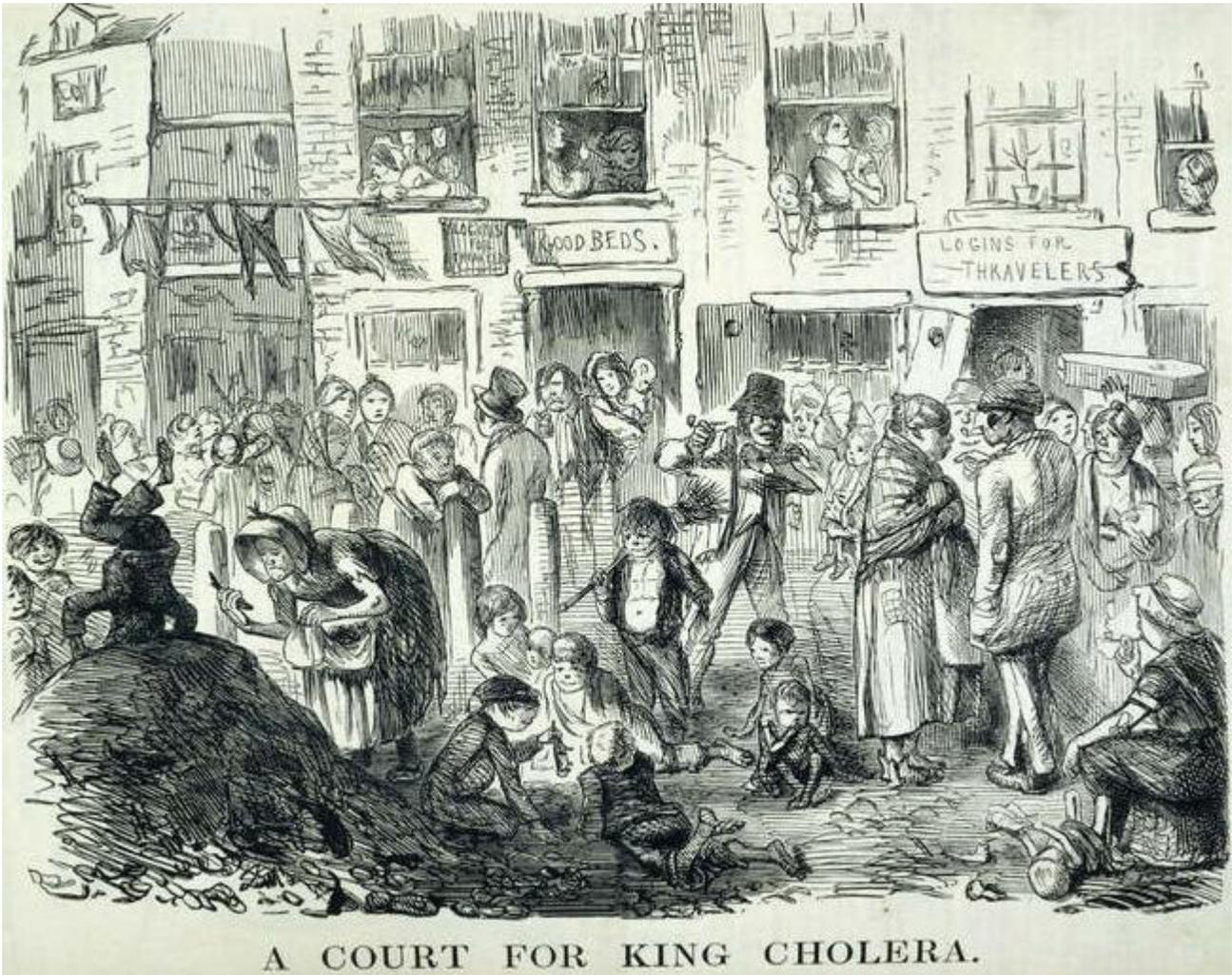
When he would hear of this death, President Andrew Jackson would direct that all US military “officers wear crape on their left arm for six months.”

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

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The song "America" that had been jotted down by Dr. Samuel Smith on a scrap of paper was performed by Boston schoolchildren.

In New-York, Fourth of July celebrations were subdued due to a [cholera](#) epidemic.



[Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied](#) and [Karl Bodmer](#) arrived in Boston harbor only to be detained there, also on account of this current epidemic.



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On the bank of the Potomac River, Henry Clay was guest of honor at a National Republican Celebration.

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)



In England, the Durham University founded by Lord Protector Cromwell had been suppressed at the Restoration. At this point re-opening of that University was authorized by the monarch.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day the 4th of 7 M – The Meeting for Sufferings Met at the time & place, & entered into a feeling & solemn view of the Subject of the Cholera in NYork & the probability of it appearance in [Providence](#), & fully Authorised the School committee to Vacate the [School](#) in case it should appear necessary. –

In the Afternoon the committee again met & on examining the evidence before us, it did not appear that the disorder had increased in NYork & it was concluded to meet again next 7th day Afternoon, again to consider the subject & act as wisdom & prudence might then dictate

I attended the Meeting for Sufferings held at the Meeting House in Town. – Those who attended our Week day meeting at the Insitution report it to have been a remarkable solemn meeting & I did not learn there was any preaching

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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1833



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July:²⁵⁹ Charles Francis Adams, Sr. noted:

It is now so many years since the Declaration of Independence that the vigour of its celebration is rather slackened. The City of Boston still holds on to its accustomed forms and here and there is to be found some place where the festival is held, but noise is not to me a necessary concomitant of rejoicing.

He spent the day reading, visiting, and enjoying the outdoors.

In Philadelphia, the cornerstone of the Girard College for Orphans was being laid.²⁶⁰

Horatio Gates Spafford's widow Elizabeth Clarke Hewitt received the patent on his compressed air engine.

The National Intelligencer of Washington DC published the text not of the Declaration of Independence but of the Constitution.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



259. This was Nathaniel Hawthorne's 29th birthday.
260. Benevolence for white boys only.

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Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: A man who was at both the battle of Lexington and the battle of Bunker Hill attended ceremonies in New Haven, Connecticut — in the original coat he had then worn.

At the Hermitage Inn in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the traditional 4th-of- July address was delivered by David Crockett, and anti-abolitionist Americans destroyed the homes of more than 36 black Americans.

On this day, elsewhere, [Richard Henry Dana, Sr.](#) was delivering an oration upon The Law.



In [Plymouth](#), it having been decided that the glacial erratic known as “Forefathers Rock” in the town square was rapidly becoming small, that it needed to be moved to protect it from all the souvenir sellers, it had been relocated. During the move it had rolled off its conveyance in front of the City Hall and broken again — but in this escape attempt it didn’t get far and we had simply cemented it back together. On this date the installation of the rock in its new milieu was suitably celebrated.²⁶¹

PLYMOUTH ROCK

[New-York](#)’s annual Convention of People of Color set July 4th as a day of prayer and contemplation of the condition of blacks. Meanwhile, a group of white laboring men broke up an amalgamated meeting of the Anti-

261. On some date unknown to me, Elizabeth Barrett Browning would create a poem “The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim’s Point” which would implausibly pose a runaway slave before this rock, pouring out to the “pilgrim-souls” the sadness of her own personal pilgrimage to a new land. She had murdered her infant because it had displayed the features of the white master who had raped her.

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Slavery Society at the Chatham Street Chapel in [New-York](#) to protest blacks and whites sitting in the same audience (they were resentful, of course, of the presence in America of free black Americans to drive down their wages and benefits). Here is a hymn written by Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) for the occasion:

O Thou, whose presence went before
Our fathers in their weary way,
As with Thy chosen moved of yore,
The fire by night, the cloud by day!

When from each temple of the free,
A nation's song ascend to Heaven,
Most Holy Father! unto Thee,
May not our humble prayer be given?

Thy children still, though hue and form
Are varied in Thine own good will,
With Thy own holy breathings warm.
And fashioned in Thine image still.

We thank Thee, Father! hill land plain
Around us wave their fruits once more,
And clustered vine and blossomed grain
Are bending round each cottage door.

And peace is here; and hope and love
Are round us as a mantle thrown,
And unto Thee, supreme above,
The knee of prayer is bowed alone.

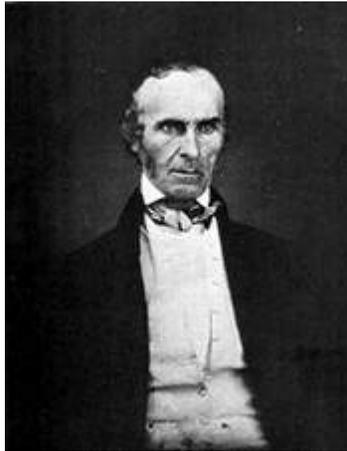
But oh, for those this day can bring,
As unto us, no joyful thrill;
For those who, under Freedom's wing,
Are bound in Slavery's fetters still:

For those to whom Thy written word
Of light and love is never given;
For those whose ears have never heard
The promise and the hope of heaven!

For broken heart, and clouded mind,
Whereon no human mercies fall;
Oh, be Thy gracious love inclined,
Who, as a Father, pitiest all!

And grant, O Father! that the time
Of Earth's deliverance may be near,
When every land and tongue and clime
The message of Thy love shall hear;

When, smitten as with fire from heaven,
The captive's chains shall sink in dust,
And to his fettered soul be given
The glorious freedom of the just!

[ABOLITIONISM](#)

This protest would break out, again, on the 10th and 11th of the month, with the trashing not only of 60 black homes and 6 black churches but also of homes of white people known to be seeking to abolish human slavery — this was, after all, the year in which the song “Old Zip Coon,” the minstrel song which eventually would evolve into “Turkey in the Straw,” was born!

[RACISM](#)[POPULAR SONGS](#)

Samuel Ringgold Ward was present, as he had been intending to hear an antislavery lecture by David Paul Brown of Philadelphia, but in his account of the rioting he would prefer to point up the fact that this violence had been organized by members of the local merchant class:



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A lawyer well known to fame, David Paul Brown, Esq., of Philadelphia, was always ready to render his peerless services in defence of any person claimed as a slave. On the fourth day of July, 1834, this gentleman was invited to deliver an anti-slavery oration in Chatham Chapel, and, of course, the coloured people mustered in strong array to hear so well known a champion of freedom; but the meeting was dispersed by a mob, gathered and sustained by the leading commercial and political men and journals of that great city. It was Independence Day – a day, of all days, sacred to freedom. What Mr. Brown came to tell us was, that the principles, enunciated in few words, in the [Declaration of Independence](#) – “We hold these truths to be self-evident truths, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” – applied as well to black men as to white men. This the aristocracy of New York could not endure; and therefore, just fifty-eight years from the very hour that the Declaration of 1776 was made, the mob of the New York merchants broke up this assembly.

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Here is a view of our nation's capital city during this year, a painting by George Cooke as transformed into an aquatint engraving by W.J. Bennett. This should be available on 13 1/4" x 16 7/8" cover stock paper in a heavy mailing tube from Historic Urban Plans, Inc., Box 276, Ithaca NY 14851 (607 272-MAPS), for roughly \$16.⁵⁰ inclusive of postage.



In [Washington DC](#), the first Trades Union celebration occurred.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

On this day, elsewhere, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), who detested American blacks, was having his 30th birthday.

Publication of Die Schule des Legato und Staccato op.335 by Carl Czerny was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.



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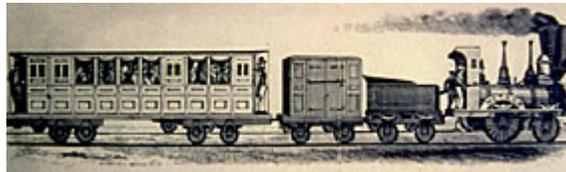
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1835



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 31st birthday. In Philadelphia, as was the tradition, the [Liberty Bell](#) was rung (it would not crack for another four days, until the funeral of Chief Justice John Marshall on July 8th).

The Boston & Worcester Railroad, the first track connecting Boston to cities in western Massachusetts, began operations. Two other steam locomotive railways would also be constructed in Massachusetts in the mid-1830s. This B&W line would later be extended through Worcester to Springfield and Pittsfield, and then to Albany NY. The corporation would wind up as a Long Island Sound steamship line in competition with the Fall River Line. John C. Clapp did an engraving in 1919 of one of these early Boston & Worcester trains:



The illustration may be of a train earlier than, or may be of a train later than, the ones put in service on the Boston and Fitchburg line.

In Springfield MA, the tool manufacturer Bemis & Call Company was established.

In Boston a shoemaker, George Robert Twelves Hewes, was honored as the last survivor of the Boston Tea Party.

The [National Intelligencer](#) printed the text of "Washington's Farewell Address."

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)





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1836



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Completion of the 1st session of the 24th federal Congress. The practice of human enslavement was still very legal in the United States of America, land of the free and home of the brave.²⁶²

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Construction began on the [Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal](#).

William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson's NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson's 4th-of-July entries: "Big marching about town. The Huzars turned Out for the first time in the streets on parade — the Fencibles and the Mechanicks also — Big Dinner at Mr West

262. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 32d birthday.

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tavern”



(Notice that although white men of this period generally feared social contamination by inferior blacks, even an intimate touching, as by a barber, could be permissible, as depicted here in a Virginia barbershop — so long as the relationship was one clearly marked as an intransitive one, between a superior or customer and an inferior or servant.)

The balloon of the intrepid master goldbeater Louis Lauriat was gracing the skies above Lowell MA. On this same date (although, among the ice islands at the other end of the world, he was imagining it to be a Monday), [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), among the ice islands at the other end of the world, was imagining what Independence day was like in [Boston](#).

(next screens).





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Monday, July 4th. This was “independence day” in Boston. What firing of guns, and ringing of bells, and rejoicings of all sorts, in every part of our country! The ladies (who have not gone down to Nahant, for a breath of cool air, and sight of the ocean) walking the streets with parasols over their heads, and the dandies in their white pantaloons and silk stockings! What quantities of ice-cream have been eaten, and what quantities of ice brought into the city from a distance, and sold out by the lump and the pound! The smallest of the islands which we saw to-day would have made the fortune of poor Jack, if he had had it in Boston; and I dare say he would have had no objection to being there with it. This, to be sure, was no place to keep the fourth of July. To keep ourselves warm, and the ship out of the ice, was as much as we could do. Yet no one forgot the day; and many were the wishes, and conjectures, and comparisons, both serious and ludicrous, which were made among all hands. The sun shone bright as long as it was up, only that a scud of black clouds was ever and anon driving across it. At noon we were in lat. 54° 27' S. and long. 85° 5' W., having made a good deal of easting, but having lost in our latitude by the heading of the wind. Between daylight and dark— that is, between nine o'clock and three— we saw thirty-four ice islands, of various sizes; some no bigger than the hull of our vessel, and others apparently nearly as large as the one that we first saw; though, as we went on, the islands became smaller and more numerous; and, at sundown of this day, a man at the mast-head saw large fields of floating ice called “field-ice” at the south-east. This kind of ice is much more dangerous than the large islands, for those can be seen at a distance, and kept away from; but the field-ice, floating in great quantities, and covering the ocean for miles and miles, in pieces of every size—large, flat, and broken cakes, with here and there an island rising twenty and thirty feet, and as large as the ship’s hull;— this, it is very difficult to sheer clear of. A constant look-out was necessary; for any of these pieces, coming with the heave of the sea, were large enough to have knocked a hole in the ship, and that would have been the end of us; for no boat (even if we could have got one out) could have lived in such a sea; and no man could have lived in a boat in such weather. To make our condition still worse, the wind came out due east, just after sundown, and it blew a gale dead ahead, with hail and sleet, and a thick fog, so that we could not see half the length of the ship. Our chief reliance, the prevailing westerly gales, was thus cut off; and here we were, nearly seven hundred miles to the westward of the Cape, with a gale dead from the eastward, and the weather so thick that we could not see the ice with which we were surrounded, until it was directly under our bows. At four, P.M. (it was then quite dark) all hands were called, and sent aloft in a violent squall of hail and rain, to take in sail. We had now all got on our “Cape Horn rig”— thick boots, south-westers coming down over our neck and ears, thick trowsers and jackets, and some with oil-cloth suits over all. Mittens, too, we wore on deck, but it would not do to go aloft with them on, for it was impossible to work with them, and, being wet and stiff, they might let a man slip overboard, for all the hold he could get upon a rope; so, we were obliged to work with bare hands, which, as well as our faces, were often cut with the hail-stones, which fell thick and large. Our ship was now all cased with ice,— hull, spars, and standing rigging;— and the running rigging so stiff that we could hardly bend it so as to delay it, or, still worse, take a knot with it; and the sails nearly as stiff as sheet iron. One at a time, (for it was a long piece of work and required many hands,) we furled the courses, mizen topsail, and fore-topmast staysail, and close-reefed the fore and main topsails, and hove the ship to under the fore, with the main hauled up by the clewlines and buntlines, and ready to be sheeted home, if we found it necessary to make sail to get to windward of an ice island. A regular look-out was then set, and kept by each watch in turn, until the morning. It was a tedious and anxious night. It blew hard the whole time, and there was an almost constant driving of either rain, hail, or snow. In addition to this, it was “as thick as muck,” and the ice was all about us. The captain was on deck nearly the whole night, and kept the cook in the galley, with a roaring fire, to make coffee for him, which he took every few hours, and once or twice gave a little to his officers; but not a drop of anything was there for the crew. The captain, who sleeps all the daytime, and comes and goes at night as he chooses, can have his brandy and water in the cabin, and his hot coffee at the galley; while Jack, who has to stand through everything, and work in wet and cold, can have nothing to wet his lips or warm his stomach. This was a “temperance ship,” and, like too many such ships, the temperance was all in the fore-castle. The sailor, who only takes his one glass as it is dealt out to him, is in danger of being drunk; while the captain, who has all under his hand, and can drink as much as he chooses, and upon whose self-possession and cool judgment the lives of all depend, may be trusted with any amount, to drink at his will.



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THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONCLUDED:

Sailors will never be convinced that rum is a dangerous thing, by taking it away from them, and giving it to the officers; nor that, that temperance is their friend, which takes from them what they have always had, and gives them nothing in the place of it. By seeing it allowed to their officers, they will not be convinced that it is taken from them for their good; and by receiving nothing in its place, they will not believe that it is done in kindness. On the contrary, many of them look upon the change as a new instrument of tyranny. Not that they prefer rum. I never knew a sailor, in my life, who would not prefer a pot of hot coffee or chocolate, in a cold night, to all the rum afloat. They all say that rum only warms them for a time; yet, if they can get nothing better, they will miss what they have lost. The momentary warmth and glow from drinking it; the break and change which is made in a long, dreary watch by the mere calling all hands aft and serving of it out; and the simply having some event to look forward to, and to talk about; give it an importance and a use which no one can appreciate who has not stood his watch before the mast. On my passage round Cape Horn before, the vessel that I was in was not under temperance articles, and grog was served out every middle and morning watch, and after every reefing of topsails; and though I had never drank rum before, and never intend to again, I took my allowance then at the capstan, as the rest did, merely for the momentary warmth it gave the system, and the change in our feelings and aspect of our duties on the watch. At the same time, as I have stated, there was not a man on board who would not have pitched the rum to the dogs, (I have heard them say so, a dozen times) for a pot of coffee or chocolate; or even for our common beverage—“water bewitched, and tea begrudged,” as it was.¹ The temperance reform is the best thing that ever was undertaken for the sailor; but when the grog is taken from him, he ought to have something in its place. As it is now, in most vessels, it is a mere saving to the owners; and this accounts for the sudden increase of temperance ships, which surprised even the best friends of the cause. If every merchant, when he struck grog from the list of the expenses of his ship, had been obliged to substitute as much coffee, or chocolate, as would give each man a pot-full when he came off the topsail yard, on a stormy night;— I fear Jack might have gone to ruin on the old road.²

But this is not doubling Cape Horn. Eight hours of the night, our watch was on deck, and during the whole of that time we kept a bright look-out: one man on each bow, another in the bunt of the fore yard, the third mate on the scuttle, one on each quarter, and a man always standing by the wheel. The chief mate was everywhere, and commanded the ship when the captain was below. When a large piece of ice was seen in our way, or drifting near us, the word was passed along, and the ship’s head turned one way and another; and sometimes the yards squared or braced up. There was little else to do than to look out; and we had the sharpest eyes in the ship on the fore-castle. The only variety was the monotonous voice of the look-out forward— “Another island!”— “Ice ahead!” “Ice on the lee bow!”— “Hard up the helm!”— “Keep her off a little!”— “Stead-y!”

In the meantime, the wet and cold had brought my face into such a state that I could neither eat nor sleep; and though I stood it out all night, yet, when it became light, I was in such a state, that all hands told me I must go below, and lie-by for a day or two, or I should be laid up for a long time, and perhaps have the lock-jaw. When the watch was changed I went into the steerage, and took off my hat and comforter, and showed my face to the mate, who told me to go below at once, and stay in my berth until the swelling went down, and gave the cook orders to make a poultice for me, and said he would speak to the captain.

1. The proportions of the ingredients of the tea that was made for us (and ours, as I have before stated, was a favorable specimen of American merchantmen) were, a pint of tea, and a pint and a half of molasses, to about three gallons of water. These are all boiled down together in the “coppers,” and before serving it out, the mess is stirred up with a stick, so as to give each man his fair share of sweetening and tea-leaves. The tea for the cabin is, of course, made in the usual way, in a tea-pot, and drank with sugar.

2. I do not wish these remarks, so far as they relate to the saving of expense in the outfit, to be applied to the owners of our ship, for she was supplied with an abundance of stores, of the best kind that are given to seamen; though the dispensing of them is necessarily left to the captain. Indeed, so high was the reputation of “the employ” among men and officers, for the character and outfit of their vessels, and for their liberality in conducting their voyages, that when it was known that they had a ship fitting out for a long voyage, and that hands were to be shipped at a certain time,— a half hour before the time, as one of the crew told me, numbers of sailors were steering down the wharf, hopping over the barrels, like flocks of sheep.



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1837



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July:²⁶³ [David Henry Thoreau](#) attended the dedication of the original [Battle Monument](#) at the [Old North Bridge](#), constructed by J.W. Wilkins of Carlisle, and sang with others the 1st draft of the “Concord Hymn” by [Waldo Emerson](#), which was distributed to all present. A choir, either that of the Reverend Ezra Ripley’s church or one made up of volunteers from one of the local singing schools, helped the assembly navigate through this first singing. The Honorable Samuel Hoar delivered the keynote address. One survivor of the Battle of [Concord](#), unnamed, was present. The Thoreau family contributed a sapling toward the beautification of the site. (Emerson’s authorship of the words did not appear on the circulated broadside and seems to have been deliberately suppressed, perhaps at his request, on the platform itself. Waldo and Lidian and little Wallie were not in attendance — they were in Plymouth at the time, visiting.) Here is the event as it was reported a local paper:

CONCORD MONUMENT.

This Monument, designed to commemorate the interesting events of the 19th of April, 1775, at this place, being completed, as has been fondly anticipated, by a Committee of the town appointed for that purpose, a large portion of the inhabitants of the town, men, women and children, having been previously and publicly notified by said Committee, assembled at the Monument on Tuesday last, the 4th of July, and attended, with a deep and lively interest, to the following exercises, viz:

1. A Prayer by the Rev. B. Frost.
2. An Address by the Hon. Samuel Hoar.
3. A Prayer by the Rev. J. Wilder.
4. An original Hymn by a citizen of Concord, well sung to the tune of Old Hundred, by the Choir.
5. Benediction, by the Rev. Dr. Ripley.

The assembled multitude then retired in perfect stillness and order, highly gratified and deeply impressed.

The devotional services were appropriate and impressive. The Hymn speaks for itself, and at once excites the ideas of originality, poetic genius, and

263. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s 33d birthday.

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judicious adaptation. It is as follows:

ORIGINAL HYMN.

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here, once, the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

The foe, long since, in silence slept;
Alike, the conqueror silent sleeps;
And Time the ruined bridge has swept
Down the dark stream which seaward creeps.

On this green bank, by this soft stream,
We place with joy a votive stone,
That memory may their deed redeem,
When, like our sires, our sons are gone.

O Thou who made those heroes dare
To die, or leave their children free,—
Bid Time and Nature gently spare
The shaft we raise to them and Thee.

Of the Address, we can scarcely speak in any measured terms of approbation. It was excellent and thrilling; genuine Republican principles were explained and advocated; the true patriotic spirit was awakened and applauded; wise counsels were given and urged; and all in a manner peculiar to the speaker, commanding, eloquent and powerful. We will add no more, since we hope to be further gratified by its publication. The day was fine, the scene pleasant, and all the transactions interesting and harmonious. Providence smiled on the occasion. One only of those in the battle was present, who, though aged and infirm, appeared to enter into the spirit of the occasion, and to be highly gratified. The Monument is located on the East bank of Concord River, nearly on the remains of the abutment of the



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bridge, over which the fire of the enemy was proudly given, and heroically returned. The site is picturesque and pleasant, and at first view excites an interesting association of ideas and recollections. The spot was generously given to the town by the Rev. Dr. Ripley, for the sole purpose of a Monument of this kind and design. The venerable donor still lives to see the accomplishment of his patriotic wishes, and to rejoice with his fellow citizens on this occasion.

It will be recollected, that last autumn, at laying the foundation, there was published a particular description of the monument, and the inscription upon it. This renders it unnecessary to go into detail of description. The execution of the work has exceeded promise and expectation. It is said by good judges to make a very handsome appearance, and to be a well-proportioned and beautiful structure, which does much credit to the taste and ingenuity of the Committee, and the skill of the artificer, Mr. J. W. Wilkins of Carlisle. We can hardly refrain from expressing an ardent wish, that this, and every Monument of the same design, may accomplish their great object, the public good. We confidently anticipate the time, when the chain of Monuments, Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill, will be regarded as solemn and permanent monitors to patriotic efforts, and as powerful, though silent preachers in the great cause of freedom and "liberty with order."²⁶⁴

A WEEK: We were soon floating past the first regular battle-ground of the Revolution, resting on our oars between the still visible abutments of that "North Bridge," over which in April, 1775, rolled the first faint tide of that war, which ceased not, till, as we read on the stone on our right, it "gave peace to these United States." As a Concord poet has sung:-

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

"The foe long since in silence slept;
Alike the conqueror silent sleeps;
And Time the ruined bridge has swept
Down the dark stream which seaward creeps."

PEOPLE OF
A WEEK

WALDO EMERSON



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Miss Emily Eden, who had been writing home from Calcutta about the miseries of colonial life such as an interrupted supply of clean ice with which to cool her summer drinks, wrote again to her friends in Britain and from this letter we learn, incidentally, what the problem was: the American ice ship had sunk.

“...in the absence of ice, great dinners are so bad. Everything flops about in the dishes and the wine and water is so hot, and a shocking thing is that a great ship was seen bottom upwards at the mouth of the river, supposed to be an American, and consequently the ice-ship.”²⁶⁵

COOLNESS

The [Miami and Erie Canal](#) opened to navigation.

Oberlin College students celebrated the 4th, our Day of Liberty, by holding anti-slavery meetings.

William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson's *NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO*, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson's 4th-of-July entries: “To day was the most splendid day I have Ever witnessed on the fourth of July.”

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Here are some passages from the notebook of Nathaniel Hawthorne:

Maine, July 5, 1837. — Here I am, settled since night before last with B—, and living very singularly. He leads a bachelor's life in his paternal mansion, only a small part of which is occupied by a family who serve him. He provides his own breakfast and supper, and occasionally his dinner; though this is oftener, I believe, taken at the hotel or an eating-house, or with some of his relatives. I am his guest, and my presence makes no alteration in his way of life. Our fare, thus far, has consisted of bread, butter, and cheese, crackers, herrings, boiled eggs, coffee, milk, and claret wine. He has another inmate, in the person of a queer little Frenchman, who has his breakfast, tea, and lodging here, and finds his dinner elsewhere. Monsieur S— does not appear to be more than twenty-one years old, — a diminutive figure, with eyes askew, and otherwise of an ungainly physiognomy; he is ill-dressed also, in a coarse blue coat, thin cotton pantaloons, and unbrushed boots; altogether with as little of French coxcombry as can well be imagined, though with something of the monkey-aspect inseparable from a little Frenchman. He is, nevertheless, an intelligent and well-informed man, apparently of extensive reading in his own language; — a philosopher, B— tells me, and an infidel. His insignificant personal appearance stands in the way of his success, and prevents him from receiving the respect which is really due to

265. It would have been nice to have learned the fate of the crew of this ship, which had gone down at the Sandheads, the notorious shifting shoals where the Hooghly River debouches in the Bay of Bengal, just a few nautical miles short of achieving its safe anchorage at Garden Reach in the port of Calcutta. (Another ice ship had previously burned at sea.)



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his talents and acquirements; wherefore he is bitterly dissatisfied with the country and its inhabitants, and often expresses his feelings to B— (who has gained his confidence to a certain degree) in very strong terms.

Thus here are three characters, each with something out of the common way, living together somewhat like monks. B—, our host, combines more high and admirable qualities, of that sort which make up a gentleman, than any other that I have met with. Polished, yet natural, frank, open, and straightforward, yet with a delicate feeling for the sensitiveness of his companions; of excellent temper and warm heart; well acquainted with the world, with a keen faculty of observation, which he has had many opportunities of exercising, and never varying from a code of honor and principle which is really nice and rigid in its way. There is a sort or philosophy developing itself in him which will not impossibly cause him to settle down in this or some other equally singular course of life. He seems almost to have made up his mind never to be married, which I wonder at; for he has strong affections, and is fond both of women and children. The little Frenchman impresses me very strongly, too, — so lonely as he is here, struggling against the world, with bitter feelings in his breast, and yet talking with the vivacity and gayety of his nation; making this his home from darkness to daylight, and enjoying here what little domestic comfort and confidence there is for him; and then going about all the livelong day, teaching French to blockheads who sneer at him, and returning at about ten o'clock in the evening (for I was wrong in saying he supped here, — he eats no supper) to his solitary room and bed. Before retiring, he goes to B—'s bedside, and, if he finds him awake, stands talking French, expressing his dislike of the Americans, — "*Je hais, je hais les Yankees!*" — thus giving vent to the stifled bitterness of the whole day. In the morning I hear him getting up early, at sunrise or before, humming to himself, scuffling about his chamber with his thick boots, and at last taking his departure for a solitary ramble till breakfast. Then he comes in, cheerful and vivacious enough, eats pretty heartily, and is off again, singing French *chansons* as he goes down the gravel-walk. The poor fellow has nobody to sympathize with him but B—, and thus a singular connection is established between two utterly different characters.

Then here is myself, who am likewise a queer character in my way, and have come to spend a week or two with my friend of half a lifetime, — the longest space, probably, that we are ever destined to spend together; for Fate seems preparing changes for both of us. My circumstances, at least, cannot long continue as they are and have been; and B—, too, stands between high prosperity and utter ruin.

I think I should soon become strongly attached to our way of life, so independent and untroubled by the forms and restrictions of society. The house is very pleasantly situated, — half a mile distant from where the town begins to be thickly settled, and on a swell of land, with the road running at a



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distance of fifty yards, and a grassy tract and a gravel-walk between. Beyond the road rolls the Kennebec, here two or three hundred yards wide. Putting my head out of the window, I can see it flowing steadily along straightway between wooded banks; but arriving nearly opposite the house, there is a large and level sand island in the middle of the stream; and just below the island the current is further interrupted by the works of the mill-dam, which is perhaps half-finished, yet still in so rude a state that it looks as much like the ruins of a dam destroyed by the spring freshets as like the foundations of a dam yet to be. Irishmen and Canadians toil at work on it, and the echoes of their hammering and of the voices come across the river and up to this window. Then there is a sound of the wind among the trees round the house; and when that is silent, the calm, full, distant voice of the river becomes audible. Looking downward thither, I see the rush of the current, and mark the different eddies, with here and there white specks or streaks of foam; and often a log comes floating on, glistening in the sun, as it rolls over among the eddies, having voyaged, for aught I know, hundreds of miles from the wild, upper sources of the river, passing down, down, between lines of forest, and sometimes a rough clearing, till here it floats along by cultivated banks, and will soon pass by the village. Sometimes a long raft of boards comes along, requiring the nicest skill in navigating it through the narrow passage left by the mill-dam. Chaises and wagons occasionally go along the road, the riders all giving a passing glance at the dam, or perhaps alighting to examine it more fully, and at last departing with ominous shakes of the head as to the result of the enterprise. My position is so far retired from the river and mill-dam, that, though the latter is really rather a scene, yet a sort of quiet seems to be diffused over the whole. Two or three times a day this quiet is broken by the sudden thunder from a quarry, where the workmen are blasting rocks for the dam; and a peal of thunder sounds strange in such a green, sunny, and quiet landscape, with the blue sky brightening the river.

I have not seen much of the people. There have been, however, several incidents which amused me, though scarcely worth telling. A passionate tavern-keeper, quick as a flash of gunpowder, a nervous man, and showing in his demeanor, it seems, a consciousness of his infirmity of temper. I was a witness of a scuffle of his with a drunken guest. The tavern-keeper, after they were separated, raved like a madman, and in a tone of voice having a drolly pathetic or lamentable sound mingled with its rage, as if he were lifting up his voice to weep. Then he jumped into a chaise which was standing by, whipped up the horse, and drove off rapidly, as if to give his fury vent in that way.

On the morning of the Fourth of July, two printer's apprentice-lads, nearly grown, dressed in jackets and very tight pantaloons of check, tight as their skins, so that they looked like harlequins or circus-clowns, yet appeared to think themselves in perfect propriety, with a very calm and quiet assurance of the admiration of the town. A common fellow, a carpenter, who,



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on the strength of political partisanship, asked B—'s assistance in cutting out great letters from play-bills in order to print "Martin Van Buren Forever" on a flag; but B— refused. B— seems to be considerably of a favorite with the lower orders, especially with the Irishman and French Canadians, — the latter accosting him in the street, and asking his assistance as an interpreter in making their bargains for work.

I meant to have dined at the hotel with B— to-day; but having returned to the house, leaving him to do some business in the village, I found myself unwilling to move when the dinner-hour approached, and therefore dined very well on bread, cheese, and eggs. Nothing of much interest takes place. We live very comfortably in our bachelor establishment on a cold shoulder of mutton, with ham and smoked beef and boiled eggs; and as to drinkables, we had both claret and brown sherry on the dinner-table to-day. Last evening we had a long literary and philosophical conversation with Monsieur S—. He is rather remarkably well-informed for a man of his age, and seems to have very just notions on ethics, etc., though damnably perverted as to religion. It is strange to hear philosophy of any sort from such a boyish figure. "We philosophers," he is fond of saying, to distinguish himself and his brethren from the Christians. One of his oddities is, that, while steadfastly maintaining an opinion that he is a very small and slow eater, and the we, in common with other Yankees, eat immensely and fast, he actually eats both faster and longer than we do, and devours, as B— avers, more victuals than both of us together.

Saturday, July 8th. — Yesterday afternoon, a stroll with B— up a large brook, he fishing for trout, and I looking on. The brook runs through a valley, on one side bordered by a high and precipitous bank; on the other there is an interval, and then the bank rises upward and upward into a high hill with gorges and ravines separating one summit from another, and here and there are bare places, where the rain-streams have washed away the grass. The brook is bestrewn with stones, some bare, some partially moss-grown, and sometimes so huge as — once at least — to occupy almost the whole breadth of the current. Amongst these the stream brawls, only that this word does not express its good-natured voice, and "murmur" is too quite. It sings along, sometimes smooth, with the pebbles visible beneath, sometimes rushing dark and swift, eddying and whitening past some rock, or underneath the hither or the farther bank; and at these places B— cast his line, and sometimes drew out a trout, small, not more than five or six inches long. The farther we went up the brook, the wilder it grew. The opposite bank was covered with pines and hemlocks, ascending high upwards, black and solemn. One knew that there must be almost a precipice behind, yet we could not see it. At the foot you could spy, a little way within the darksome shade, the roots and branches of the trees; but soon all sight was obstructed amidst the trunks. On the hither side, at first the bank was bare, then fringed with alder-bushes, bending and dipping into the stream, which, farther on brawled through the midst of a forest of maple, beech,



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and other trees, its course growing wilder and wilder as we proceeded. For a considerable distance there was a causeway, built long ago of logs, to drag lumber upon; it was now decayed and rotten, a red decay, sometimes sunken down in the midst, here and there a knotty trunk stretching across, apparently sound. The sun being now low towards the west, a pleasant gloom and brightness were diffused through the forest, spots of brightness scattered upon the branches, or thrown down in gold upon the last year's leaves among the trees. At last we came to where a dam had been built across the brook many years ago, and was now gone to ruin, so as to make the spot look more solitary and wilder than if man had never left vestiges of his toil there. It was a framework of logs with a covering of plank sufficient to obstruct the onward flow of the brook; but it found its way past the side, and came foaming and struggling along among scattered rocks. Above the dam there was a broad and deep pool, one side of which was bordered by a precipitous wall of rocks, as smooth as if hewn out and squared, and piled one upon another, above which rose the forest. On the other side there was still a gently shelving bank, and the shore was covered with tall trees, among which I particularly remarked a stately pine, wholly devoid of bark, rising white in aged and majestic ruin, thrusting out its barkless arms. It must have stood there in death many years, its own ghost. Above the dam the brook flowed through the forest, a glistening and babbling water-path, illuminated by the sun, which sent its rays almost straight along its course. It was as lovely and wild and peaceful as it could possibly have been a hundred years ago; and the traces of labors of men long departed added a deeper peace to it. I bathed in the pool, and then pursued my way down beside the brook, growing dark with a pleasant gloom, as the sun sank and the water became more shadowy. B— says that there was formerly a tradition, that the Indians used to go up this brook, and return, after a brief absence, with large masses of lead, which they sold at the trading stations in Augusta; whence there has always been an idea that there is a lead mine hereabouts. Great toadstools were under the trees, and some small ones as yellow and almost the size of a half-broiled yolk of an egg. Strawberries were scattered along the brookside.

Dined at the hotel or Mansion-House to-day. Men were playing checkers in the parlor. The Marshal of Maine, a corpulent, jolly fellow, famed for humor. A passenger left by the stage hiring an express onward. A bottle of champagne was quaffed at the bar.

July 9th. — Went with B— to pay a visit to the shanties of the Irish and Canadians. He says that they sell and exchange these small houses among themselves continually. They may be built in three or four days, and are valued at four or five dollars. When the turf that is piled against the walls of some of them becomes covered with grass, it makes quite a picturesque object. It was almost dusk — just candle-lighting time — when we visited them. A young Frenchwoman, with a baby in her arms, came to the door of one of them, smiling, and looking pretty and happy. Her husband, a dark, black-haired, lively little fellow, caressed

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the child, laughing and singing to it; and there was a red-bearded Irishman, who likewise fondled the little brat. Then we could hear them within the hut, gabbling merrily, and could see them moving about briskly in the candlelight, through the window and open door. An old Irishwoman sat in the door of another hut, under the influence of an extra dose of rum, — she being an old lady of somewhat dissipated habits. She called to B—, and began to talk to him about her resolution not to give up her house: for it is his design to get her out of it. She is a true virago, and though somewhat restrained by respect for him, she evinced a sturdy design to remain here through the winter, or at least for a considerable time longer. He persisting, she took her stand in the doorway of the hut, and stretched out her fist in a very Amazonian attitude, "Nobody," quoth she, "shall drive me out of this house, till my praties are out of the ground." Then would she wheedle and laugh and blarney, beginning in a rage, and ending as if she had been in jest. Meanwhile her husband stood by very quiet, occasionally trying to still her; but it is to be presumed, that, after our departure, they came to blows, it being a custom with the Irish husbands and wives to settle their disputes with blows; and it is said the woman often proves the better man. The different families also have battles, and occasionally the Irish fight with the Canadians. The latter, however, are much the more peaceable, never quarrelling among themselves, and seldom with their neighbors. They are frugal, and often go back to Canada with considerable sums of money. B— has gained much influence both with the Irish and the French, — with the latter, by dint of speaking to them in their own language. He is the umpire in their disputes, and their adviser, and they look up to him as a protector and patron-friend. I have been struck to see with what careful integrity and wisdom he manages matters among them, hitherto having known him only as a free and gay young man. He appears perfectly to understand their general character, of which he gives no very flattering description. In these huts, less than twenty feet square, he tells me that upwards of twenty people have sometimes been lodged.

A description of a young lady who had formerly been insane, and now felt the approach of a new fit of madness. She had been out to ride, had exerted herself much, and had been very vivacious. On her return, she sat down in a thoughtful and despondent attitude, looking very sad, but one of the loveliest objects that ever were seen. The family spoke to her, but she made no answer, nor took the least notice; but still sat like a statue in her chair, — a statue of melancholy and beauty. At last they led her away to her chamber.

We went to meeting this forenoon. I saw nothing remarkable, unless a little girl in the next pew to us, three or four years old, who fell asleep, with her head in the lap of her maid, and looked very pretty: a picture of sleeping innocence.

July 11th, Tuesday. — A drive with B— to Hallowell, yesterday, where we dined, and afterwards to Gardiner. The most curious object in this latter place was the elegant new mansion of—.



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It stands on the site of his former dwelling, which was destroyed by fire. The new building was estimated to cost about thirty thousand dollars; but twice as much has already been expended, and a great deal more will be required to complete it. It is certainly a splendid structure; the material, granite from the vicinity. At the angles it has small, circular towers; the portal is lofty and imposing. Relatively to the general style of domestic architecture in our country, it well deserves the name of castle or palace. Its situation, too, is fine, far retired from the public road, and attainable by a winding carriage-drive; standing amid fertile fields, and with large trees in the vicinity. There is also a beautiful view from the mansion adown the Kennebec.

Beneath some of the large trees we saw the remains of circular seats, whereupon the family used to sit before the former house was burned down. There was no one now in the vicinity of the place, save a man and a yoke of oxen; and what he was about, I did not ascertain. Mr.— at present resides in a small dwelling, little more than a cottage, beside the main road, not far from the gateway which gives access to his palace.

At Gardiner, on the wharf, I witnessed the starting of the steamboat New England for Boston. There was quite a collection of people, looking on or taking leave of passengers, — the steam puffing, — stages arriving, full-freighted with ladies and gentlemen. A man was one moment too late; but running along the gunwale of a mud-scow, and jumping into a skiff, he was put on board by a black fellow. The dark cabin, wherein, descending from the sunshiny deck, it was difficult to discern the furniture, looking-glasses, and mahogany wainscoting. I met two old college acquaintances, — O—, who was going to Boston, and B—, with whom we afterwards drank a glass of wine at the hotel. B—, Mons. S—, and myself continue to live in the same style as heretofore. We appear mutually to be very well pleased with each other. Mons. S— displays many comical qualities, and manages to insure us several hearty laughs every morning and evening, — those being the seasons when we meet. I am going to take lessons from him in the pronunciation of French. Of female society I see nothing. The only petticoat that comes within our premises appertains to Nancy, the pretty, dark-eyed maid-servant of the man who lives in the other part of the house.

On the road from Hallowell to Augusta we saw little booths, in two places, erected on the roadside, where boys offered beer, apples, etc., for sale. We passed an Irishwoman with a child in her arms, and a heavy bundle, and afterwards an Irishman with a light bundle, sitting by the highway. They were husband and wife; and B— says that an Irishman and his wife, on their journeys, do not usually walk side by side, but that the man gives the woman the heaviest burden to carry, and walks on lightly ahead!

A thought comes into my mind: Which sort of house excites the most contemptuous feelings in the beholder, — such a house as Mr.—'s, all circumstances considered, or the board-built and turf-butressed hovels of these wild Irish, scattered about as

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if they had sprung up like mushrooms, in the dells and gorges, and along the banks of the river? Mushrooms, by the way, spring up where the roots of an old tree are hidden under the ground.

Thursday, July 13th. — Two small Canadian boys came to our house yesterday, with strawberries to sell. It sounds strange to hear children bargaining in French on the borders of Yankee-land. Among other languages spoken hereabouts must be reckoned the wild Irish. Some of the laborers on the mill-dam can speak nothing else. The intermixture of foreigners sometimes gives rise to quarrels between them and the natives. As we were going to the village yesterday afternoon, we witnessed the beginning of a quarrel between a Canadian and a Yankee, — the latter accusing the former of striking his oxen. B— thrust himself between and parted them; but they afterwards renewed their fray, and the Canadian, I believe, thrashed the Yankee soundly, — for which he had to pay twelve dollars. Yet he was but a little fellow.

Coming to the Mansion-House about supper-time, we found somewhat of a concourse of people, the Governor and Council being in session on the subject of the disputed territory. The British have lately imprisoned a man who was sent to take the census; and the Mainiacs are much excited on the subject. They wish the Governor to order out the militia at once, and take possession of the territory with the strong hand. There was a British army-captain at the Mansion-House; and an idea was thrown out that it would be as well to seize upon him as a hostage. I would, for the joke's sake, that it had been done. Personages at the tavern: the Governor, somewhat stared after as he walked through the bar-room; Councillors seated about, sitting on benches near the bar, or on the stoop along the front of the house; the Adjutant-General of the State; two young Blue-Noses, from Canada or the Provinces; a gentleman "thumbing his hat" for liquor, or perhaps playing off the trick of the "honest landlord" on some stranger. The decanters and wine-bottles on the move, and the beer and soda-founts pouring out continual streams, with a whiz. Stage-drivers, etc., asked to drink with the aristocracy, and mine host treating and being treated. Rubicund faces; breaths odorous of brandy and water. Occasionally the pop of a champagne cork. Returned home, and took a lesson in French of Mons. S—. I like him very much, and have seldom met with a more honest, simple, and apparently so well-principled a man; which good qualities I impute to his being, by the father's side, of German blood. He looks more like a German — or, as he says, like a Swiss — than a Frenchman, having very light hair and a light complexion, and not a French expression. He is a vivacious little fellow, and wonderfully excitable to mirth; and it is truly a sight to see him laugh; — every feature partakes of his movement, and even his whole body shares in it, as he rises and dances about the room. He has great variety of conversation, commensurate with his experiences in life, and sometimes will talk Spanish, *ore rotundo*, — sometimes imitate the Catholic priests, chanting Latin songs for the dead, in deep, gruff, awful tones, producing really a very strong impression, — then he will break out into



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a light, French song, perhaps of love, perhaps of war, acting it out, as if on the stage of a theatre: all this intermingled with continual fun, excited by the incidents of the passing moment. He has Frenchified all our names, calling B— Monsieur Du Pont, myself M. de L'Aubépine, and himself M. le Berger, and all, Knights of the Round-Table. And we live in great harmony and brotherhood, as queer a life as anybody leads, and as queer a set as may be found anywhere. In his more serious intervals, he talks philosophy and deism, and preaches obedience to the law of reason and morality; which law he says (and I believe him) he has so well observed, that, notwithstanding his residence in dissolute countries, he has never yet been sinful. He wishes me, eight or nine weeks hence, to accompany him on foot to Quebec, and then to Niagara and New York. I should like it well, if my circumstances and other considerations would permit. What pleases much in Mons. S— is the simple and childlike enjoyment he finds in trifles, and the joy with which he speaks of going back to his own country, away from the dull Yankees, who here misunderstand and despise him. Yet I have never heard him speak harshly of them. I rather think that B— and I will be remembered by him with more pleasure than anybody else in the country; for we have sympathized with him, and treated him kindly, and like a gentleman and an equal; and he comes to us at night as to home and friends.

I went down to the river to-day to see B— fish for salmon with a fly, — a hopeless business; for he says that only one instance has been known in the United States of salmon being taken otherwise than with a net. A few chubs were all the fruit of his piscatory efforts. But while looking at the rushing and rippling stream, I saw a great fish, some six feet long and thick in proportion, suddenly emerge at whole length, turn a somerset, and then vanish again beneath the water. It was of a glistening, yellowish brown, with its fins all spread, and looking very strange and startling, darting out so lifelike from the black water, throwing itself fully into the bright sunshine, and then lost to sight and to pursuit. I saw also a long, flat-bottomed boat go up the river, with a brisk wind, and against a strong stream. Its sails were of curious construction: a long mast, with two sails below, one on each side of the boat, and a broader one surmounting them. The sails were colored brown, and appeared like leather or skins, but were really cloth. At a distance, the vessel looked like, or at least I compared it to, a monstrous water-insect, skimming along the river. If the sails had been crimson or yellow, the resemblance would have been much closer. There was a pretty spacious raised cabin in the after part of the boat. It moved along lightly, and disappeared between the woody banks. These boats have the two parallel sails attached to the same yard, and some have two sails, one surmounting the other. They trade to Waterville and thereabouts, — names, as "Paul Pry," on their sails.

Saturday, July 15th. — Went with B— yesterday to visit several Irish shanties, endeavoring to find out who had stolen some rails of a fence. At the first door where we knocked, (a shanty



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with an earthen mound heaped against the wall, two or three feet thick,) the inmates were not up, though it was past eight o'clock. At last a middle-aged woman showed herself, half-dressed, and completing her toilet. Threats were made of tearing down her house; for she is a lady of very indifferent morals, and sells rum. Few of these people are connected with the mill-dam, — or, at least, many are not so, but have intruded themselves into the vacant huts which were occupied by the mill-dam people last year. In two or three places hereabouts there is quite a village of these dwellings, with a clay and board chimney, or oftener an old barrel smoked and charred with the fire. Some of their roofs are covered with sods, and appear almost subterranean. One of the little hamlets stands on both sides of a deep dell, wooded and bush-grown, with a vista, as it were, into the heart of a wood in one direction, and to the broad, sunny river in the other: there was a little rivulet, crossed by a plank, at the bottom of the dell. At two doors we saw very pretty and modest-looking young women, — one with a child in her arms. Indeed, they all have innumerable little children; and they are invariably in good health, though always dirty of face. They come to the door while their mothers are talking with the visitors, standing straight up on their bare legs, with their little plump bodies protruding, in one hand a small tin saucepan and in the other an iron spoon, with unwashed mouths, looking as independent as any child or grown person in the land. They stare unabashed, but make no answer when spoken to. "I've no call to your fence, Misser B—." It seems strange that a man should have the right, unarmed with any legal instrument, of tearing down the dwelling-houses of a score of families, and driving the inmates forth without a shelter. Yet B— undoubtedly has this right; and it is not a little striking to see how quietly these people contemplate the probability of his exercising it, — resolving, indeed, to burrow in their holes as long as may be, yet caring about as little for an ejection as those who could find a tenement anywhere, and less. Yet the women, amid all the trials of their situation, appear to have kept up the distinction between virtue and vice: those who can claim the former will not associate with the latter. When the women travel with young children, they carry the baby slung at their backs, and sleeping quietly. The dresses of the new-comers are old-fashioned, making them look aged before their time. Monsieur S— shaving himself yesterday morning. He was in excellent spirits, and could not keep his tongue or body still more than long enough to make two or three consecutive strokes at his beard. Then he would turn, flourishing his razor and grimacing joyously, enacting droll antics, breaking out into scraps and verses of drinking-songs, "*A boire! à boire!*" — then laughing heartily, and crying, "*Vive la gaîté!*" — then resuming his task, looking into the glass with grave face, on which, however, a grin would soon break out anew, and all his pranks would be repeated with variations. He turned this foolery to philosophy, by observing that mirth contributed to goodness of heart, and to make us love our fellow-creatures. Conversing with



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him in the evening, he affirmed, with evident belief in the truth of what he said, that he would have no objection, except that it would be a very foolish thing, to expose his whole heart, his whole inner man, to the view of the world. Not that there would not be much evil discovered there; but, as he was conscious of being in a state of mental and moral improvement, working out his progress onward, he would not shrink from such a scrutiny. This talk was introduced by his mentioning the "Minister's Black Veil," which he said he had seen translated into French, as an exercise, by a Miss Appleton of Bangor.

Saw by the river-side, late in the afternoon, one of the above-described boats going into the stream, with the water rippling at the prow, from the strength of the current and of the boat's motion. By-and-by comes down a raft, perhaps twenty yards long, guided by two men, one at each end, - the raft itself of boards sawed at Waterville, and laden with square bundles of shingles and round bundles of clapboards. "Friend," says one man, "how is the tide now?" - this being important to the onward progress. They make fast to a tree, in order to wait for the tide to rise a little higher. It would be pleasant enough to float down the Kennebec on one of these rafts, letting the river conduct you onward at its own pace, leisurely displaying to you all the wild or ordered beauties along its banks, and perhaps running you aground in some peculiarly picturesque spot, for your longer enjoyment of it. Another object, perhaps, is a solitary man paddling himself down the river in a small canoe, the light, lonely touch of his paddle in the water making the silence seem deeper. Every few minutes a sturgeon leaps forth, sometimes behind you, so that you merely hear the splash, and, turning hastily around, see nothing but the disturbed water. Sometimes he darts straight on end out of a quiet black spot on which your eyes happen to be fixed, and, when even his tail is clear of the surface, he falls down on his side, and disappears.

On the river-bank, an Irishwoman washing some clothes, surrounded by her children, whose babbling sounds pleasantly along the edge of the shore; and she also answers in a sweet, kindly, and cheerful voice, though an immoral woman, and without the certainty of bread or shelter from day to day. An Irishman sitting angling on the brink with an alder pole and a clothes-line. At frequent intervals, the scene is suddenly broken by a loud report like thunder, rolling along the banks, echoing and reverberating afar. It is a blast of rocks. Along the margin, sometimes sticks of timber made fast, either separately or several together; stones of some size, varying the pebbles and sand; a clayey spot, where a shallow brook runs into the river, not with a deep outlet, but finding its way across the bank in two or three single runlets. Looking upward into the deep glen whence it issues, you see its shady current. Elsewhere, a high acclivity, with the beach between it and the river, the ridge broken and caved away, so that the earth looks fresh and yellow, and is penetrated by the nests of birds. An old, shining tree-trunk, half in and half out of the water. An island of gravel, long and narrow, in the centre of the river. Chips, blocks of



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wood, slabs, and other scraps of lumber, strewed along the beach; logs drifting down. The high bank covered with various trees and shrubbery, and, in one place, two or three Irish shanties.



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1838



Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Wednesday: This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 34th birthday.

The Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#)'s AN ORATION, PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF BANGOR: ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1838. THE SIXTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (Published at the request of the city government; Bangor: Samuel S. Smith, printer).

TO THE CITIZENS OF BANGOR

The orator Edward Wells made the very 1st of the phrase “Stars and Stripes,” in description of the flag of the United States of America, in a “Nation’s Birthday” address he was delivering in that great locale of our freedoms, Sing Sing, New York.

Shall those stripes and stars, which now wave triumphantly in every breeze, and which are honored in every land as the representative of a free people, ever be trampled beneath the feet of a foreign foe, or torn by the violence of civil strife?

The balloon of the intrepid master Boston goldbeater and aeronaut Louis Lauriat graced the skies above historic Salem, Massachusetts, and a good time was had by all. However, as usual, because of the promise to liberate the slaves of the British West Indies beginning August 1st of this year, black American communities and those concerned for them continued to pointedly ignore the national birthday in favor of that August eventuality.

In [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*), [Rhode Island](#), a procession included 29 veterans of the revolution.

The White House was closed to the public because “the President has lately lost, by death, a near relative.”

In Charlottesville, Virginia, the [Declaration of Independence](#) was read from an “original draft, in the



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handwriting of Mr. Jefferson.”

THOMAS JEFFERSON

At Fort Madison, Iowa, headman Black Hawk delivered a 4th-of-July address.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

At the US House of Representatives, Representative [John Quincy Adams](#) of Massachusetts continued his speech on the expansive topic of [Texas](#) for a 20th day.



[Sidney Rigdon](#) preached another sermon to the [Mormons](#) of a similar nature to his “[Salt Sermon](#),” stating “And that mob that comes on us to disturb us; it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us.”

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4th of 7th M 1838 / This has been a day of much stir in Town as it always is – My mind & feelings however has been preserved in the quiet – This morning our Friend Joseph Bowne came to town from [Portsmouth](#) where he had an appointed a Meeting yesterday – finding it not a Suitable day to appoint a Meeting here he concluded to spent the day at D Buffums in resting & writing home to his friends – to be at our Meeting tomorrow & the appointment has been forwarded accordingly. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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 Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 35th birthday.

Ground was broken in East Lexington, Massachusetts for a unique octagonal [Unitarian](#) church structure, designed by the Reverend [Charles Follen](#) (this octagonal building still stands, as the oldest church structure in Lexington). In his prayer at the groundbreaking the Reverend declared the mission of his church — and this mission statement now on a memorial to him in the churchyard:

[May] this church never be desecrated by intolerance, or bigotry, or party spirit; more especially its doors might never be closed against any one, who would plead in it the cause of oppressed humanity; within its walls all unjust and cruel distinctions might cease, and [there] all men might meet as brethren.

In Hagerstown, [Maryland](#), the only two soldiers of the American Revolution of that vicinity still alive sat proudly in a carriage drawn by white horses.

On [Staten Island](#), between 20,000 and 30,000 children were gathered to celebrate a Sunday School Scholars National Jubilee while, in [New-York](#) harbor, 1,000 ships were “gaily dressed in honor of the day.”

In [Boston](#), 1500 men gathered at Faneuil Hall in support of a [Temperance](#) Reformation.



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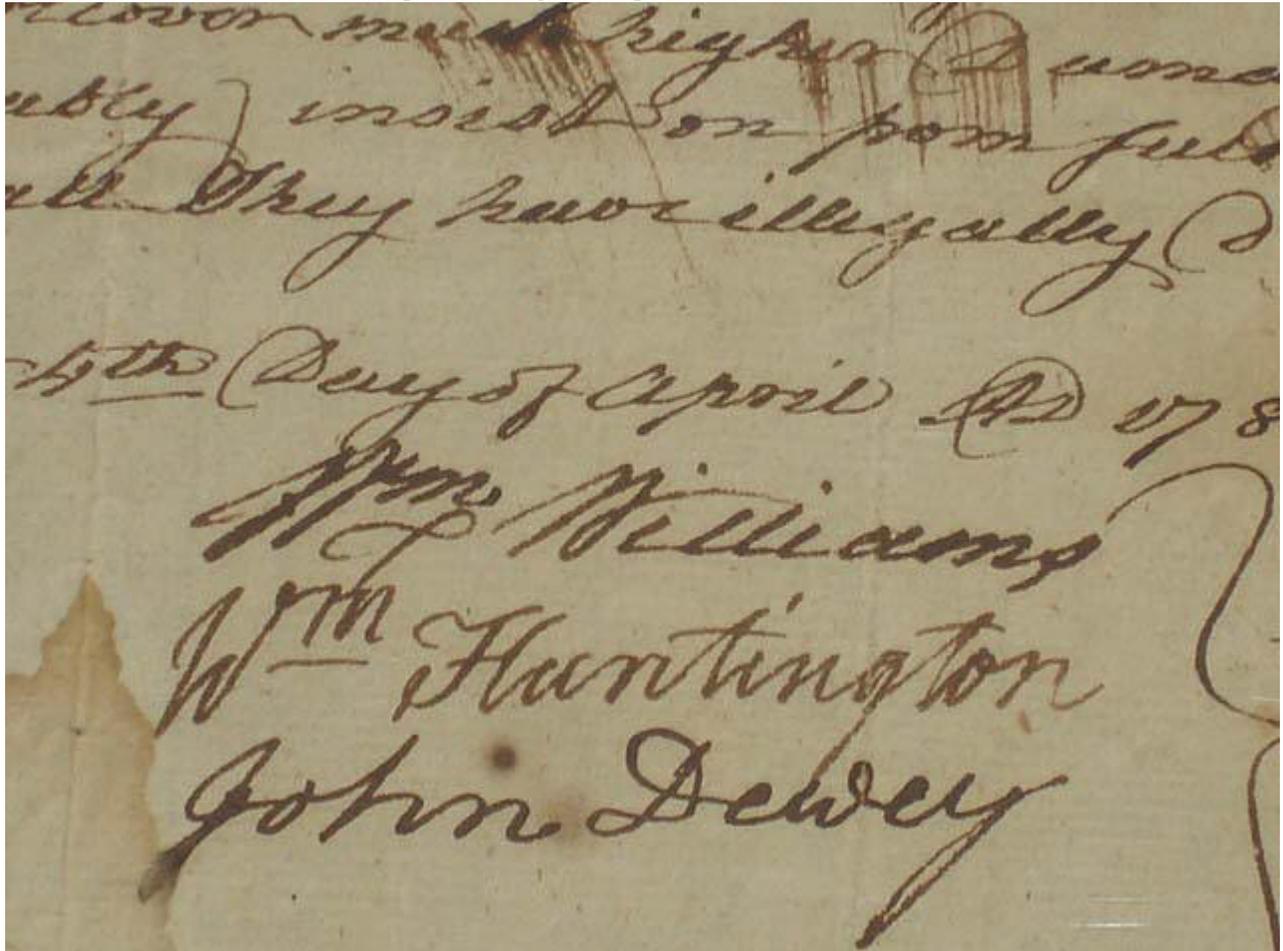
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In Norwich, Connecticut, at a sabbath school celebration, one of the students read excerpts from the [Declaration of Independence](#) while wearing “the identical cap” that had been worn by William Williams of that state at the time he had placed his signature upon that document.



In Tennessee, the McMinnville [Gazette](#) published a “[Declaration of Independence](#) for an Independant Treasury,” and the text of this would be reprinted in the [Washington DC Globe](#).

At Norfolk, Virginia, an [elephant](#) “attached to the menagerie” was induced to swim across the harbor from Town Point to the Portsmouth side and back.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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There was a 91-scalp victory dance on the east shore of Lake Calhoun, just south of Minneapolis in the [Minnesota Territory](#). One of the scalps was of the bride from the wedding at the fort (one can't help but notice that in none of the accounts has any white recorder of these events gone to the trouble of recording her name). In regard to that scalp dance, one of the white people did register a comment:

“It seemed as if hell had emptied itself here.”

[Henry Thoreau](#) was inspired to perpetrate a poem, in honor of an illustrated 3-volume set of famous British poems which he was at the moment perusing, THE BOOK OF GEMS. THE POETS AND ARTISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN. EDITED BY [S.C. HALL](#) (London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street):

THE BOOK OF GEMS, I

THE BOOK OF GEMS, II

THE BOOK OF GEMS, III



July 4. THE “BOOK OF GEMS”



With cunning plates the polished leaves were decked,
Each one a window to the poet's world,
So rich a prospect that you might suspect
In that small space all paradise unfurled.

It was a right delightful road to go,
Marching through pastures of such fair herbage,
O'er hill and dale it led, and to and fro,
From bard to bard, making an easy stage;

Where ever and anon I slaked my thirst
Like a tired traveller at some poet's well,
Which from the teeming ground did bubbling burst,
And tinkling thence adown the page it fell.
Still through the leaves its music you might hear,
Till other springs fell faintly on the ear.²⁶⁶

266. Thoreau's extracts from these three unremarkable volumes assembled at London by S.C. Hall between 1836 and 1838 are to be found in his *Literary Notebook 1840-1848* and his *Miscellaneous Extracts 1836-1840*.

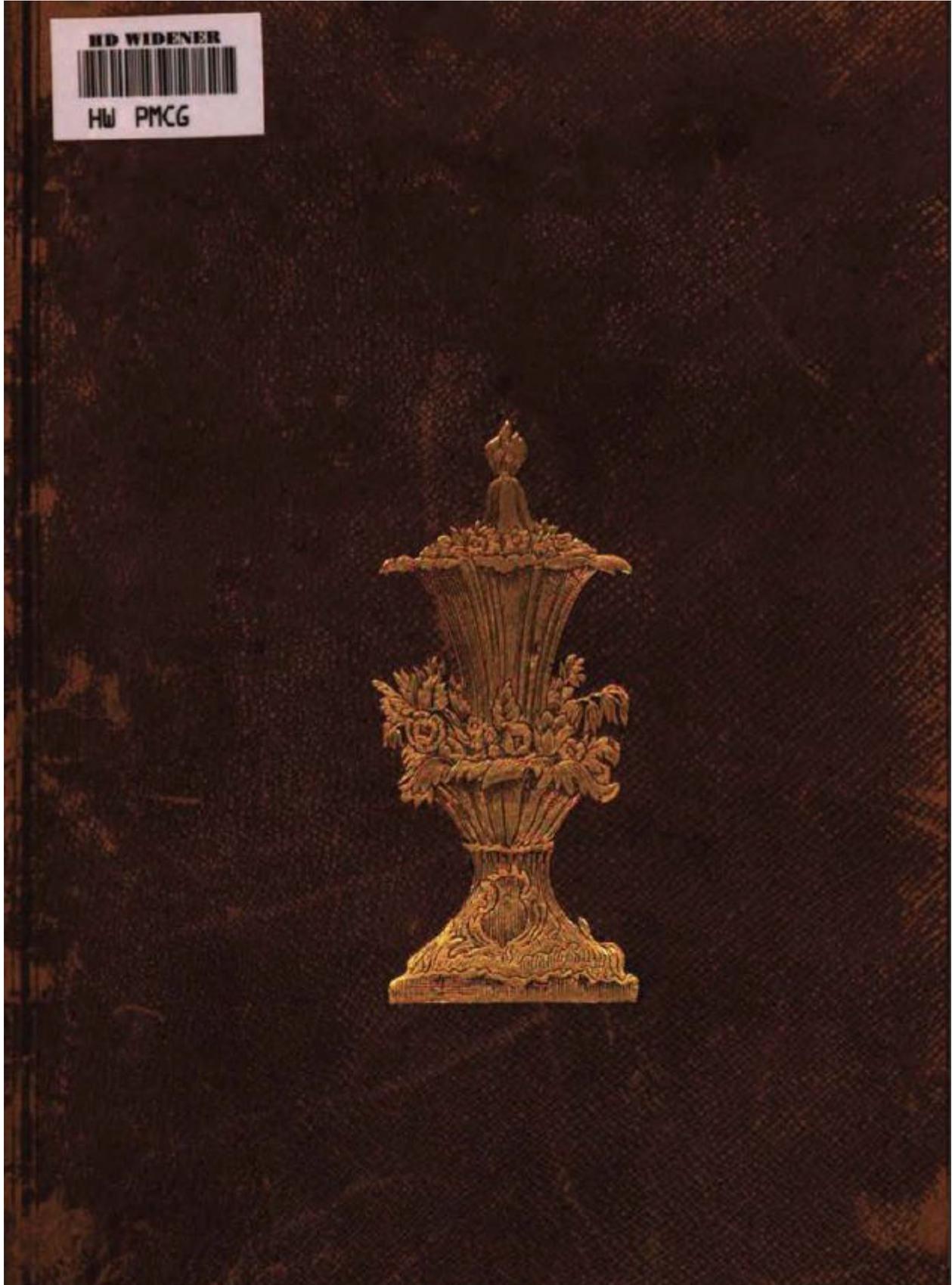
SAMUEL CARTER HALL



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1840

 Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 36th birthday.

William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson's *NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO*, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson's 4th-of-July entries: "Business was Quite Dull, this being the 4th of July. I did not Keep open more than half of the Day but walked out into the Pasture to see How the Citizens were Engaging themselves and I found them all in find Humor and in good order."

At Cherry Valley, New York, on the centennial anniversary of that town's settlement, William H. Seward delivered an oration.

In the US House of Representatives, Congressman Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts presented a proposal that the House decide on claims by Revolutionary soldiers for their relief.

In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where a large amphitheater-shaped pavilion collapsed, nearly 1,000 people were thrown down but God allowed no fatalities.

In [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*), [Rhode Island](#), a "Clam Bake" was held at which 220 bushes of clams were consumed as evidence of patriotic citizenry.

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)

[Orestes Augustus Brownson](#)'s provocative essay "The Laboring Classes" was in the current issue of the [Boston Quarterly Review](#) to promote the re-election of President Martin Van Buren and to aid the cause of the Democrats against the Whigs and their candidate, William Henry Harrison. The author rang in memories of the economic crisis of 1837, declaring that "No one can observe the signs of the times with much care without perceiving that a crisis as to the relation of wealth and labor is approaching." The struggle between wealth and labor was inherent in all of America's social structures, particularly the wage system, and could not be resolved except by a revolutionary alteration of such structures. First among the institutions to be reformed would have to be the Christian church, as symbolized by the attitudes of its clergy. Contrary to Christ's gospel, which called us to establish justice and God's kingdom on earth, preaching was turning people's eyes toward heaven with an elusive promise of eternal happiness. Government needed to limit its own powers, and to virtually eliminate the banking system, in order to protect the workers from the wealthy. Finally, the author called for the abolition of all monopoly and of all privilege, especially the inheritance of property: "as we have abolished hereditary monarchy and hereditary nobility, we must complete the work by abolishing hereditary property." What the Reverend was responding to, in this manner, was the essay "Self-Culture," published by the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) in 1838, in which it had been presumed that the primary focus of our energies should be upon our own rectification rather than on the rectification of society in general — which was an end in itself rather than merely a means to a greater end. Brownson declared that "Self-culture is a good thing, but it cannot abolish inequality, nor restore men to their rights."²⁶⁷

To Brownson's dismay, in this balloting the voters went with the Whigs. With the loss of power by the



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Democrats, he would suddenly be deprived of his politically sponsored stewardship of the United States Marine Hospital in Chelsea MA. Deeply disappointed, he would begin to sift through the socio-political fragments of his shattered religious vision. The election had demonstrated that individual and social reform, he would decide, could not spring from imperfect human nature and inadequate human effort, but only from a power higher than the electorate and the vote. Politically, this would necessitate a constitutional republic rooted in the divine will, but one which in order to protect the rights of minorities would favor states' rights. Philosophically, this would necessitate his adoption of Plato's doctrine of ideas and his adjustment of Pierre Leroux's "doctrine of communion," which held that humans lived by communion through the medium of institutions with a reality other than their individual selves, "the Not-Me": individuals communed with nature by way of the institution of property, individuals communed with other individuals by way of the institutions of the family and of government, and individuals communed with God through the institution of the church. Theologically, [Brownson](#) would come to believe, as Christ's organic extension in space and time, the institution of the church constituted the sole medium of God's saving grace. Human nature could institute nothing higher than itself; hence only a divine power mediated through Christ's church would be capable of effecting the progress of humankind.

1,200 people came into [Concord](#) from Lowell for the big day of the national political campaign. The other two roads into Concord were also jammed with visitors from the surrounding towns of Middlesex County. A log cabin on wheels was drawn into town by a team of 23 horses, while 150 celebrants sat in this rolling cabin chugging hard cider. The delegates from Boston and the eastern vicinity formed a queue that was all of two miles long, with "bands by the dozen." The main spectacle of the day, however, was an enormous wooden ball, 12 to 13 feet in diameter and painted red, white, and blue, that was being rolled out to Concord from Cambridge on this leg of its journey toward [Washington DC](#). The Tippecanoe Club was sponsoring this ball and the slogans painted on it had to do with the Whig candidates, nominee William Henry Harrison for the President and John Tyler for the Vice-President. On the Lexington Road, [Waldo Emerson](#) and his group watched this ball roll past, and some of the group helped to push the ball along.²⁶⁸ The main speeches took place, of course, near the [Battle Monument](#) on the south bank of the Concord River. The speeches began only after arrival of a barge from Billerica which, loaded with ladies, had encountered some difficulties in getting over a mud bank below Ball's Hill. Then there was free barbecue and cider in the largest tent ever set up in Middlesex County, seating 6,000, with 4,000 more being forced to wait outside the tent.²⁶⁹

Horace Rice Hosmer would recollect much later that "The political campaign of 1840 Harrison & Tyler was

267. Refer to Robinson, David. APOSTLE OF CULTURE: [EMERSON](#) AS PREACHER AND LECTURER. Philadelphia PA: U of Pennsylvania P, 1982.

268. In 1844, in his essay "The Poet," published in ESSAYS, 2D SERIES, [Emerson](#) would use an allusion to this political gimmick used by the campaign supporters of William Henry Harrison, "Keep the ball a-rolling!"

See the great ball which they roll from Baltimore to Bunker hill!

269. This was the election year in which people began singing campaign songs, and in which politics became popular entertainment. For an extended period in the 19th Century in the USA, in fact until the campaign of 1888, voter turnouts of 85% to 95% were not at all unusual. At a political rally, one could count on thousands of people being willing to stand and listen to hour-long political speech after hour-long political speech, in the rain. Voters supported the political association of their choice exactly as sports fans now support the team of their choice. Were we, today, to go back from our present 50% turnout for presidential elections to that sort of political involvement, the result would be a rebirth of our democracy, or its death.



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a [drunken](#) one, because all drank rum from habit and custom and they drank **hard cider** to emphasize their political principles, and the result was terrific.” He was “the only Loco Foco” among the students and staff (that is, the only Democrat, everyone else having Whig sympathies). He remembered John Thoreau as “an ardent Whig and his political war-cry was Tippecanoe and Tyler too.”

At that time the great wooden red, white, and blue ball that was the symbol of the party, some 12 feet high, was being kept in the front yard of David Loring’s house on Main Street just to the north of the Concord Academy. When [Emerson](#) first delivered his “The Poet” lecture, in Boston in 1841, the Whigs had just used this as a political stunt of the 1840 campaign to demonstrate growing support for their candidate. Little Horace later remembered some of the graffiti on this ball, which must have been most fascinating:

O’er ever ridge we’ll roll the Ball,
From Concord Bridge to Faneuil Hall.

Farewell poor Van, To guide our Ship,
We’ll try Old Tip.

This Ball must roll, it cannot halt,
Benton can’t save himself with salt.

By another account, the graffiti included:

Farewell poor Van,
You’r [*sic*] not the man
To guide our Ship.
We’ll try Old Tip.

In his “autobiography,” [John Shepard Keyes](#) would later reminisce about the events of the celebration in [Concord](#) this year, and would mention having been present at a wedding reception for Reuben Nathan “R.N.” Rice and his bride Mary Harriet Hurd (daughter of Colonel Isaac Hurd, Jr. and granddaughter of Dr. Isaac Hurd), who had gotten married on July 1st:



Interestingly, this reception had been hosted at the Thoreau house (we may well note how characteristic it is, that Henry made no mention of such matters as the hosting of a wedding reception, in his journal):

This excitement was soon followed by the celebration of the Fourth of July by the greatest political gathering ever held in Concord, of the Harrison and Tyler campaign. The tippecanoe clubs from every town came with banners and flags with log cabins and hard cider, and in teams on horseback in canal boats and on foot filled the streets to overflowing. The preparations were on a



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grand scale, a speakers stand, and booth of immense proportions was set up on the lot southwest of the present Sleepy Hollow Cemetery and a procession formed in the square that extended to the monument at the battleground, around which they marched with bands and escort flags and devices including the big ball, a huge affair a dozen feet in diameter made of a frame covered with cloth and inscribed with mottoes of all the political bye words songs and phrases in letters that could be read as it rolled on drawn by ropes in the hands of earnest sturdy yeomen. The charm of such an occasion drew me home days before, and I was busier in its work than in my studies, cutting for it recitations and exercises, and even such examinations as we had then which amounted to next to nothing – The great day came and fine weather and entire success greeted it. The Democrats got up a rival affair at Lexington but it was so tame and poor that it only added zest to ours, and it went off with a wild hurrah. I witnessed the gathering and march of the four or five thousand men from the cupola of the Court House, where with a bevy of girls of my own selection, we enjoyed the grand pageant to the utmost. Then escorting them to the booth we listened to the stirring speeches partook of the crackers and hard cider so liberally provided for the multitude and saw many of the great leaders of the old Wig party and heard their eloquence for the first time. Especially I recall that several of the speakers were guests at our house and that one of them Hon Myron Lawrence of Belchertown whose great size and powerful voice made him a prominent figure in that campaign had the night before a terrible attack of asthma, that frightened me out of my sleep by his horrible breathing and who I expected would certainly die of choking before morning, but who rallied, recovered his voice, and filled the whole audience and the entire valley with his stertorous tones at the dinner tables. Henry Wilson made his first appearance then, and excited much interest as the Natick cobbler The day ended with R.N. Rices wedding ~~and~~ reception at the Thoreau house on the square opposite my fathers, where we had a jolly time winding up the festivities with a champagne super-

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July 4, 1840: 4 o'clock A.M. The Townsend Light Infantry encamped last night in my neighbor's inclosure.

The night still breathes slumberously over field and wood, when a few soldiers gather about one tent in the twilight, and their band plays an old Scotch air, with bugle and drum and fife attempered to the season. It seems like the morning hymn of creation. The first sounds of the awakening camp, mingled with the chastened strains which so sweetly salute the dawn, impress me as the morning prayer of an army.²⁷⁰

And now the morning gun fires. The soldier awakening to creation and awakening it. I am sure none are cowards now. These strains are the roving dreams which steal from tent to tent, and break forth into distinct melody. They are the soldier's morning thought. Each man awakes himself with lofty emotions, and would do some heroic deed. You need preach no homily to him; he is the stuff they are made of.

270. Also, written in pencil on a fly-leaf of the journal, we find "I have heard a strain of music issuing from a soldiers' camp in the dawn, which sounded like the morning hymn of creation. The birches rustling in the breeze and the slumberous breathing of the crickets seemed to hush their murmuring to attend to it."



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The whole course of our lives should be analogous to one day of the soldier's. His Genius seems to whisper in his ear what demeanor is befitting, and in his bravery and his march he yields a blind and partial obedience.

The fresher breeze which accompanies the dawn rustles the oaks and birches, and the earth respire calmly with the creaking of crickets. Some hazel leaf stirs gently, as if anxious not to awake the day too abruptly, while the time is hastening to the distinct line between darkness and light. And soldiers issue from their dewy tents, and as if in answer to expectant nature, sing a sweet and far-echoing hymn.

We may well neglect many things, provided we overlook them.

When to-day I saw the "Great Ball" rolled majestically along, it seemed a shame that man could not move like it. All dignity and grandeur has something of the undulatoriness of the sphere. It is the secret of majesty in the rolling gait of the elephant, and of all grace in action and in art. The line of beauty is a curve. Each man seems striving to imitate its gait, and keep pace with it, but it moves on regardless and conquers the multitude with its majesty. What shame that our lives, which should be the source of planetary motion and sanction the order of the spheres, are full of abruptness and angularity, so as not to roll, nor move majestically.

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN
SEE CAN EVER BE SEEN AS IF THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.
IN A BOOK THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY, ISSUED BY
RANDOM HOUSE IN 2016, I FIND THE PHRASE "LOOKED UPON FROM
THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HISTORY," ONLY A MERE STORYTELLER,
NEVER A HISTORIAN, COULD HAVE PENNED SUCH A PHRASE —
BECAUSE NO BIRD HAS EVER FLOWN OVER HISTORY.**



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1841



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: Charles Haswell made a sad note of the vanishing of the booths, with their “six miles of roast pig”: “June 29, a vote was taken in the Board of Aldermen on the resolution of a committee to abolish the permits for the erection of booths around City Hall Park on the afternoon preceding the Fourth of July, which was negatived, and the erection of booths continued for a few years afterward. The existence of them, the peculiar character of their proprietors, and of the refreshments furnished, with the crowds that visited them, elicited the general remark upon their cessation, ‘The Fourth of July passed away when the booths around City Hall Park were taken away.’”

In [New-York](#) harbor, the steamship *Fulton* was anchored off the Battery, displaying fireworks and “glittering lamps” in honor of the day.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Volunteering to act as [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#)’s agents for future lectures in [New-York](#), the brothers of [Isaac Hecker](#) had arranged for this Boston lecturer to deliver the 4th-of-July oration at Washington Hall. He did not disappoint their Christian expectations, for he firmly tied the can of American nationalism to the tail of American Christendom:²⁷¹

The principles involved in the American Revolution were but the application of those political associations involved in the principles taught by Jesus Christ.

Down in Natchez, William Johnson, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson’s *NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO*, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson’s 4th-of-July entries: “Greate many persons are Frollicing to day, tho to morrow is the set day for the Celebration, and a Large parade is Expected, Good many of Our Citizens have gone over the River to take a Frollic. I’ve since herd that it broke up without affording much pleasure to the Company ...”



271. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s 37th birthday.



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1842



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July:²⁷² William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson’s NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson’s 4th-of-July entries: “Two of the Companies turned Out to day and of all the Music that I Ever herd in my Life. Mr. Sorias Jonh and some other Boy, oh it was dreadfull indeed, past anything that I Ever Herd in my Life.”

[Horace Mann, Sr.](#) delivered the Fourth of July oration in Boston.

In Poughkipsee, New York, Richard A. Brown watched the town’s 4th of July parade and reported to his wife in Rhode Island that “I had an opportunity to see part of the procession which was very large and respectable being made up of Military Oddfellows Sabath Schools Citizens niggers &c.”

In New-York harbor, the US *North Carolina*, the frigate *Columbia*, and the English frigate *Warspite* were exchanging artillery salutes, but meanwhile the real work of the harbor was going on, as Samuel Colt’s “submarine experiment” for blowing up enemy ships was being tested, and was passing its tests.

In [Washington DC](#), William Bacon Stevens’s “History of the [Declaration of Independence](#) was published in the [National Intelligencer](#). To work against the traditional [drunkenness](#) of the holiday, several of the city’s temperance societies had gotten together for a “Grand Total Abstinence Celebration.” At Parrott’s Woods near Georgetown, although the speaker’s platform collapsed and District of Columbia Major William W. Seaton, G.W.P. Custis, and others were dumped to the ground, no one was injured.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT
CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



272. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s 38th birthday.



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1843

Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 39th birthday.

In the Moravian community of Lititz, Pennsylvania, a town annual tradition of lighting their Spring Park with candles for the 4th of July, a tradition that is going on to the present day, began with this year's celebration of our nation's birthday.

In Boston, Charles Francis Adams, son of President John Quincy Adams, delivered an oration in Faneuil Hall. (This was the first celebration in this historic building.)

When a group from the [Association of Industry and Education](#) desired to hold an Independence Day antislavery meeting in the town of [Northampton](#) itself, they were denied access not only to the town meetinghouse but also to any and all of the local churches. Their speaker [William Lloyd Garrison](#) therefore proceeded to deliver his lecture to the crowd in the main street of the town — from atop a stump.

In [Washington DC](#), the cornerstone of Temperance Hall was laid (if you are gonna lay a cornerstone to [temperance](#), for sure the day to stage the celebration is the day that the culture is devoting to public [drunkenness](#)).

Water was officiously let into the extension of the [Chesapeake and Ohio Canal](#) created by an aqueduct above the Potomac River.

In Poughkeepsie, New York, due to a holiday firecracker “carelessly thrown by a boy,” God caused a church to be burned to the ground.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



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[Frederick Douglass](#) was in the Town Hall of Kingston, Massachusetts at the annual meeting of the Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society. This was the period of the “Hundred Conventions,” in which Douglass was lecturing in conjunction with John A. Collins, Charles Lenox Remond, Jacob Ferris, James Monroe, George Bradburn, William A. White, and Sydney Howard Gay. During the month of July Douglass would be in Middlebury, Vermont and then in Ferrisburgh, Vermont with Collins, Bradburn, and Gay, before winding up by himself again, at the end of the month with a lecture in Syracuse, New York:

BONDAGE: In the summer of 1843, I was traveling and lecturing, in company with William A. White, Esq., through the state of Indiana. Anti-slavery friends were not very abundant in Indiana, at that time, and beds were not more plentiful than friends. We often slept out, in preference to sleeping in the houses, at some points. At the close of one of our meetings, we were invited home with a kindly-disposed old farmer, who, in the generous enthusiasm of the moment, seemed to have forgotten that he had but one spare bed, and that his guests were an ill-matched pair. All went on pretty well, till near bed time, when signs of uneasiness began to show themselves, among the unsophisticated sons and daughters. White is remarkably fine looking, and very evidently a born gentleman; the idea of putting us in the same bed was hardly to be tolerated; and yet, there we were, and but the one bed for us, and that, by the way, was in the same room occupied by the other members of the family. White, as well as I, perceived the difficulty, for yonder slept the old folks, there the sons, and a little farther along slept the daughters; and but one other bed remained. Who should have this bed, was the puzzling question. There was some whispering between the old folks, some confused looks among the young, as the time for going to bed approached. After witnessing the confusion as long as I liked, I relieved the kindly-disposed family by playfully saying, “Friend White, having got entirely rid of my prejudice against color, I think, as a proof of it, I must allow you to sleep with me to-night.” White kept up the joke, by seeming to esteem himself the favored party, and thus the difficulty was removed. If we went to a hotel, and called for dinner, the landlord was sure to set one table for White and another for me, always taking him to be master, and me the servant. Large eyes were generally made when the order was given to remove the dishes from my table to that of White’s. In those days, it was thought strange that a white man and a colored man could dine peaceably at the same table, and in some parts the strangeness of such a sight has not entirely subsided.

[Waldo Emerson](#) visited Fruitlands and observed some 100 feet of shelving, needed for their library of some 1,000 volumes contributed by Charles Lane, almost all of which were treatises on mysticism.²⁷³

[Margaret Fuller](#) would write of the events of this day, in her SUMMER ON THE LAKES, IN 1843:

A little way down the river is the site of an ancient Indian
273. When the colony collapsed Waldo Emerson would purchase some of these volumes, those which are now in the collection of Houghton Library of [Harvard College](#). The remainder of the volumes would be taken by [Thoreau](#) to New-York and sold, with the proceeds being sent to Charles Lane.



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village, with its regularly arranged mounds. As usual, they had chosen with the finest taste. When we went there, it was one of those soft, shadowy afternoons when Nature seems ready to weep, not from grief, but from an overfull heart. Two prattling, lovely little girls, and an African boy, with glittering eye and ready grin, made our party gay; but all were still as we entered the little inlet and trod those flowery paths. They may blacken Indian life as they will, talk of its dirt, its brutality, I will ever believe that the men who chose that dwelling-place were able to feel emotions of noble happiness as they returned to it, and so were the women that received them. Neither were the children sad or dull, who lived so familiarly with the deer and the birds, and swam that clear wave in the shadow of the Seven Sisters. The whole scene suggested to me a Greek splendor, a Greek sweetness, and I can believe that an Indian brave, accustomed to ramble in such paths, and be bathed by such sunbeams, might be mistaken for Apollo, as Apollo was for him by West. Two of the boldest bluffs are called the Deer's Walk, (not because deer do *not* walk there,) and the Eagle's Nest. The latter I visited one glorious morning; it was that of the fourth of July, and certainly I think I had never felt so happy that I was born in America. Woe to all country folks that never saw this spot, never swept an enraptured gaze over the prospect that stretched beneath. I do believe Rome and Florence are suburbs compared to this capital of Nature's art.

The bluff was decked with great bunches of a scarlet variety of the milkweed, like cut coral, and all starred with a mysterious-looking dark flower, whose cup rose lonely on a tall stem. This had, for two or three days, disputed the ground with the lupine and phlox. My companions disliked, I liked it.

Here I thought of, or rather saw, what the Greek expresses under the form of Jove's darling, Ganymede, and the following stanzas took form.

Ganymede to his Eagle.

Suggested by a Work of Thorwaldsen's.

Composed on the height called the Eagle's Nest, Oregon, Rock River, July 4th, 1843.

Upon the rocky mountain stood the boy,
A goblet of pure water in his hand;
His face and form spoke him one made for joy,
A willing servant to sweet love's command,
But a strange pain was written on his brow,
And thrilled throughout his silver accents now.

"My bird," he cries, "my destined brother friend,
O whither fleets to-day thy wayward flight?
Hast thou forgotten that I here attend,
From the full noon until this sad twilight?
A hundred times, at least, from the clear spring,



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Since the fall noon o'er hill and valley glowed,
I've filled the vase which our Olympian king
Upon my care for thy sole use bestowed;
That, at the moment when thou shouldst descend,
A pure refreshment might thy thirst attend.

"Hast thou forgotten earth, forgotten me,
Thy fellow-bondsman in a royal cause,
Who, from the sadness of infinity,
Only with thee can know that peaceful pause
In which we catch the flowing strain of love,
Which binds our dim fates to the throne of Jove?"

"Before I saw thee, I was like the May,
Longing for summer that must mar its bloom,
Or like the morning star that calls the day,
Whose glories to its promise are the tomb;
And as the eager fountain rises higher
To throw itself more strongly back to earth,
Still, as more sweet and full rose my desire,
More fondly it reverted to its birth,
For what the rosebud seeks tells not the rose,
The meaning that the boy foretold the man cannot disclose.

"I was all Spring, for in my being dwelt
Eternal youth, where flowers are the fruit;
Full feeling was the thought of what was felt,
Its music was the meaning of the lute;
But heaven and earth such life will still deny,
For earth, divorced from heaven, still asks the question *Why?*"

"Upon the highest mountains my young feet
Ached, that no pinions from their lightness grew,
My starlike eyes the stars would fondly greet,
Yet win no greeting from the circling blue;
Fair, self-subsistent each in its own sphere,
They had no care that there was none for me;
Alike to them that I was far or near,
Alike to them time and eternity.

"But from the violet of lower air
Sometimes an answer to my wishing came;
Those lightning-births my nature seemed to share,
They told the secrets of its fiery frame,
The sudden messengers of hate and love,
The thunderbolts that arm the hand of Jove,
And strike sometimes the sacred spire,
And strike the sacred grove.

"Come in a moment, in a moment gone,
They answered me, then left me still more lone;
They told me that the thought which ruled the world
As yet no sail upon its course had furled,



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That the creation was but just begun,
New leaves still leaving from the primal one,
But spoke not of the goal to which
My rapid wheels would run.

"Still, still my eyes, though tearfully,
I strained To the far future which my heart contained,
And no dull doubt my proper hope profaned.
"At last, O bliss! thy living form I spied,
Then a mere speck upon a distant sky;
Yet my keen glance discerned its noble pride,
And the full answer of that sun-filled eye;
I knew it was the wing that must upbear
My earthlier form into the realms of air.

"Thou knowest how we gained that beauteous height,
Where dwells the monarch, of the sons of light;
Thou knowest he declared us two to be
The chosen servants of his ministry,
Thou as his messenger, a sacred sign
Of conquest, or, with omen more benign,
To give its due weight to the righteous cause,
To express the verdict of Olympian laws.

"And I to wait upon the lonely spring,
Which slakes the thirst of bards to whom 't is given
The destined dues of hopes divine to sing,
And weave the needed chain to bind to heaven.
Only from such could be obtained a draught
For him who in his early home from Jove's own cup has quaffed
"To wait, to wait, but not to wait too long.
Till heavy grows the burden of a song;
O bird! too long hast thou been gone to-day,
My feet are weary of their frequent way,
The spell that opes the spring my tongue no more can say.

"If soon thou com'st not, night will fall around,
My head with a sad slumber will be bound,
And the pure draught be spilt upon the ground.
"Remember that I am not yet divine,
Long years of service to the fatal Nine
Are yet to make a Delphian vigor mine.
"O, make them not too hard, thou bird of Jove!
Answer the stripling's hope, confirm his love,
Receive the service in which he delights,
And bear him often to the serene heights,
Where hands that were so prompt in serving thee
Shall be allowed the highest ministry,
And Rapture live with bright Fidelity."

The afternoon was spent in a very different manner. The family whose guests we were possessed a gay and graceful hospitality that gave zest to each moment. They possessed that rare



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politeness which, while fertile in pleasant expedients to vary the enjoyment of a friend, leaves him perfectly free the moment he wishes to be so. With such hosts, pleasure may be combined with repose. They lived on the bank opposite the town, and, as their house was full, we slept in the town, and passed three days with them, passing to and fro morning and evening in their boats. To one of these, called the Fairy, in which a sweet little daughter of the house moved about lighter than any Scotch Ellen ever sung, I should indite a poem, if I had not been guilty of rhyme on this very page. At morning this boating was very pleasant; at evening, I confess, I was generally too tired with the excitements of the day to think it so.

The house—a double log-cabin—was, to my eye, the model of a Western villa. Nature had laid out before it grounds which could not be improved. Within, female taste had veiled every rudeness, availed itself of every sylvan grace.

In this charming abode what laughter, what sweet thoughts, what pleasing fancies, did we not enjoy! May such never desert those who reared it, and made us so kindly welcome to all its pleasures!

Fragments of city life were dexterously crumbled into the dish prepared for general entertainment. Ice-creams followed the dinner, which was drawn by the gentlemen from the river, and music and fireworks wound up the evening of days spent on the Eagle's Nest. Now they had prepared a little fleet to pass over to the Fourth of July celebration, which some queer drumming and fifing, from, the opposite bank, had announced to be "on hand." We found the free and independent citizens there collected beneath the trees, among whom many a round Irish visage dimpled at the usual puffs of "Ameriky."

The orator was a New-Englander, and the speech smacked loudly of Boston, but was received with much applause and followed by a plentiful dinner, provided by and for the Sovereign People, to which Hail Columbia served as grace.

Returning, the gay flotilla cheered the little flag which the children had raised from a log-cabin, prettier than any president ever saw, and drank the health of our country and all mankind, with a clear conscience.

Dance and song wound up the day. I know not when the mere local habitation has seemed to me to afford so fair a chance of happiness as this. To a person of unspoiled tastes, the beauty alone would afford stimulus enough. But with it would be naturally associated all kinds of wild sports, experiments, and the studies of natural history. In these regards, the poet, the sportsman, the naturalist, would alike rejoice in this wide range of untouched loveliness.

Then, with a very little money, a ducal estate may be purchased, and by a very little more, and moderate labor, a family be maintained upon it with raiment, food, and shelter. The luxurious and minute comforts of a city life are not yet to be had without effort disproportionate to their value. But, where there is so great a counterpoise, cannot these be given up once for all? If the houses are imperfectly built, they can afford



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immense fires and plenty of covering; if they are small, who cares, — with, such fields to roam in? in winter, it may be borne; in summer, is of no consequence. With plenty of fish, and game, and wheat, can they not dispense with a baker to bring “muffins hot” every morning to the door for their breakfast?

A man need not here take a small slice from the landscape, and fence it in from the obtrusions of an uncongenial neighbor, and there cut down his fancies to miniature improvements which a chicken could run over in ten minutes. He may have water and wood and land enough, to dread no incursions on his prospect from some chance Vandal that may enter his neighborhood. He need not painfully economize and manage how he may use it all; he can afford to leave some of it wild, and to carry out his own plans without obliterating those of Nature.

Here, whole families might live together, if they would. The sons might return from their pilgrimages to settle near the parent hearth; the daughters might find room near their mother. Those painful separations, which already desecrate and desolate the Atlantic coast, are not enforced here by the stern need of seeking bread; and where they are voluntary, it is no matter. To me, too, used to the feelings which haunt a society of struggling men, it was delightful to look upon a scene where Nature still wore her motherly smile, and seemed to promise room, not only for those favored or cursed with the qualities best adapting for the strifes of competition, but for the delicate, the thoughtful, even the indolent or eccentric. She did not say, Fight or starve; nor even, Work or cease to exist; but, merely showing that the apple was a finer fruit than the wild crab, gave both room to grow in the garden.

A pleasant society is formed of the families who live along the banks of this stream upon farms. They are from various parts of the world, and have much to communicate to one another. Many have cultivated minds and refined manners, all a varied experience, while they have in common the interests of a new country and a new life. They must traverse some space to get at one another, but the journey is through scenes that make it a separate pleasure. They must bear inconveniences to stay in one another's houses; but these, to the well-disposed, are only a source of amusement and adventure.

The great drawback upon the lives of these settlers, at present, is the unfitness of the women for their new lot. It has generally been the choice of the men, and the women follow, as women will, doing their best for affection's sake, but too often in heartsickness and weariness. Beside, it frequently not being a choice or conviction of their own minds that it is best to be here, their part is the hardest, and they are least fitted for it. The men can find assistance in field labor, and recreation with the gun and fishing-rod. Their bodily strength is greater, and enables them to bear and enjoy both these forms of life.

The women can rarely find any aid in domestic labor. All its various and careful tasks must often be performed, sick, or well, by the mother and daughters, to whom a city education has imparted neither the strength nor skill now demanded.



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The wives of the poorer settlers, having more hard work to do than before, very frequently become slatterns; but the ladies, accustomed to a refined neatness, feel that they cannot degrade themselves by its absence, and struggle under every disadvantage to keep up the necessary routine of small arrangements.

With all these disadvantages for work, their resources for pleasure are fewer. When they can leave the housework, they have not learnt to ride, to drive, to row, alone. Their culture has too generally been that given to women to make them "the ornaments of society." They can dance, but not draw; talk French, but know nothing of the language of flowers; neither in childhood were allowed to cultivate them, lest they should tan their complexions. Accustomed to the pavement of Broadway, they dare not tread the wild-wood paths for fear of rattlesnakes!

Seeing much of this joylessness, and inaptitude, both of body and mind, for a lot which would be full of blessings for those prepared for it, we could not but look with deep interest on the little girls, and hope they would grow up with the strength of body, dexterity, simple tastes, and resources that would fit them to enjoy and refine the Western farmer's life.

But they have a great deal to war with in the habits of thought acquired by their mothers from their own early life. Everywhere the fatal spirit of imitation, of reference to European standards, penetrates, and threatens to blight whatever of original growth might adorn the soil.

If the little girls grow up strong, resolute, able to exert their faculties, their mothers mourn over their want of fashionable delicacy. Are they gay, enterprising, ready to fly about in the various ways that teach them so much, these ladies lament that "they cannot go to school, where they might learn to be quiet." They lament the want of "education" for their daughters, as if the thousand needs which call out their young energies, and the language of nature around, yielded no education.

Their grand ambition for their children is to send them to school in some Eastern city, the measure most likely to make them useless and unhappy at home. I earnestly hope that, ere long, the existence of good schools near themselves, planned by persons of sufficient thought to meet the wants of the place and time, instead of copying New York or Boston, will correct this mania. Instruction the children want to enable them to profit by the great natural advantages of their position; but methods copied from the education of some English Lady Augusta are as ill suited to the daughter of an Illinois farmer, as satin shoes to climb the Indian mounds. An elegance she would diffuse around her, if her mind were opened to appreciate elegance; it might be of a kind new, original, enchanting, as different from that of the city belle as that of the prairie torch-flower from the shop-worn article that touches the cheek of that lady within her bonnet.

To a girl really skilled to make home beautiful and comfortable, with bodily strength to enjoy plenty of exercise, the woods, the streams, a few studies, music, and the sincere and familiar intercourse, far more easily to be met with here than elsewhere,



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would afford happiness enough. Her eyes would not grow dim, nor her cheeks sunken, in the absence of parties, morning visits, and milliners' shops.

As to music, I wish I could see in such places the guitar rather than the piano, and good vocal more than instrumental music.

The piano many carry with them, because it is the fashionable instrument in the Eastern cities. Even there, it is so merely from the habit of imitating Europe, for not one in a thousand is willing to give the labor requisite to insure any valuable use of the instrument.

But out here, where the ladies have so much less leisure, it is still less desirable. Add to this, they never know how to tune their own instruments, and as persons seldom visit them who can do so, these pianos are constantly out of tune, and would spoil the ear of one who began by having any.

The guitar, or some portable instrument which requires less practice, and could be kept in tune by themselves, would be far more desirable for most of these ladies. It would give all they want as a household companion to fill up the gaps of life with a pleasant stimulus or solace, and be sufficient accompaniment to the voice in social meetings.

Singing in parts is the most delightful family amusement, and those who are constantly together can learn to sing in perfect accord. All the practice it needs, after some good elementary instruction, is such as meetings by summer twilight and evening firelight naturally suggest. And as music is a universal language, we cannot but think a fine Italian duet would be as much at home in the log cabin as one of Mrs. Gore's novels.

The 6th of July we left this beautiful place. It was one of those rich days of bright sunlight, varied by the purple shadows of large, sweeping clouds. Many a backward look we cast, and left the heart behind.

Our journey to-day was no less delightful than before, still all new, boundless, limitless. Kinmont says, that limits are sacred; that the Greeks were in the right to worship a god of limits. I say, that what is limitless is alone divine, that there was neither wall nor road in Eden, that those who walked, there lost and found their way just as we did, and that all the gain from the Fall was that we had a wagon to ride in. I do not think, either, that even the horses doubted whether this last was any advantage.

Everywhere the rattlesnake-weed grows in profusion. The antidote survives the bane. Soon the coarser plantain, the "white man's footstep," shall take its place.

We saw also the compass-plant, and the Western tea-plant. Of some of the brightest flowers an Indian girl afterwards told me the medicinal virtues. I doubt not those students of the soil knew a use to every fair emblem, on which we could only look to admire its hues and shape.

After noon we were ferried by a girl (unfortunately not of the most picturesque appearance) across the Kishwaukie, the most graceful of streams, and on whose bosom rested many full-blown water-lilies, - twice as large as any of ours. I was told that,



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en revanche, they were scentless, but I still regret that I could not get at one of them to try. Query, did the lilled fragrance which, in the miraculous times, accompanied visions of saints and angels, proceed from water or garden lilies?

Kishwaukie is, according to tradition, the scene of a famous battle, and its many grassy mounds contain the bones of the valiant. On these waved thickly the mysterious purple flower, of which I have spoken before. I think it springs from the blood of the Indians, as the hyacinth did from that of Apollo's darling.

The ladies of our host's family at Oregon, when they first went, there, after all the pains and plagues of building and settling, found their first pastime in opening one of these mounds, in which they found, I think, three of the departed, seated, in the Indian fashion.

One of these same ladies, as she was making bread one winter morning, saw from the window a deer directly before the house. She ran out, with her hands covered with dough, calling the others, and they caught him bodily before he had time to escape. Here (at Kiskwaukie) we received a visit from a ragged and barefooted, but bright-eyed gentleman, who seemed to be the intellectual loafer, the walking Will's coffee-house, of the place. He told us many charming snake-stories; among others, of himself having seen seventeen young ones re-enter the mother snake, on the approach of a visitor.

This night we reached Belvidere, a flourishing town in Boon County, where was the tomb, now despoiled, of Big Thunder. In this later day we felt happy to find a really good hotel.

From this place, by two days of very leisurely and devious journeying, we reached Chicago, and thus ended a journey, which one at least of the party might have wished unending.

I have not been particularly anxious to give the geography of the scene, inasmuch as it seemed to me no route, nor series of stations, but a garden interspersed with cottages, groves, and flowery lawns, through which a stately river ran. I had no guide-book, kept no diary, do not know how many miles we travelled each day, nor how many in all. What I got from the journey was the poetic impression of the country at large; it is all I have aimed to communicate.

The narrative might have been made much more interesting, as life was at the time, by many piquant anecdotes and tales drawn from private life. But here courtesy restrains the pen, for I know those who received the stranger with such frank kindness would feel ill requited by its becoming the means of fixing many spy-glasses, even though the scrutiny might be one of admiring interest, upon their private homes.

For many of these anecdotes, too, I was indebted to a friend, whose property they more lawfully are. This friend was one of those rare beings who are equally at home in nature and with man. He knew a tale of all that ran and swam and flew, or only grew, possessing that extensive familiarity with things which shows equal sweetness of sympathy and playful penetration. Most refreshing to me was his unstudied lore, the unwritten poetry



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which common life presents to a strong and gentle mind. It was a great contrast to the subtilities of analysis, the philosophic strainings of which I had seen too much. But I will not attempt to transplant it. May it profit others as it did me in the region where it was born, where it belongs.

The evening of our return to Chicago, the sunset was of a splendor and calmness beyond any we saw at the West. The twilight that succeeded was equally beautiful; soft, pathetic, but just so calm. When afterwards I learned this was the evening of Allston's death, it seemed to me as if this glorious pageant was not without connection with that event; at least, it inspired similar emotions, — a heavenly gate closing a path adorned with shows well worthy Paradise.



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1844



 Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 40th birthday.

In Charleston, South Carolina, the faculty and trustees of Charleston College marched in a city-wide "Festival of the Teachers and Scholars" parade.

"Liberty Pole Raisings" and flag raisings in support of the Whig political party took place in Louisville, Kentucky, Wheeling and Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, and Montrose, Pennsylvania .

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July 3, Thursday: In [Boston](#), Thomas Barrett was [hanged](#) for a multiple murder.

Frederick Douglass lectured in Westminster, Massachusetts.



In approximately this year John William Davis, who would eventually become governor of [Rhode Island](#) (1887/1888, 1890/1891), was a young man serving his apprenticeship.

It was the custom of the boss to give us a day off and a dollar for spending money Fourth of July and College Commencement days. Mr. Vanderbilt the elder was fighting for a share of the eastern travel, and at this Fourth of July his old boat *Neptune* was carrying passengers from [Providence](#) to New-York for twenty five cents each, deck-passage. The boat sailed from India Point near our lodging and when the boss gave me the dollar I started



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straight for the craft, paid my quarter and went on board. It was my first voyage down the bay and out upon the ocean by Point Judith and I did not miss much that could be seen by night. Arrived in the great city I got a breakfast of coffee and steak for a quarter and then started out down West St. across the Battery. The Battery proper then stood out in the harbor beyond the shore – then the Quincy Slip where there were acres of Canal boats, up Whitehall St. to Bowling Green where I first saw a fountain flowing from a pile of rough stones in the pool in the green. Water was belching in every direction. Then I went up Broadway to the Park where another fountain was showering a pool, and the City Hall was trimmed with flags. Thence I went up Broadway and across to North River side and so on and on all day long, stopping to inspect a company of Scottish Highlanders out in parade in tartans and philibegs until nightfall called me again to the *Neptune*. I supped on a sandwich and cup of coffee costing a New York shilling and had three bits left out of my dollar. I paid two for my passage and one for a mattress to lie upon, sleeping through the night and arriving home for breakfast went to work that morning. I have been to New York many times since then, supped and lodged at the Fifth Ave. and the Waldorf at the expense of the state but I never went at less personal cost or had greater enjoyment than on the memorable occasion related.

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Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 41st birthday, and the flag was gaining another star as the State of Florida was entering the Union as our 27th state, making the score in this land of the free and home of the brave to amount to 14 states for human slavery versus 13 states agin it:



Ordinance of the Convention of [Texas](#).

In [Washington DC](#), the cornerstone of Jackson Hall was being laid and a good time was being enjoyed by all these American patriots who were equating patriotism with [inebriation](#), but on the grounds south of the Executive Mansion, some [drunken](#) celebrant fired off a dozen rockets into the crowd, killing James Knowles and Georgiana Ferguson and injuring several others — collateral damage due to friendly fire.

In Ithaca, [New York](#), a celebration cannon, evidently overcharged with powder, blew apart, killing three.

[TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS](#)



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Ex-president John Tyler delivered an oration at William and Mary College.

In Nashville, Tennessee, the corner-stone of the State House was laid.

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What to the slave is the 4th of July? On this day and the next Frederick Douglass was lecturing in Athol, Massachusetts.

[Henry Thoreau](#) began to sleep in the open frame of the new shanty “as soon as it was boarded and roofed...” not only on the anniversary of independence, but also on the day on which the US took the Texas territory from Mexico. Had he remained in Concord that day, he would have been subjected not only to offensive parades with flag-waving, but also to much offensive pro-war oratory.

[TIMELINE OF WALDEN](#)

[EMERSON'S SHANTY](#)

WALDEN: When first I took up my abode in the woods, that is, began to spend my nights as well as days there, which, by accident was on Independence Day, or the fourth of July, 1845, my house was not finished for winter, but was merely a defence against the rain, without plastering or chimney, the walls being of rough weather-stained boards, with wide chinks, which made it cool at night. The upright white hewn studs and freshly planed door and window casings gave it a clean and airy look, especially in the morning, when its timbers were saturated with dew, so that I fancied that by noon some sweet gum would exude from them. To my imagination it retained throughout the day more or less of this auroral character, reminding me of a certain house on a mountain which I had visited the year before. This was an airy and unplastered cabin, fit to entertain a travelling god, and where a goddess might trail her garments. The winds which passed over my dwelling were such as sweep over the ridges of mountains, bearing the broken strains, or celestial parts only, of terrestrial music. The morning wind forever blows, the poem of creation is uninterrupted; but few are the ears that hear it. Olympus is but the outside of the earth every where.

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We need not presume that he intended the date to have any metaphorical significance, as in the idea that moving to the shanty was his [Declaration of Independence](#) from human society. On this day of Thoreau's removal, an article appeared in the New-York [Daily Tribune](#) calling for a return to "the narrow, thorny path where Integrity leads." This article was authored in full awareness of the course Thoreau was following in Concord, for this sentiment had been penned by [Margaret Fuller](#).



Years later, on May 1, 1850 to be exact, Thoreau recollected an incident of this day, that "*The forenoon that I moved to my house—a poor old lame fellow who had formerly frozen his feet—hobbled off the road—came & stood before my door with one hand on each door post looking into the house & asked for a drink of water. I knew that rum or something like it was the only drink he loved but I gave him a dish of warm pond water which was all I had, nevertheless, which to my astonishment he drank, being used to drinking.*"



Thoreau lived



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“At Walden, July, 1845, to fall of 1847, then at R.W.E.’s to fall of 1848, or while he was in Europe.”

At about this time, more or less, a number of people’s acquaintance’s lives were changing: for instance, Giles Waldo, whom Thoreau had chummed around with in New-York, was sailing to become vice consul at Lahaina in the Sandwich Islands, and George Partridge Bradford was abandoning the private school he had attempted to set up in [Waldo Emerson](#)’s barn to begin a private school in Roxbury MA.

[Thoreau](#) wrote the following sometime after he moved to his new shanty at Walden Pond, about the drumming of the ruffed grouse:



After July 4: {one-fifth page blank} When I behold an infant I am impressed with a sense of antiquity, and reminded of the sphinx or Sybil. It seems older than Nestor or Jove himself, and wears the wrinkles of Saturn.

Why should the present impose upon us so much! I sit now upon a stump whose rings number centuries of growth— If I look around me I see that the very soil is composed of just such stumps — ancestors to this. I thrust this stick many aeons deep into the surface — and with my heel scratch a deeper furrow than the elements have ploughed here for a thousand years— If I listen I hear the peep of frogs which is older than the slime of Egypt — or a distant partridge [**Ruffed Grouse**  *Bonasa umbellus* (~~Partridge~~)] drumming on a log — as if it were the pulse-beat of the summer air.



CURRENT YOUTUBE VIDEO

I raise my fairest and freshest flowers in the old mould.
—Why, what we call new is not skin deep — the earth is not yet stained by it. It is not the fertile ground we walk upon but the leaves that flutter over our head
The newest is but the oldest made visible to our eyes. We dig up the soil from a thousand feet below the surface and call it new, and the plants which spring from it.



After July 4: Night and day — year on year, / High & low — far and near, / These are our own aspects, / These are our own regrets.... / I hear the sweet evening sounds / From your undecaying grounds / Cheat me no more with time, / Take me to your clime. 1842, 1845, 1848: Night and day, year on year, / High and low, far and near, / These are our own aspects, / These are our own regrets.... / I hear the sweet evening sounds / From your undecaying grounds; / Cheat me no more with time, / Take me to your clime. (WEEK 389) (Johnson 388-9)





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1846



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: There was an elaborate fireworks display on Boston Common to simulate the bombardment of the private citizenry of Veracruz in [Mexico](#).²⁷⁴

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274. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 42nd birthday.

HDT

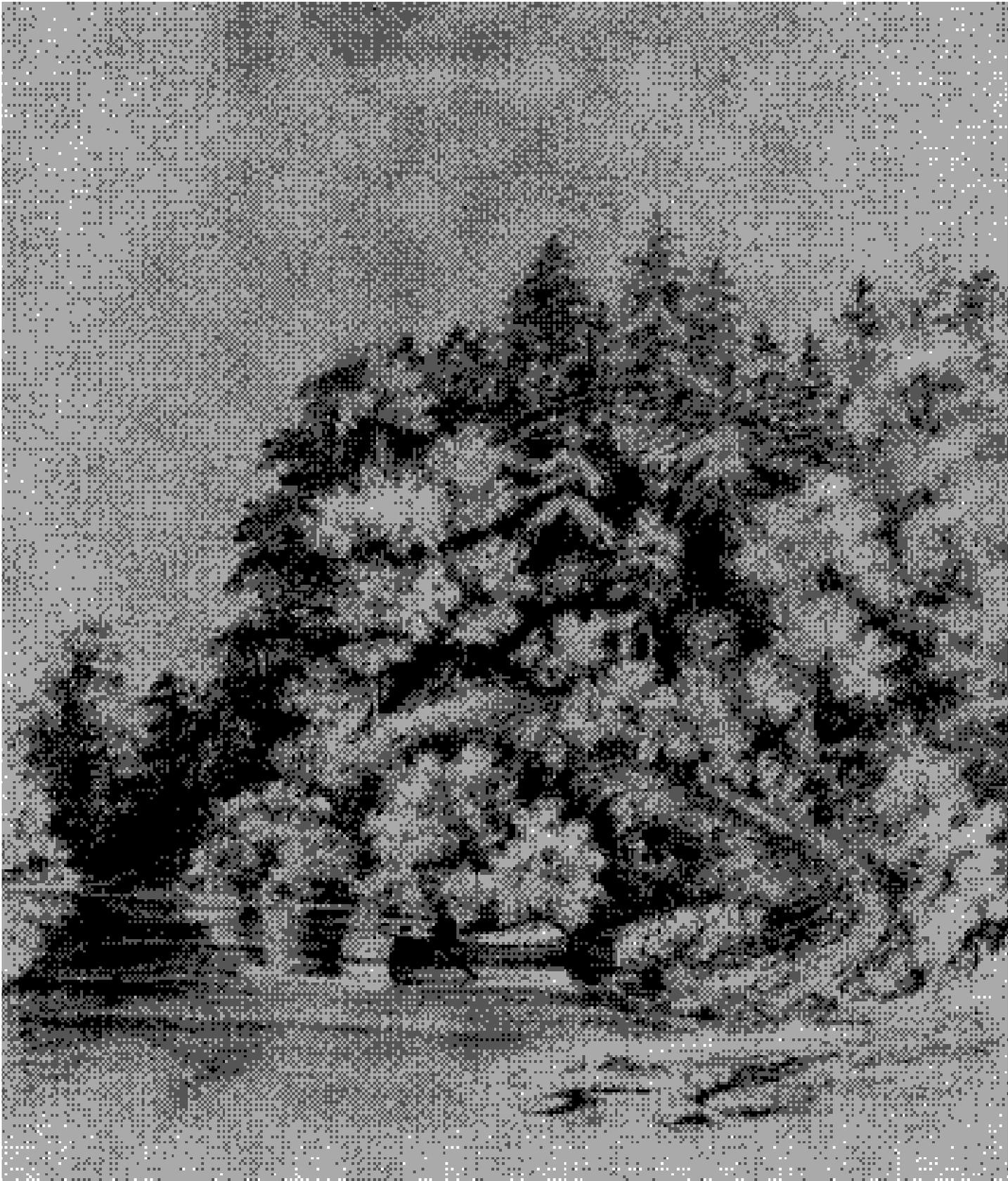
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Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: This was the first year on which our [Liberty Bell](#) could not be rung in celebration due to its propagating hairline fissure.

William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson's NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson's 4th-of-July entries: "*I was at the Race track to day and saw the Race between Mr. Crizers Josephine & Mr. Rabey's Horse & Winstons Bay Mare Ellen True and the Bird of the world. The horse Blue Dick paid the forfeit ...I won \$28 in all and came back home.*"

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1847



 Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July:²⁷⁵ William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson's NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson's 4th-of-July entries: "Nothing going on very Lively to day altho tis the 4th. Old Roan and the Sorril mare wran off from the Commons to day Some time."

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



The Boston Daily Evening Transcript notified its readers that in the mornings since June 16th, the local Fitchburg RR passenger train had been making two morning back-and-forth runs, an afternoon back-and-forth run and an evening back-and-forth run between Concord and Charlestown. It had been choo-chooing off from Concord at 6:25AM in the morning and turning back toward Concord at 7AM, and setting off from Concord again at 8AM and heading back toward Concord at 11AM. Likewise, in the afternoons and evenings, it had been setting off from Concord for Charlestown at 12:30PM and heading back toward Concord at 5PM, and setting off from Concord for Charlestown again at 6PM and heading back toward Concord at 7PM. Its transits presumably took about half an hour. This local train and crew presumably was spending its nights in Concord. Also, passenger trains had been leaving Fitchburg for Charlestown via Concord at 1AM, 11AM, and 5PM, and leaving Charlestown for Fitchburg at 6:30AM, 11AM, and 4:30PM. All these trains stopped at Fresh Pond, Mount Auburn, the Arsenal, and Watertown Village. Apparently, not counting the freight traffic, one or another passenger train would be choo-chooing past Walden Pond fourteen times daily during this period:

- 3AM (approximately) Fitchburg east toward Charlestown
- 6:30AM Concord east toward Charlestown
- 6:55AM Charlestown west toward Fitchburg
- 7:25AM Charlestown west toward Concord
- 8:05AM Concord east toward Charlestown
- 11:25AM Charlestown west toward Concord, and Charlestown west toward Fitchburg (two trains, one of which is local, heading in the same westerly direction on the same tracks at the same time, presumably for safety in sight of each other or even linked together since trains at that time did not have any braking systems whatsoever and could only roll gradually to a stop)
- 12:35PM Concord east toward Charlestown
- 1PM (approximately) Fitchburg east toward Charlestown
- 4:55PM Charlestown west toward Fitchburg
- 5:25PM Charlestown west toward Concord
- 6:05PM Concord east toward Charlestown
- 7PM (approximately) Fitchburg east toward Charlestown
- 7:25PM Charlestown west toward Concord

275. This was Nathaniel Hawthorne's 43rd birthday.



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"[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly."

– Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington





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1848



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July:²⁷⁶ William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson's NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson's 4th-of-July entries: "I went out to the tract and made Several Bets on the Race ..."

In [Washington DC](#), with the President of the United States, Dolly Madison, and other persons of distinction looking on, the cornerstone of the Washington Monument was set into position by President Polk.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

The Honorable Josiah Quincy presented an oration in Boston (he had been the orator of the day there, 50 years prior, on the 4th of July of 1798).



276. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 44th birthday.



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1849



 Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July:²⁷⁷ William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson's NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson's 4th-of-July entries, made after describing what sounds like a full business day: "*I was out to the Race tract to day and Saw the Race between the Mardice Fily and Dorkertys Filly & ... The Mardice Filly won Easy in 1.51...*"

In Sacramento, [California](#), this was the first 4th of July celebration ever.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



277. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 45th birthday.



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1850



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: In [Washington DC](#), the celebration amounted to a block of marble being laid into the Washington Monument, by the “Corporation.” (Whatever this “Corporation” amounted to!)

In Newburgh, New York, the “Old Hasbrouck House” at which General George Washington had had his Revolutionary War headquarters was dedicated as a national monument.

William Johnson of Natchez, a free black man who was himself a slavemaster (!) as well as being a barber and a successful businessman, kept a diary of short entries, hardly missing a day between 1836 and 1851. This diary has seen publication as William Johnson’s NATCHEZ, THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO, ed. William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (1951, 1979, and a Louisiana State UP paperback in 1993). Here is one of a series of Johnson’s 4th-of-July entries, made after describing in some detail the activity at the race track, and reckoning the outcome of his bets:

Dollars Cents

5.00 with Jeff that Elizar Beeman would winn.

1.00 Stranger, Dr. Branums Horse VS. The Field

1.00 New Combs Same way

5.00 Cash with Mr. Icum Winn

12.00

I won a Bet of Mr Mardice of 5.00
 and one Mr Cal Collins 5.00
 & One of Jeff 2.50
 & One of Bob .25
 & One of Jack .50
 & 1 of Capt. Pomp, 1/2 Bl Sugar 4.00

16.75

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William Evans Arthur, a self-styled “plain young man,” delivered an oration in Covington, Kentucky after being admitted to the bar and just before going off to Congress and to a federal judgeship. He said that the national birthday, “Like a good spirit commissioned of high heaven, ... appears from time to time in our midst, reviewing the past, reciting the present, and revealing the future.... Poised as we may be considered at this moment, upon a nick of time, ... with our vision running through the ... unforgotten past and o’er the ... unclouded future, ... [we are] exalted alike by the retrospect and by the anticipation.”²⁷⁸ Sacvan Bercovitch’s commentary²⁷⁹ on this oration is that

This is the exalted mood of the American figural imagination: the mood, for example, of Arthur’s New England contemporary, [Henry Thoreau](#) “anxious to improve the nick of time, ... to stand on the meeting of two eternities, the past and the future, which is precisely the present moment” – or of [Jonathan Edwards](#) a hundred years earlier, or of Thomas Shepard, the major colonial Puritan influence on Edwards. Through our errand, Shepard wrote in 1640, God had revealed His “secret for time past” and His “performances for [the] future, as though they were accomplishments at present.... For our selves here, the people of New-England ... two Eternities (as it were) meet together.” Poised at that figural nick of time, William Arthur resolves the problem of text versus experience, Constitutional ideals versus American realities, by making the present a function of retrospect and anticipation.... We find our place now in 1850 (in Concord or in Covington) as the country did in 1776, by accepting process, declaring our independence, and then indulging our unshackled impulses, each one of us supreme in his orbit.

My comment upon Bercovitch’s linking of [Thoreau](#) with the spirits of Arthur, [Jonathan Edwards](#), and Shepard²⁸⁰ would be that, although such a linkage is truly weird, and like the linkup he makes between Thoreau and Emerson marks Bercovitch as no Thoreau scholar, perhaps he has here inadvertently hit upon something. Might Thoreau, in WALDEN, have been echoing a phrase from Thomas Shepard’s intro to the Reverend [Peter Bulkeley](#)’s THE GOSPEL-COVENANT?²⁸¹



278. Arthur, William Evans. ORATION. Covington KY, 1850

279. Bercovitch, Sacvan. THE AMERICAN JEREMIAD. Madison WI: The U of Wisconsin P, 1978, pages 146-8

280. Shepard, Thomas. Preface to Peter Bulkeley’s THE GOSPEL-COVENANT. London, 1646.

281. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s 46th birthday.





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1851

Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 47th birthday.



[Henry Thoreau](#) made no entry in his journal.

[Charles Theodore Russell](#)'s AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1851 (Boston: J.H. Eastburn, City Printer).

ORATION OF 4TH OF JULY

In Trappe, Pennsylvania, a monument to the memory of the late governor, Francis R. Shunk, was unveiled, with George W. Woodward delivering the address.

In Greenville, South Carolina, an anti-secession event succeeded in attracting 4,000 persons.

[Cuba](#) declared its independence from Spain.

In [Washington DC](#), President Millard Fillmore assisted in the laying of the "cornerstone of the new Capitol edifice" and [Daniel Webster](#) delivered what would prove to be his final 4th of July oration.²⁸²

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Fellow-Citizens,—I greet you well; I give you joy, on the return of this anniversary; and I felicitate you, also, on the more particular purpose of which this ever-memorable day has been chosen to witness the fulfilment. Hail! all hail! I see before and around me a mass of faces, glowing with cheerfulness and patriotic pride. I see thousands of eyes turned towards other eyes, all sparkling with gratification and delight. This is the New World! This is America! This is Washington! and this the Capitol of the United States! And where else, among the nations, can the seat of government be surrounded, on any day of any year, by those who have more reason to rejoice in the blessings which they possess? Nowhere, fellow-citizens! assuredly, nowhere! Let

282. The printed version of this oration would begin with:

"Stet Capitolium
Fulgens;
late nomen in ultimas
Extendat oras."



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us, then, meet this rising sun with joy and thanksgiving! This is that day of the year which announced to mankind the great fact of American Independence. This fresh and brilliant morning blesses our vision with another beholding of the birthday of our nation; and we see that nation, of recent origin, now among the most considerable and powerful, and spreading over the continent from sea to sea.

Among the first colonists from Europe to this part of America, there were some, doubtless, who contemplated the distant consequences of their undertaking, and who saw a great futurity. But, in general, their hopes were limited to the enjoyment of a safe asylum from tyranny, religious and civil, and to respectable subsistence, by industry and toil. A thick veil hid our times from their view. But the progress of America, however slow, could not but at length awaken genius, and attract the attention of mankind.

In the early part of the second century of our history, Bishop Berkeley, who, it will be remembered, had resided for some time in Newport, in Rhode Island, wrote his well-known "Verses on the Prospect of Planting ARTS and LEARNING in AMERICA." The last stanza of this little poem seems to have been produced by a high poetical inspiration:—

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

This extraordinary prophecy may be considered only as the result of long foresight and uncommon sagacity; of a foresight and sagacity stimulated, nevertheless, by excited feeling and high enthusiasm. So clear a vision of what America would become was not founded on square miles, or on existing numbers, or on any common laws of statistics. It was an intuitive glance into futurity; it was a grand conception, strong, ardent, glowing, embracing all time since the creation of the world, and all regions of which that world is composed, and judging of the future by just analogy with the past. And the inimitable imagery and beauty with which the thought is expressed, joined to the conception itself, render it one of the most striking passages in our language.

On the day of the [Declaration of Independence](#) our illustrious fathers performed the first scene in the last great act of this drama; one in real importance infinitely exceeding that for which the great English poet invokes

"A muse of fire, ...
A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!"

The Muse inspiring our fathers was the Genius of Liberty, all on fire with a sense of oppression, and a resolution to throw it off; the whole world was the stage, and higher characters than princes trod it; and, instead of monarchs, countries and nations and the age beheld the swelling scene. How well the characters were cast, and how well each acted his part, and what



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emotions the whole performance excited, let history, now and hereafter, tell.

At a subsequent period, but before the Declaration of Independence, the Bishop of St. Asaph published a discourse, in which the following remarkable passages are found:-

"It is difficult for man to look into the destiny of future ages; the designs of Providence are vast and complicated, and our own powers are too narrow to admit of much satisfaction to our curiosity. But when we see many great and powerful causes constantly at work, we cannot doubt of their producing proportionable effects.

"The colonies in North America have not only taken root and acquired strength, **but seem hastening with an accelerated progress to such a powerful state as may introduce a new and important change in human affairs.**

"Descended from ancestors of the most improved and enlightened part of the Old World, they receive, as it were by inheritance, all the improvements and discoveries of their mother country. And it happens fortunately for them to commence their flourishing state at a time when the human understanding has attained to the free use of its powers, and has learned to act with vigor and certainty. They may avail themselves, not only of the experience and industry, but even of the errors and mistakes, of former days. Let it be considered for how many ages a great part of the world appears not to have thought at all; how many more they have been busied in forming systems and conjectures, while reason has been lost in a labyrinth of words, and they never seem to have suspected on what frivolous matters their minds were employed.

"And let it be well understood what rapid improvements, what important discoveries, have been made, in a few years, by a few countries, with our own at their head, which have at last discovered the right method of using their faculties.

"May we not reasonably expect that a number of provinces possessed of these advantages and quickened by mutual emulation, with only the common progress of the human mind, should very considerably enlarge the boundaries of science?

"The vast continent itself, over which they are gradually spreading, may be considered as a treasure yet untouched of natural productions that shall hereafter afford ample matter for commerce and contemplation. And if we reflect what a stock of knowledge may be accumulated by the constant progress of industry and observation, fed with fresh supplies from the stores of nature, assisted sometimes by those happy strokes of chance which mock all the powers of invention, and sometimes by those superior characters which arise occasionally to instruct and enlighten the world, it is difficult even to imagine to what height of improvement



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their discoveries may extend.

"And perhaps they may make as considerable advances in the arts of civil government and the conduct of life.

We have reason to be proud, and even jealous, of our excellent constitution; but those equitable principles on which it was formed, an equal representation (the best discovery of political wisdom), and a just and commodious distribution of power, which with us were the price of civil wars, and the rewards of the virtues and sufferings of our ancestors, descend to them as a natural inheritance, without toil or pain.

"But must they rest here, as in the utmost effort of human genius? Can chance and time, the wisdom and the experience of public men, suggest no new remedy against the evils which vices and ambition are perpetually apt to cause? May they not hope, without presumption, to preserve a greater zeal for piety and public devotion than we have alone? For sure it can hardly happen to them, as it has to us, that, when religion is best understood and rendered most pure and reasonable, then should be the precise time when many cease to believe and practise it, and all in general become most indifferent to it.

"May they not possibly be more successful than their mother country has been in preserving that reverence and authority which are due to the laws? to those who make, and to those who execute them? **May not a method be invented of procuring some tolerable share of the comforts of life to those inferior useful ranks of men to whose industry we are indebted for the whole? Time and discipline may discover some means to correct the extreme inequalities of condition between the rich and the poor, so dangerous to the innocence and happiness of both.** They may fortunately be led by habit and choice to despise that luxury which is considered with us the true enjoyment of wealth. They may have little relish for that ceaseless hurry of amusements which is pursued in this country without pleasure, exercise, or employment. And perhaps, after trying some of our follies and caprices, and rejecting the rest, they may be led by reason and experiment to that old simplicity which was first pointed out by nature, and has produced those models which we still admire in arts, eloquence, and manners. **The diversity of new scenes and situations, which so many growing states must necessarily pass through, may introduce changes in the fluctuating opinions and manners of men which we can form no conception of;** and not only the gracious disposition of Providence, but the visible preparation of causes, seems to indicate strong tendencies towards a general improvement."

Fellow-citizens, this "gracious disposition of Providence," and this "visible preparation of causes," at length brought on the



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hour for decisive action. On the 4th of July, 1776, the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, declared that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

This Declaration, made by most patriotic and resolute men, trusting in the justice of their cause and the protection of Heaven, and yet made not without deep solicitude and anxiety, has now stood for seventy-five years, and still stands. It was sealed in blood. It has met dangers, and overcome them; it has had enemies, and conquered them; it has had detractors, and abashed them all; it has had doubting friends, but it has cleared all doubts away; and now, to-day, raising its august form higher than the clouds, twenty millions of people contemplate it with hallowed love, and the world beholds it, and the consequences which have followed from it, with profound admiration.

This anniversary animates and gladdens and unites all American hearts. On other days of the year we may be party men, indulging in controversies, more or less important to the public good; we may have likes and dislikes, and we may maintain our political differences, often with warm, and sometimes with angry feelings. But to-day we are Americans all; and all nothing but Americans. As the great luminary over our heads, dissipating mists and fogs, now cheers the whole hemisphere, so do the associations connected with this day disperse all cloudy and sullen weather in the minds and hearts of true Americans. Every man's heart swells within him; every man's port and bearing become somewhat more proud and lofty, as he remembers that seventy-five years have rolled away, and that the great inheritance of liberty is still his; his, undiminished and unimpaired; his in all its original glory; his to enjoy, his to protect, and his to transmit to future generations.

Fellow-citizens, this inheritance which we enjoy to-day is not only an inheritance of liberty, but of our own peculiar American liberty. Liberty has existed in other times, in other countries, and in other forms. There has been a Grecian liberty, bold and powerful, full of spirit, eloquence, and fire; a liberty which produced multitudes of great men, and has transmitted one immortal name, the name of Demosthenes, to posterity. But still it was a liberty of disconnected states, sometimes united, indeed, by temporary leagues and confederacies, but often involved in wars between themselves. The sword of Sparta turned its sharpest edge against Athens, enslaved her, and devastated Greece; and, in her turn, Sparta was compelled to bend before the power of Thebes. And let it ever be remembered, especially let the truth sink deep into all American minds, that it was the WANT OF UNION among her several states which finally gave the mastery of all Greece to Philip of Macedon.

And there has also been a Roman liberty, a proud, ambitious, domineering spirit, professing free and popular principles in Rome itself, but, even in the best days of the republic, ready to carry slavery and chains into her provinces, and through every country over which her eagles could be borne. What was the liberty of Spain, or Gaul, or Germany, or Britain, in the days



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of Rome? Did true constitutional liberty then exist? As the Roman empire declined, her provinces, not instructed in the principles of free popular government, one after another declined also, and when Rome herself fell, in the end, all fell together.

I have said, Gentlemen, that our inheritance is an inheritance of American liberty. That liberty is characteristic, peculiar, and altogether our own. Nothing like it existed in former times, nor was known in the most enlightened states of antiquity; while with us its principles have become interwoven into the minds of individual men, connected with our daily opinions, and our daily habits, until it is, if I may so say, an element of social as well as of political life; and the consequence is, that to whatever region an American citizen carries himself, he takes with him, fully developed in his own understanding and experience, our American principles and opinions, and becomes ready at once, in co-operation with others, to apply them to the formation of new governments. Of this a most wonderful instance may be seen in the history of the State of California.

On a former occasion I ventured to remark, that "it is very difficult to establish a free conservative government for the equal advancement of all the interests of society. What has Germany done, learned Germany, more full of ancient lore than all the world beside? What has Italy done? What have they done who dwell on the spot where Cicero lived? They have not the power of self-government which a common town-meeting, with us, possesses.... Yes, I say that those persons who have gone from our town-meetings to dig gold in California are more fit to make a republican government than any body of men in Germany or Italy; because they have learned this one great lesson, that there is no security without law, and that, under the circumstances in which they are placed, where there is no military authority to cut their throats, there is no sovereign will but the will of the majority; that, therefore, if they remain, they must submit to that will." And this I believe to be strictly true.

Now, fellow-citizens, if your patience will hold out, I will venture, before proceeding to the more appropriate and particular duties of the day, to state, in a few words, what I take these American political principles in substance to be. They consist, as I think, in the first place, in the establishment of popular governments, on the basis of representation; for it is plain that a pure democracy, like that which existed in some of the states of Greece, in which every individual had a direct vote in the enactment of all laws, cannot possibly exist in a country of wide extent. This representation is to be made as equal as circumstances will allow. Now, this principle of popular representation, prevailing either in all the branches of government, or in some of them, has existed in these States almost from the days of the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth; borrowed, no doubt, from the example of the popular branch of the British legislature. The representation of the people in the British House of Commons was, however, originally very unequal, and is yet not equal.



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Indeed, it may be doubted whether the appearance of knights and burgesses, assembling on the summons of the crown, was not intended at first as an assistance and support to the royal prerogative, in matters of revenue and taxation, rather than as a mode of ascertaining popular opinion. Nevertheless, representation had a popular origin, and savored more and more of the character of that origin, as it acquired, by slow degrees, greater and greater strength, in the actual government of the country. The constitution of the House of Commons was certainly a form of representation, however unequal; numbers were counted, and majorities prevailed; and when our ancestors, acting upon this example, introduced more equality of representation, the idea assumed a more rational and distinct shape. At any rate, this manner of exercising popular power was familiar to our fathers when they settled on this continent. They adopted it, and generation has risen up after generation, all acknowledging it, and all learning its practice and its forms. The next fundamental principle in our system is, that the will of the majority, fairly expressed through the means of representation, shall have the force of law; and it is quite evident that, in a country without thrones or aristocracies or privileged castes or classes, there can be no other foundation for law to stand upon. And, as the necessary result of this, the third element is, that the law is the supreme rule for the government of all. The great sentiment of Alcaeus, so beautifully presented to us by Sir William Jones, is absolutely indispensable to the construction and maintenance of our political systems:-

“What constitutes a state?
Not high-raised battlement or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No: MEN, high-minded MEN,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued,
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude:
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain;
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
These constitute a state;
And SOVEREIGN LAW, that state’s collected will,
O’er thrones and globes elate
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.”

And, finally, another most important part of the great fabric of American liberty is, that there shall be written constitutions, founded on the immediate authority of the people themselves, and regulating and restraining all the powers conferred upon government, whether legislative, executive, or



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judicial.

This, fellow-citizens, I suppose to be a just summary of our American principles, and I have on this occasion sought to express them in the plainest and in the fewest words. The summary may not be entirely exact, but I hope it may be sufficiently so to make manifest to the rising generation among ourselves, and to those elsewhere who may choose to inquire into the nature of our political institutions, the general theory upon which they are founded.

And I now proceed to add, that the strong and deep-settled conviction of all intelligent persons amongst us is, that, in order to support a useful and wise government upon these popular principles, the general education of the people, and the wide diffusion of pure morality and true religion, are indispensable. Individual virtue is a part of public virtue. It is difficult to conceive how there can remain morality in the government when it shall cease to exist among the people; or how the aggregate of the political institutions, all the organs of which consist only of men, should be wise, and beneficent, and competent to inspire confidence, if the opposite qualities belong to the individuals who constitute those organs, and make up that aggregate.

And now, fellow-citizens, I take leave of this part of the duty which I proposed to perform; and, once more felicitating you and myself that our eyes have seen the light of this blessed morning, and that our ears have heard the shouts with which joyous thousands welcome its return, and joining with you in the hope that every revolving year may renew these rejoicings to the end of time, I proceed to address you, shortly, upon the particular occasion of our assembling here to-day.

Fellow-citizens, by the act of Congress of the 30th of September, 1850, provision was made for the extension of the Capitol, according to such plan as might be approved by the President of the United States, and for the necessary sums to be expended, under his direction, by such architect as he might appoint. This measure was imperatively demanded, for the use of the legislative and judiciary departments, the public libraries, the occasional accommodation of the chief executive magistrate, and for other objects. No act of Congress incurring a large expenditure has received more general approbation from the people. The President has proceeded to execute this law. He has approved a plan; he has appointed an architect; and all things are now ready for the commencement of the work.

The anniversary of national independence appeared to afford an auspicious occasion for laying the foundation-stone of the additional building. That ceremony has now been performed by the President himself, in the presence and view of this multitude. He has thought that the day and the occasion made a united and imperative call for some short address to the people here assembled; and it is at his request that I have appeared before you to perform that part of the duty which was deemed incumbent on us.

Beneath the stone is deposited, among other things, a list of



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which will be published, the following brief account of the proceedings of this day, in my handwriting:-

"On the morning of the first day of the seventy-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America, in the city of Washington, being the 4th day of July, 1851, this stone, designed as the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol, according to a plan approved by the President, in pursuance of an act of Congress, was laid by

"MILLARD FILLMORE,

"PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

"assisted by the Grand Master of the Masonic Lodges, in the presence of many members of Congress, of officers of the Executive and Judiciary Departments, National, State, and District, of officers of the army and navy, the corporate authorities of this and neighboring cities, many associations, civil and military and masonic, members of the Smithsonian Institution and National Institute, professors of colleges and teachers of schools of the District, with their students and pupils, and a vast concourse of people from places near and remote, including a few surviving gentlemen who witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of the Capitol by President Washington, on the 18th day of September, A.D. 1793.

"If, therefore, it shall be hereafter the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base, that its foundation be upturned, and this deposit brought to the eyes of men, be it then known, that on this day the Union of the United States of America stands firm, that their Constitution still exists unimpaired, and with all its original usefulness and glory; growing every day stronger and stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world. And all here assembled, whether belonging to public life or to private life, with hearts devoutly thankful to Almighty God for the preservation of the liberty and happiness of the country, unite in sincere and fervent prayers that this deposit, and the walls and arches, the domes and towers, the columns and entablatures, now to be erected over it, may endure for ever!

"GOD SAVE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!

"DANIEL WEBSTER,

"**Secretary of State of the United States.**"

Fellow-citizens, fifty-eight years ago Washington stood on this spot to execute a duty like that which has now been performed. He then laid the corner-stone of the original Capitol. He was at the head of the government, at that time weak in resources, burdened with debt, just struggling into political existence and respectability, and agitated by the heaving waves which were overturning European thrones. But even then, in many important



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respects, the government was strong. It was strong in Washington's own great character; it was strong in the wisdom and patriotism of other eminent public men, his political associates and fellow-laborers; and it was strong in the affections of the people. Since that time astonishing changes have been wrought in the condition and prospects of the American people; and a degree of progress witnessed with which the world can furnish no parallel. As we review the course of that progress, wonder and amazement arrest our attention at every step. The present occasion, although allowing of no lengthened remarks, may yet, perhaps, admit of a short comparative statement of important subjects of national interest as they existed at that day, and as they now exist. I have adopted for this purpose the tabular form of statement, as being the most brief and significant.

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

| | Year 1793 | Year 1851 |
|--|--------------|---------------|
| Number of States | 15 | 31 |
| Representatives and Senators in Congress | 135 | 295 |
| Population of the United States | 3,929,328 | 23,267,498 |
| Population of Boston | 18,038 | 136,871 |
| Population of Baltimore | 13,503 | 169,054 |
| Population of Philadelphia | 42,520 | 409,045 |
| Population of New York (city) | 33,121 | 515,507 |
| Population of Washington | . . . | 40,075 |
| Population of Richmond | 4,000 | 27,582 |
| Population of Charleston | 16,359 | 42,983 |
| Amount of receipts into the Treasury | \$5,720,624 | \$52,312,980 |
| Amount of expenditures | \$7,529,575 | \$48,005,879 |
| Amount of imports | \$31,000,000 | \$215,725,995 |
| Amount of exports | \$26,109,000 | \$217,517,130 |
| Amount of tonnage (tons) | 520,764 | 3,772,440 |
| Area of the United States in square miles | 805,461 | 3,314,365 |
| Rank and file of the army | 5,120 | 10,000 |
| Militia (enrolled) | . . . | 2,006,456 |
| Navy of the United States (vessels) | (None) | 76 |
| Navy armament (ordnance) | . . . | 2,012 |
| Treaties and conventions with foreign powers | 9 | 90 |
| Light-houses and light-boats | 12 | 372 |
| Expenditures for ditto | \$12,061 | \$529,265 |
| Area of the Capitol | 1/2 acre | 4-1/8 acres |
| Number of miles of railroad in operation | . . . | 10,287 |
| Cost of ditto | . . . | \$306,607,954 |
| Number of miles in course of construction | . . . | 10,092 |
| Lines of electric telegraph, in miles | . . . | 15,000 |
| Number of post-offices | 209 | 21,551 |
| Number of miles of post-route | 5,642 | 196,290 |
| Amount of revenue from post-offices | \$104,747 | \$6,727,867 |
| Amount of expenditures of Post-Office Department | \$72,040 | \$6,024,567 |
| Number of miles of mail transportation | . . . | 52,465,724 |
| Number of colleges | 19 | 121 |



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| | | |
|--|---------|--------------|
| Public libraries | 35 | 694 |
| Volumes in ditto | 75,000 | 2,201,632 |
| School libraries | . . . | 10,000 |
| Volumes in ditto | . . . | 2,000,000 |
| Emigrants from Europe to the United States | 10,000 | 299,610 |
| Coinage at the Mint | \$9,664 | \$52,019,465 |

In respect to the growth of Western trade and commerce, I extract a few sentences from a very valuable address before the Historical Society of Ohio, by William D. Gallagher, Esq., 1850:—

“A few facts will exhibit as well as a volume the wonderful growth of Western trade and commerce. Previous to the year 1800, some eight or ten keel-boats, of twenty or twenty-five tons each, performed all the carrying trade between Cincinnati and Pittsburg. In 1802 the first government vessel appeared on Lake Erie. In 1811 the first steamboat (the Orleans) was launched at Pittsburg. In 1826 the waters of Michigan were first ploughed by the keel of a steamboat, a pleasure trip to Green Bay being planned and executed in the summer of this year. In 1832 a steamboat first appeared at Chicago. At the present time the entire number of steamboats running on the Mississippi and Ohio and their tributaries is more probably over than under six hundred, the aggregate tonnage of which is not short of one hundred and forty thousand; a larger number of steamboats than England can claim, and a greater steam commercial marine than that employed by Great Britain and her dependencies.”

And now, fellow-citizens, having stated to you this infallible proof of the growth and prosperity of the nation, I ask you, and I would ask every man, whether the government which has been over us has proved itself an infliction or a curse to the country, or any part of it?

Ye men of the South, of all the original Southern States, what say you to all this? Are you, or any of you, ashamed of this great work of your fathers? Your fathers were not they who storied the prophets and killed them. They were among the prophets; they were of the prophets; they were themselves the prophets.

Ye men of Virginia, what do you say to all this? Ye men of the Potomac, dwelling along the shores of that river on which WASHINGTON lived and died, and where his remains now rest, ye, so many of whom may see the domes of the Capitol from your own homes, what say ye?

Ye men of James River and the Bay, places consecrated by the early settlement of your Commonwealth, what do you say? Do you desire, from the soil of your State, or as you travel to the North, to see these halls vacated, their beauty and ornaments destroyed, and their national usefulness gone for ever?

Ye men beyond the Blue Ridge, many thousands of whom are nearer to this Capitol than to the seat of government of your own State,



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what do you think of breaking this great association into fragments of States and of people? I know that some of you, and I believe that you all, would be almost as much shocked at the announcement of such a catastrophe, as if you were to be informed that the Blue Ridge itself would soon totter from its base. And ye men of Western Virginia, who occupy the great slope from the top of the Alleghanies to Ohio and Kentucky, what benefit do you propose to yourselves by disunion? If you "secede," what do you "secede" from, and what do you "accede" to? Do you look for the current of the Ohio to change, and to bring you and your commerce to the tidewaters of Eastern rivers? What man in his senses can suppose that you would remain part and parcel of Virginia a month after Virginia should have ceased to be part and parcel of the United States?

The secession of Virginia! The secession of Virginia, whether alone or in company, is most improbable, the greatest of all improbabilities. Virginia, to her everlasting honor, acted a great part in framing and establishing the present Constitution. She has had her reward and her distinction. Seven of her noble sons have each filled the Presidency, and enjoyed the highest honors of the country. Dolorous complaints come up to us from the South, that Virginia will not head the march of secession, and lead the other Southern States out of the Union. This, if it should happen, would be something of a marvel, certainly, considering how much pains Virginia took to lead these same States into the Union, and considering, too, that she has partaken as largely of its benefits and its government as any other State.

And ye men of the other Southern States, members of the Old Thirteen; yes, members of the Old Thirteen; that always touches my regard and my sympathies; North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina! What page in your history, or in the history of any one of you, is brighter than those which have been recorded since the Union was formed? Or through what period has your prosperity been greater, or your peace and happiness better secured? What names even has South Carolina, now so much dissatisfied, what names has she of which her intelligent sons are more proud than those which have been connected with the government of the United States? In Revolutionary times, and in the earliest days of this Constitution, there was no State more honored, or more deserving of honor. Where is she now? And what a fall is there, my countrymen! But I leave her to her own reflections, commending to her, with all my heart, the due consideration of her own example in times now gone by.

Fellow-citizens, there are some diseases of the mind as well as of the body, diseases of communities as well as diseases of individuals, that must be left to their own cure; at least it is wise to leave them so until the last critical moment shall arrive.

I hope it is not irreverent, and certainly it is not intended as reproach, when I say, that I know no stronger expression in our language than that which describes the restoration of the wayward son,- "he came to himself." He had broken away from all



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the ties of love, family, and friendship. He had forsaken every thing which he had once regarded in his father's house. He had forsworn his natural sympathies, affections, and habits, and taken his journey into a far country. He had gone away from himself and out of himself. But misfortunes overtook him, and famine threatened him with starvation and death. No entreaties from home followed him to beckon him back; no admonition from others warned him of his fate. But the hour of reflection had come, and nature and conscience wrought within him, until at length **"he came to himself."**

And now, ye men of the new States of the South! You are not of the original thirteen. The battle had been fought and won, the Revolution achieved, and the Constitution established, before your States had any existence as States. You came to a prepared banquet, and had seats assigned you at table just as honorable as those which were filled by older guests. You have been and are singularly prosperous; and if any one should deny this, you would at once contradict his assertion. You have bought vast quantities of choice and excellent land at the lowest price; and if the public domain has not been lavished upon you, you yourself will admit that it has been appropriated to your own uses by a very liberal hand. And yet in some of these States, not in all, persons are found in favor of a dissolution of the Union, or of secession from it. Such opinions are expressed even where the general prosperity of the community has been the most rapidly advanced. In the flourishing and interesting State of Mississippi, for example, there is a large party which insists that her grievances are intolerable, that the whole body politic is in a state of suffering; and all along, and through her whole extent on the Mississippi, a loud cry rings that her only remedy is "Secession," "Secession." Now, Gentlemen, what infliction does the State of Mississippi suffer under? What oppression prostrates her strength or destroys her happiness? Before we can judge of the proper remedy, we must know something of the disease; and, for my part, I confess that the real evil existing in the case appears to me to be a certain inquietude or uneasiness growing out of a high degree of prosperity and consciousness of wealth and power, which sometimes lead men to be ready for changes, and to push on unreasonably to still higher elevation. If this be the truth of the matter, her political doctors are about right. If the complaint spring from overwrought prosperity, for that disease I have no doubt that secession would prove a sovereign remedy.

But I return to the leading topic on which I was engaged. In the department of invention there have been wonderful applications of science to arts within the last sixty years. The spacious hall of the Patent Office is at once the repository and proof of American inventive art and genius. Their results are seen in the numerous improvements by which human labor is abridged.

Without going into details, it may be sufficient to say, that many of the applications of steam to locomotion and manufactures, of electricity and magnetism to the production of mechanical motion, the electrical telegraph, the registration



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of astronomical phenomena, the art of multiplying engravings, the introduction and improvement among us of all the important inventions of the Old World, are striking indications of the progress of this country in the useful arts. The network of railroads and telegraphic lines by which this vast country is reticulated have not only developed its resources, but united emphatically, in metallic bands, all parts of the Union. The hydraulic works of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston surpass in extent and importance those of ancient Rome.

But we have not confined our attention to the immediate application of science to the useful arts. We have entered the field of original research, and have enlarged the bounds of scientific knowledge.

Sixty years ago, besides the brilliant discoveries of Franklin in electricity, scarcely any thing had been done among us in the way of original discovery. Our men of science were content with repeating the experiments and diffusing a knowledge of the discoveries of the learned of the Old World, without attempting to add a single new fact or principle to the existing stock. Within the last twenty-five or thirty years a remarkable improvement has taken place in this respect. Our natural history has been explored in all its branches; our geology has been investigated with results of the highest interest to practical and theoretical science. Discoveries have been made in pure chemistry and electricity, which have received the approbation of the world. The advance which has been made in meteorology in this country, within the last twenty years, is equal to that made during the same period in all the world besides.

In 1793 there was not in the United States an instrument with which a good observation of the heavenly bodies could be made. There are now instruments at Washington, Cambridge, and Cincinnati equal to those at the best European observatories, and the original discoveries in astronomy within the last five years, in this country, are among the most brilliant of the age. I can hardly refrain from saying, in this connection, that the "Celestial Mechanics" of La Place has been translated and commented upon by Bowditch.

Our knowledge of the geography and topography of the American continent has been rapidly extended by the labor and science of the officers of the United States army, and discoveries of much interest in distant seas have resulted from the enterprise of the navy.

In 1807, a survey of the coast of the United States was commenced, which at that time it was supposed no American was competent to direct. The work has, however, grown within the last few years, under a native superintendent, in importance and extent, beyond any enterprise of the kind ever before attempted. These facts conclusively prove that a great advance has been made among us, not only in the application of science to the wants of ordinary life, but in science itself, in its highest branches, in its adaptation to satisfy the cravings of the immortal mind.

In respect to literature, with the exception of some books of



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elementary education, and some theological treatises, of which scarcely any but those of [Jonathan Edwards](#) have any permanent value, and some works on local history and politics, like Hutchinson's Massachusetts, Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, the Federalist, [Belknap](#)'s New Hampshire, and Morse's Geography, and a few others, America had not produced a single work of any repute in literature. We were almost wholly dependent on imported books. Even our Bibles and Testaments were, for the most part, printed abroad. The book trade is now one of the greatest branches of business, and many works of standard value, and of high reputation in Europe as well as at home, have been produced by American authors in every department of literary composition.

While the country has been expanding in dimensions, in numbers, and in wealth, the government has applied a wise forecast in the adoption of measures necessary, when the world shall no longer be at peace, to maintain the national honor, whether by appropriate displays of vigor abroad, or by well-adapted means of defence at home. A navy, which has so often illustrated our history by heroic achievements, though in peaceful times restrained in its operations to narrow limits, possesses, in its admirable elements, the means of great and sudden expansion, and is justly looked upon by the nation as the right arm of its power. An army, still smaller, but not less perfect in its detail, has on many a field exhibited the military aptitudes and prowess of the race, and demonstrated the wisdom which has presided over its organization and government.

While the gradual and slow enlargement of these respective military arms has been regulated by a jealous watchfulness over the public treasure, there has, nevertheless, been freely given all that was needed to perfect their quality; and each affords the nucleus of any enlargement that the public exigencies may demand, from the millions of brave hearts and strong arms upon the land and water.

The navy is the active and aggressive element of national defence; and, let loose from our own sea-coast, must display its power in the seas and channels of the enemy. To do this, it need not be large; and it can never be large enough to defend by its presence at home all our ports and harbors. But, in the absence of the navy, what can the regular army or the volunteer militia do against the enemy's line-of-battle ships and steamers, falling without notice upon our coast? What will guard our cities from tribute, our merchant-vessels and our navy-yards from conflagration? Here, again, we see a wise forecast in the system of defensive measures which, especially since the close of the war with Great Britain, has been steadily followed by our government.

While the perils from which our great establishments had just escaped were yet fresh in remembrance, a system of fortifications was begun, which now, though not quite complete, fences in our important points with impassable strength. More than four thousand cannon may at any moment, within strong and permanent works, arranged with all the advantages and appliances



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that the art affords, be turned to the protection of the sea-coast, and be served by the men whose hearths they shelter. Happy for us that it is so, since these are means of security that time alone can supply, and since the improvements of maritime warfare, by making distant expeditions easy and speedy, have made them more probable, and at the same time more difficult to anticipate and provide against. The cost of fortifying all the important points of our coast, as well upon the whole Atlantic as the Gulf of Mexico, will not exceed the amount expended on the fortifications of Paris.

In this connection one most important facility in the defence of the country is not to be overlooked; it is the extreme rapidity with which the soldiers of the army, and any number of the militia corps, may be brought to any point where a hostile attack shall at any time be made or threatened.

And this extension of territory embraced within the United States, increase of its population, commerce, and manufactures, development of its resources by canals and railroads, and rapidity of intercommunication by means of steam and electricity, have all been accomplished without overthrow of, or danger to, the public liberties, by any assumption of military power; and, indeed, without any permanent increase of the army, except for the purpose of frontier defence, and of affording a slight guard to the public property; or of the navy, any further than to assure the navigator that, in whatsoever sea he shall sail his ship, he is protected by the stars and stripes of his country. This, too, has been done without the shedding of a drop of blood for treason or rebellion; while systems of popular representation have regularly been supported in the State governments and in the general government; while laws, national and State, of such a character have been passed, and have been so wisely administered, that I may stand up here today, and declare, as I now do declare, in the face of all the intelligent of the age, that, for the period which has elapsed from the day that Washington laid the foundation of this Capitol to the present time, there has been no country upon earth in which life, liberty, and property have been more amply and steadily secured, or more freely enjoyed, than in these United States of America. Who is there that will deny this? Who is there prepared with a greater or a better example? Who is there that can stand upon the foundation of facts, acknowledged or proved, and assert that these our republican institutions have not answered the true ends of government beyond all precedent in human history?

There is yet another view. There are still higher considerations. Man is an intellectual being, destined to immortality. There is a spirit in him, and the breath of the Almighty hath given him understanding. Then only is he tending toward his own destiny, while he seeks for knowledge and virtue, for the will of his Maker, and for just conceptions of his own duty. Of all important questions, therefore, let this, the most important of all, be first asked and first answered: In what country of the habitable globe, of great extent and large



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population, are the means of knowledge the most generally diffused and enjoyed among the people? This question admits of one, and only one, answer. It is here; it is here in these United States; it is among the descendants of those who settled at Jamestown; of those who were pilgrims on the shore of Plymouth; and of those other races of men, who, in subsequent times, have become joined in this great American family. Let one fact, incapable of doubt or dispute, satisfy every mind on this point. The population of the United States is twenty-three millions. Now, take the map of the continent of Europe and spread it out before you. Take your scale and your dividers, and lay off in one area, in any shape you please, a triangle, square, circle, parallelogram, or trapezoid, and of an extent that shall contain one hundred and fifty millions of people, and there will be found within the United States more persons who do habitually read and write than can be embraced within the lines of your demarcation. But there is something even more than this. Man is not only an intellectual, but he is also a religious being, and his religious feelings and habits require cultivation. Let the religious element in man's nature be neglected, let him be influenced by no higher motives than low self-interest, and subjected to no stronger restraint than the limits of civil authority, and he becomes the creature of selfish passion or blind fanaticism.

The spectacle of a nation powerful and enlightened, but without Christian faith, has been presented, almost within our own day, as a warning beacon for the nations.

On the other hand, the cultivation of the religious sentiment represses licentiousness, incites to general benevolence and the practical acknowledgment of the brotherhood of man, inspires respect for law and order, and gives strength to the whole social fabric, at the same time that it conducts the human soul upward to the Author of its being.

Now, I think it may be stated with truth, that in no country, in proportion to its population, are there so many benevolent establishments connected with religious instruction, Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, supported by public and private contributions, as in our own. There are also institutions for the education of the blind, of idiots, of the deaf and dumb; for the reception of orphan and destitute children, and the insane; for moral reform, designed for children and females respectively; and institutions for the reformation of criminals; not to speak of those numerous establishments, in almost every county and town in the United States, for the reception of the aged, infirm, and destitute poor, many of whom have fled to our shores to escape the poverty and wretchedness of their condition at home.

In the United States there is no church establishment or ecclesiastical authority founded by government. Public worship is maintained either by voluntary associations and contributions, or by trusts and donations of a charitable origin.

Now, I think it safe to say, that a greater portion of the people



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of the United States attend public worship, decently clad, well behaved, and well seated, than of any other country of the civilized world. Edifices of religion are seen everywhere. Their aggregate cost would amount to an immense sum of money. They are, in general, kept in good repair, and consecrated to the purposes of public worship. In these edifices the people regularly assemble on the Sabbath day, which, by all classes, is sacredly set apart for rest from secular employment and for religious meditation and worship, to listen to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and discourses from pious ministers of the several denominations.

This attention to the wants of the intellect and of the soul, as manifested by the voluntary support of schools and colleges, of churches and benevolent institutions, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the American people, not less strikingly exhibited in the new than in the older settlements of the country. On the spot where the first trees of the forest were felled, near the log cabins of the pioneers, are to be seen rising together the church and the school-house. So has it been from the beginning, and God grant that it may thus continue!

"On other shores, above their mouldering towns,
In sullen pomp, the tall cathedral frowns;
Simple and frail, our lowly temples throw
Their slender shadows on the paths below;
Scarce steal the winds, that sweep the woodland tracks,
The larch's perfume from the settler's axe,
Ere, like a vision of the morning air,
His slight-framed steeple marks the house of prayer.
Yet Faith's pure hymn, beneath its shelter rude,
Breathes out as sweetly to the tangled wood,
As where the rays through blazing oriels pour
On marble shaft and tessellated floor."

Who does not admit that this unparalleled growth in prosperity and renown is the result, under Providence, of the union of these States under a general Constitution, which guarantees to each State a republican form of government, and to every man the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, free from civil tyranny or ecclesiastical domination?

And, to bring home this idea to the present occasion, who does not feel that, when President Washington laid his hand on the foundation of the first Capitol, he performed a great work of perpetuation of the Union and the Constitution? Who does not feel that this seat of the general government, healthful in its situation, central in its position, near the mountains whence gush springs of wonderful virtue, teeming with Nature's richest products, and yet not far from the bays and the great estuaries of the sea, easily accessible and generally agreeable in climate and association, does give strength to the union of these States? that this city, bearing an immortal name, with its broad streets and avenues, its public squares and magnificent edifices of the general government, erected for the purpose of carrying on within them the important business of the several departments, for the reception of wonderful and curious



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inventions, for the preservation of the records of American learning and genius, of extensive collections of the products of nature and art, brought hither for study and comparison from all parts of the world,—adorned with numerous churches, and sprinkled over, I am happy to say, with many public schools, where all the children of the city, without distinction, have the means of obtaining a good education, and with academies and colleges, professional schools and public libraries,—should continue to receive, as it has heretofore received, the fostering care of Congress, and should be regarded as the permanent seat of the national government? Here, too, a citizen of the great republic of letters,²⁸³ a republic which knows not the metes and bounds of political geography, has prophetically indicated his conviction that America is to exercise a wide and powerful influence in the intellectual world, by founding in this city, as a commanding position in the field of science and literature, and placing under the guardianship of the government, an institution “for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.”

With each succeeding year new interest is added to the spot; it becomes connected with all the historical associations of our country, with her statesmen and her orators, and, alas! its cemetery is annually enriched by the ashes of her chosen sons. Before us is the broad and beautiful river, separating two of the original thirteen States, which a late President, a man of determined purpose and inflexible will, but patriotic heart, desired to span with arches of ever-enduring granite, symbolical of the firmly cemented union of the North and the South. That President was General Jackson.

On its banks repose the ashes of the Father of his Country, and at our side, by a singular felicity of position, overlooking the city which he designed, and which bears his name, rises to his memory the marble column, sublime in its simple grandeur, and fitly intended to reach a loftier height than any similar structure on the surface of the whole earth.

Let the votive offerings of his grateful countrymen be freely contributed to carry this monument higher and still higher. May I say, as on another occasion, “Let it rise; let it rise till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit!” Fellow-citizens, what contemplations are awakened in our minds as we assemble here to re-enact a scene like that performed by Washington! Methinks I see his venerable form now before me, as presented in the glorious statue by Houdon, now in the Capitol of Virginia. He is dignified and grave; but concern and anxiety seem to soften the lineaments of his countenance. The government over which he presides is yet in the crisis of experiment. Not free from troubles at home, he sees the world in commotion and in arms all around him. He sees that imposing foreign powers are half disposed to try the strength of the recently established American government. We perceive that mighty thoughts, mingled with fears as well as with hopes, are struggling within him. He

283. Hugh Smithson of, eventually, our “Smithsonian Institution.”



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heads a short procession over these then naked fields; he crosses yonder stream on a fallen tree; he ascends to the top of this eminence, whose original oaks of the forest stand as thick around him as if the spot had been devoted to Druidical worship, and here he performs the appointed duty of the day. And now, fellow-citizens, if this vision were a reality; if Washington actually were now amongst us, and if he could draw around him the shades of the great public men of his own day, patriots and warriors, orators and statesmen, and were to address us in their presence, would he not say to us: "Ye men of this generation, I rejoice and thank God for being able to see that our labors and toils and sacrifices were not in vain. You are prosperous, you are happy, you are grateful; the fire of liberty burns brightly and steadily in your hearts, while DUTY and the LAW restrain it from bursting forth in wild and destructive conflagration. Cherish liberty, as you love it; cherish its securities, as you wish to preserve it. Maintain the Constitution which we labored so painfully to establish, and which has been to you such a source of inestimable blessings. Preserve the union of the States, cemented as it was by our prayers, our tears, and our blood. Be true to God, to your country, and to your duty. So shall the whole Eastern world follow the morning sun to contemplate you as a nation; so shall all generations honor you, as they honor us; and so shall that Almighty Power which so graciously protected us, and which now protects you, shower its everlasting blessings upon you and your posterity."

Great Father of your Country! we heed your words; we feel their force as if you now uttered them with lips of flesh and blood. Your example teaches us, your affectionate addresses teach us, your public life teaches us, your sense of the value of the blessings of the Union. Those blessings our fathers have tasted, and we have tasted, and still taste. Nor do we intend that those who come after us shall be denied the same high fruition. Our honor as well as our happiness is concerned. We cannot, we dare not, we will not, betray our sacred trust. We will not filch from posterity the treasure placed in our hands to be transmitted to other generations. The bow that gilds the clouds in the heavens, the pillars that uphold the firmament, may disappear and fall away in the hour appointed by the will of God; but until that day comes, or so long as our lives may last, no ruthless hand shall undermine that bright arch of Union and Liberty which spans the continent from Washington to California. Fellow-citizens, we must sometimes be tolerant to folly, and patient at the sight of the extreme waywardness of men; but I confess that, when I reflect on the renown of our past history, on our present prosperity and greatness, and on what the future hath yet to unfold, and when I see that there are men who can find in all this nothing good, nothing valuable, nothing truly glorious, I feel that all their reason has fled away from them, and left the entire control over their judgment and their actions to insanity and fanaticism; and more than all, fellow-citizens, if the purposes of fanatics and disunionists should



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be accomplished, the patriotic and intelligent of our generation would seek to hide themselves from the scorn of the world, and go about to find dishonorable graves.

Fellow-citizens, take **courage**; be of **good cheer**. We shall come to no such ignoble end. We shall live, and not die. During the period allotted to our several lives, we shall continue to rejoice in the return of this anniversary. The ill-omened sounds of fanaticism will be hushed; the ghastly spectres of **Secession** and **Disunion** will disappear; and the enemies of united constitutional liberty, if their hatred cannot be appeased, may prepare to have their eyeballs seared as they behold the steady flight of the American eagle, on his burnished wings, for years and years to come.

President Fillmore, it is your singularly good fortune to perform an act such as that which the earliest of your predecessors performed fifty-eight years ago. You stand where he stood; you lay your hand on the corner-stone of a building designed greatly to extend that whose corner-stone he laid. Changed, changed is every thing around. The same sun, indeed, shone upon his head which now shines upon yours. The same broad river rolled at his feet, and bathes his last resting-place, that now rolls at yours. But the site of this city was then mainly an open field. Streets and avenues have since been laid out and completed, squares and public grounds enclosed and ornamented, until the city which bears his name, although comparatively inconsiderable in numbers and wealth, has become quite fit to be the seat of government of a great and united people.

Sir, may the consequences of the duty which you perform so auspiciously to-day, equal those which flowed from his act. Nor this only; may the principles of your administration, and the wisdom of your political conduct, be such, as that the world of the present day, and all history hereafter, may be at no loss to perceive what example you have made your study.

Fellow-citizens, I now bring this address to a close, by expressing to you, in the words of the great Roman orator, the deepest wish of my heart, and which I know dwells deeply in the hearts of all who hear me: "Duo modo haec opto; unum, UT MORIENS POPULUM ROMANUM LIBERUM RELINQUAM; hoc mihi majus a diis immortalibus dari nihil potest: alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de republicâ quisque mereatur."

And now, fellow-citizens, with hearts void of hatred, envy, and malice towards our own countrymen, or any of them, or towards the subjects or citizens of other governments, or towards any member of the great family of man; but exulting, nevertheless, in our own peace, security, and happiness, in the grateful remembrance of the past, and the glorious hopes of the future, let us return to our homes, and with all humility and devotion offer our thanks to the Father of all our mercies, political,



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social, and religious.

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JULY 4TH, 1851 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).



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1852



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: To avoid having a bunch of public [drunkenness](#) and carousal on the Lord's Day, Marblehead, Massachusetts had already celebrated its 4th as of the 3rd.

In Rochester, New York, Frederick Douglass laid it on the line. Listen up, you people: "To me the American [slave-trade](#) is a terrible reality. When a child, my soul was often pierced with a sense of its horrors. I lived on Philpot St., Fells Point, Baltimore, and have watched from the wharves the slave-ships in the basin, ... with their cargoes of human flesh, ... There was at that time a grand slave-mart kept at the head of Pratt street, by Austin Woolfolk. His agents were sent into every town and county in [Maryland](#) announcing their arrival through the papers, and on flaming 'handbills,' header, Cash for Negroes. These men were generally well dressed, and very captivating in their manners, ever ready to drink, to treat, and to gamble. The fate of many a slave has depended upon the turn of a single card; and many a child has been snatched from the arms of its mother, by bargains arranged in a state of brutal [drunkenness](#)." ... "What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes that would disgrace a nation of savages."²⁸⁴

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



284. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 48th birthday.





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Fifteen of Douglass's relatives had been sold south. To illustrate Douglass's childhood memories of Austin Woolfolk's activities in Baltimore, Maryland, here is one of Woolfolk's actual ship manifests, depicting him in the process of shipping south for sale a coffle of 26 black Americans in 1821:



MANIFEST of Negros, Mulattos, and persons of Color, taken on board the Schooner *Gustavus of Duxbury, Mass.* whereof *Solomon Bassett* is Master, burthen $78\frac{25}{95}$ tons, to be transported to the Port of *Savannah (Geo.)* in the District of *Savannah* for the purpose of being sold or disposed of as Slaves, or to be held to service or Labour.

| NUMBER OF ENTRIES | NAMES | SEX | | AGE | HEIGHT | | Whether Negro, Mulatto, or person of Color. | Owner or Shipper's Name and Residence. |
|-------------------|-----------|--------|--------|----------|--------|--------|---|---|
| | | MALE | FEMALE | | FEET | INCHES | | |
| 1 | Stephen | Man | | 21 | 5 | 5 3/4 | dark complexion | Austin Woolfolk sent of Augusta, Georgia - owner, Shipper & Consignor |
| 2 | Samuel | " | | 31 | 5 | 6 | black | |
| 3 | Joseph | " | | 28 | 5 | 8 | do. | |
| 4 | Frederick | " | | 22 | 5 | 11/4 | dark | |
| 5 | Sam | " | | 20 | 6 | 00 | black | |
| 6 | Samon | " | | 30 | 5 | 8 | do. | |
| 7 | Robert | " | | 30 | 5 | 5/4 | dark | |
| 8 | Susan | Woman | | 20 | 5 | 2 1/2 | do. | |
| 9 | Harriet | do. | | 18 | 5 | 3 | black | |
| 10 | Delilah | do. | | 20 | 5 | 3 | yellow | |
| 11 | Fanny | do. | | 10 | 5 | 2 | do. | |
| 12 | Ann | do. | | 20 | 5 | 2 | dark | |
| 13 | Eliza | do. | | 18 | 5 | 1 1/4 | black | |
| 14 | Sarah | do. | | 36 | 5 | 0 1/2 | dark | |
| 15 | Maria | do. | | 20 | 5 | 4 1/2 | do. | |
| 16 | Isaac | do. | | 19 | 5 | 5 1/4 | black | |
| 17 | Maria | girl | | 13 | 4 | 10 1/2 | do. | |
| 18 | Ellen | do. | | 9 | 4 | 1 1/2 | dark | |
| 19 | Emmetine | do. | | 16 | 3 | 4 1/2 | black | |
| 20 | Martha | do. | | 9 | 4 | 1 1/2 | do. | |
| 21 | Louisa | do. | | 9 | 3 | 1 1/4 | dark | |
| 22 | Charles | child | | 2 | 2 | 4 | yellow | |
| 23 | Abraham | child | | 2 | 2 | 4 1/2 | dark | |
| 24 | John | infant | | 12 Mo. | 2 | 1 1/2 | yellow | |
| 25 | John | Woman | | 30 | 5 | 2 1/4 | do. | |
| 26 | John | infant | | 2 months | | | do. | |

District of Baltimore, Port of Baltimore, the *6th* day of *October* 1821
We, Austin Woolfolk sent owner & shipper of the persons named and particularly described in the above Manifest, and *Solomon Bassett* Master of the Schooner *Gustavus* do solemnly, sincerely, and truly swear, each of us to the best of our knowledge and belief, that *the above described slaves* have not been imported into the United States since the first day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight; and that under the Laws of the State of Maryland, *they are* held to Service or Labour, as Slaves and are not entitled to freedom under these Laws, at a certain time, and after a known period of service.—So Helping God.

Sworn to this *6* day of *October* 1821 before
[Signature] COLLECTOR.
Austin Woolfolk sent
Solomon Bassett



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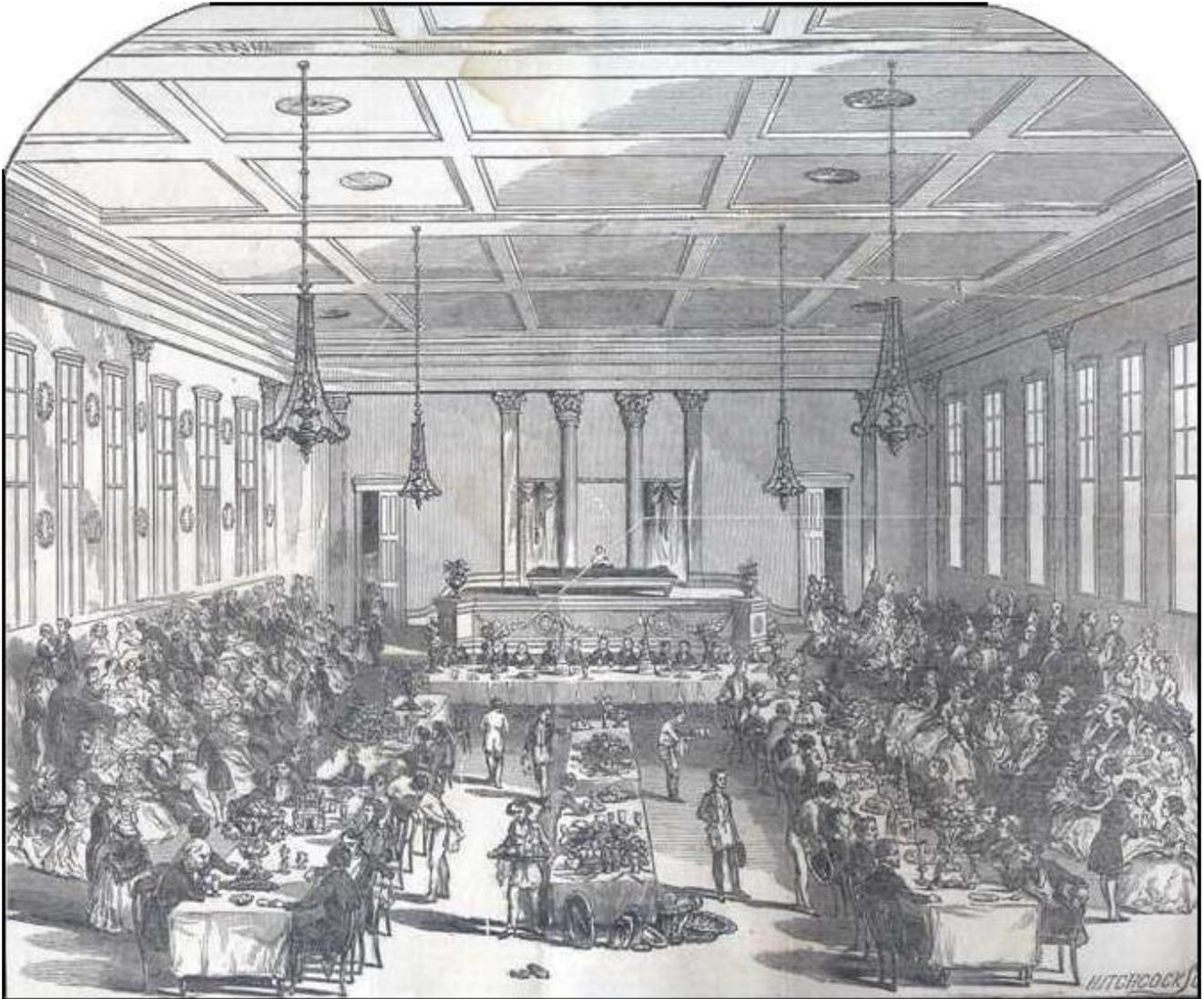
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July 5, day: Frederick Douglass delivered an address at Corinthian Hall in Rochester NY repudiating our national [Declaration of Independence](#) as a foundational document that could pertain only to those Americans



who had the good fortune to be born entirely white. He needed to take this tack because although this text of human freedom as originally reported to “the representatives of the United states of America, in General Congress Assembled” on June 28, 1776 had contained the following valid declaration in regard to our right to free ourselves from the treatment meted out to us by King George III of England,



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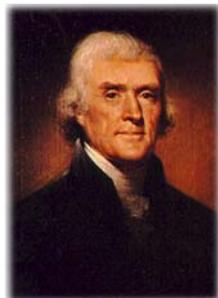
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he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where Men should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the Liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

this portion had been omitted by the white delegates in their process of reconsideration of the document. Had they not expunged such a peroration, the representatives obviously had brought themselves to recognize, it would have rendered this new continental government liable to the same course of action in the future, on the part of its own black slaves, which these white men were then contemplating in their own honorific rebellion against their white king. This clause of the document would have come to constitute a perfect legitimation for further rebelliousness, would have come to be available to such a personage as Douglass: a righteous war between the enslaved and enslaving races would have been constructed in our ordinary document as being quite as legitimate as that earlier revolution of the whites against their white overlord. But no, they had been most **careful** to purge from that document such a section useful to a later generation of freedom fighters of another hue!



Now, it has ever been presumed that the above challenging paragraph about human freedom was something that was being created by [Thomas Jefferson](#) the believer in freedom, during his midnight-oil musings, something which would then need to be voided in its entirety by the other delegates to the congress because they were not so firm in their belief in human freedom as was Founding Father Jefferson the sole author of the [Declaration of Independence](#).

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But my intent here is to inquire as to how we know this to be the correct reconstruction of the course of events.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Bear in mind, Jefferson is the guy who would become so horrified at the idea of miscegenation between the races, that he would be ready to contemplate the killing of white women in Virginia who were guilty of bearing racially tainted children — and such children with them. Bear in mind, Jefferson as President, when later faced by a 2d American revolution, a revolution by black slaves on the Caribbean Island of Haiti, would become so horrified as to place that sugar island under an absolute embargo, directly transforming it by US policy from the richest “Pearl of the Antilles” into the sort of pesthole it is today. Was this the Virginia slavemaster who actually espoused the attitudes shown in the paragraph above?

We know very well that Jefferson was not actually having quite as much to do with the drafting of the [Declaration of Independence](#), as his posterity now chooses to remember. For instance, on the wall of the Jefferson Memorial in [Washington DC](#) we have carved a truncated version of the last paragraph of the Declaration and yet as we are well aware those words would be inserted primarily during the revision process, as a generally sponsored replacement for other text which Jefferson had sponsored. Also, we know that at the point at which Jefferson would begin to take sole credit for the Declaration, he would have become an old gent whose desire it was to be remembered for this creation of this foundational document, an octogenarian survivor whose grand claims could no longer easily be contested. He would have become able conveniently to forget that, at the time of enactment, he had been protesting that the other delegates were “mutilating” his work. He would have become able conveniently to forget how much editorial guidance he had been receiving, beforehand, from other members of the drafting committee. He would chose not to recall that he had been sent off to write his draft with a list of detailed instructions — would chose to remember instead that these others had subsequently made but “two or three” minor changes in his draft!

I would like to suggest that we may be quite mistaken in presuming it to have been Jefferson who wrote the above paragraph about freedom for slaves, and in presuming that the better judgment of the other delegates over-rode his convictions in this area. It may well have been, instead, that this paragraph about the horror of slavery reflects instructions given by other drafters to Jefferson, which this slavemaster and other slavemasters would finally succeed in overcoming. —That alternate, unconsidered interpretation is a possibility which is definitely more compatible with a Jefferson who would later express such a horror of miscegenation, and demonstrate such mistrust in the processes of freedom in Haiti.



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During this year 1852, be it noted, one of this [Jefferson](#)'s sons, Eston, was moving with his wife Julia to Madison in the Wisconsin territory, and was there beginning to give his name as "E.H. Jefferson." He was not announcing to anyone in this new venue that Thomas "Liberty Means I Get To Fuck You" Jefferson had been his biological father. The very light-skinned Eston had become, in the western territory, a white man, and entitled to all the rights and privileges of same. (Eventually, one of this Eston Hemings Jefferson's great-great-grandsons, named John Jefferson, would be submitting to a blood test, which would in recent years reveal the direct link with the Y chromosome of the unbroken lineage of white Jefferson males, thus proving beyond all reasonable doubt that President Jefferson actually had after the death of his wife sired at least one child, and probably all her children, upon his house slave [Sally Hemings](#).)



What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?

Extract from an Oration, at Rochester, July 5, 1852

Fellow-Citizens — Pardon me, and allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day? What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that [Declaration of Independence](#), extended to us? and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits, and express devout gratitude for the blessings, resulting from your independence to us?

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions! Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold that a nation's sympathy could not warm him? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits? Who so stolid and selfish, that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs? I am not that man. In a case like that, the dumb might eloquently speak, and the "lame man leap as an hart."

But, such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth of July is **yours**, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrecoverable ruin! I can to-day take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people.

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yea! we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there, they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they who wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."



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Fellow-citizens, above your national, tumultous [*sic*] joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are to-day rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, “may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!” To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow-citizens, is AMERICAN SLAVERY. I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave’s point of view. Standing there, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the constitution and the bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery — the great sin and shame of America! “I will not equivocate; I will not excuse;” I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear some one of my audience say, it is just in this circumstance that you and your brother abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more, and denounce less, would you persuade more and rebuke less, your cause would be much more likely to succeed. But, I submit, where all is plain there is nothing to be argued. What point in the anti-slavery creed would you have me argue? On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light? Must I undertake to prove that the slave is a man? That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it. The slaveholders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws for their government. They acknowledge it when they punish disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the state of Virginia, which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of these same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgement [*sic*] that the slave is a moral, intellectual, and responsible being. The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that southern statute books are covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or write. When you can point to any such laws, in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of the air, when the cattle on your hills, when the fish of the sea, and the reptiles that crawl, shall be unable to distinguish the slave from a brute, then will I argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver, and gold; that, while we are reading, writing, and cyphering [*sic*], acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men — digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and, above all, confessing and worshiping the Christian’s God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave — we are called upon to prove that we are men!



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Would you have me argue that man is entitled to liberty? that he is the rightful owner of his own body? You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery? Is that a question for republicans? Is it to be settled by the rules of logic and argumentation, as a matter beset with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to be understood? How should I look to-day in the presence of Americans, dividing and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom, speaking of it relatively and positively, negatively and affirmatively? To do so, would be to make myself ridiculous, and to offer an insult to your understanding. There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven that does not know that slavery is wrong for **him**.

What! am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow-men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system, thus marked with blood and stained with pollution, is wrong? No; I will not. I have better employment for my time and strength than such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued? Is it that slavery is not divine; that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken? There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman cannot be divine. Who can reason on such a proposition! They that can, may! I cannot. The time for such argument is past.

At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh! had I the ability, and could I reach the nation's ear, I would to-day pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the old world, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the every-day practices of this nation, and you will say with me, that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

The Internal Slave Trade.

Extract from an Oration, at Rochester, July 5, 1852



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Take the American slave trade, which, we are told by the papers, is especially prosperous just now. Ex-senator Benton tells us that the price of men was never higher than now. He mentions the fact to show that slavery is in no danger. This trade is one of the peculiarities of American institutions. It is carried on in all the large towns and cities in one-half of this confederacy; and millions are pocketed every year by dealers in this horrid traffic. In several states this trade is a chief source of wealth. It is called (in contradistinction to the foreign slave trade) “**the internal slave trade.**” It is, probably, called so, too, in order to divert from it the horror with which the foreign slave trade is contemplated. That trade has long since been denounced by this government as piracy. It has been denounced with burning words, from the high places of the nation, as an execrable traffic. To arrest it, to put an end to it, this nation keeps a squadron, at immense cost, on the coast of Africa. Everywhere in this country, it is safe to speak of this foreign slave trade as a most inhuman traffic, opposed alike to the laws of God and of man. The duty to extirpate and destroy it is admitted even by our **doctors of divinity**. In order to put an end to it, some of these last have consented that their colored brethren (nominally free) should leave this country, and establish themselves on the western coast of Africa. It is, however, a notable fact, that, while so much execration is poured out by Americans, upon those engaged in the foreign slave trade, the men engaged in the slave trade between the states pass without condemnation, and their business is deemed honorable.

Behold the practical operation of this internal slave trade — the American slave trade sustained by American politics and American religion! Here you will see men and women reared like swine for the market. You know what is a swine-drover? I will show you a man-drover. They inhabit all our southern states. They perambulate the country, and crowd the highways of the nation with droves of human stock. You will see one of these human-flesh-jobbers, armed with pistol, whip, and bowie-knife, driving a company of a hundred men, women, and children, from the Potomac to the slave market at New Orleans. These wretched people are to be sold singly, or in lots, to suit purchasers. They are food for the cotton-field and the deadly sugar-mill. Mark the sad procession as it moves wearily along, and the inhuman wretch who drives them. Hear his savage yells and his blood-chilling oaths, as he hurries on his affrighted captives. There, see the old man, with locks thinned and gray. Cast one glance, if you please, upon that young mother, whose shoulders are bare to the scorching sun, her briny tears falling on the brow of the babe in her arms. See, too, that girl of thirteen, weeping, yes, weeping, as she thinks of the mother from whom she has been torn. The drove moves tardily. Heat and sorrow have nearly consumed their strength. Suddenly you hear a quick snap, like the discharge of a rifle; the fetters clank, and the chain rattles simultaneously; your ears are saluted with a scream that seems to have torn its way to the center of your soul. The crack you heard was the sound of the slave whip; the scream you heard was from the woman you saw with the babe. Her speed had faltered under the weight of her child and her chains; that gash on her shoulder tells her to move on. Follow this drove to New Orleans. Attend the auction; see men examined like horses; see the forms of women rudely and brutally exposed to the shocking gaze of American slave-buyers. See this drove sold and separated forever; and never forget the deep, sad sobs that arose from that scattered multitude. Tell me, citizens, where, under the sun, can you witness a spectacle more fiendish and shocking. Yet this is but a glance at the American slave trade, as it exists at this moment, in the ruling part of the United States.

I was born amid such sights and scenes. To me the American slave trade is a terrible reality. When a child, my soul was often pierced with a sense of its horrors. I lived on Philpot street, Fell’s Point, Baltimore, and have watched from the wharves the slave ships in the basin, anchored from the shore, with their cargoes of human flesh, waiting for favorable winds to waft them down the Chesapeake. There was, at that time, a grand slave mart kept at the head of Pratt street, by Austin Woolfolk. His agents were sent into every town and county in Maryland, announcing their arrival through the papers, and on flaming hand-bills, headed, “cash for negroes.” These men were generally well dressed, and very captivating in their manners; ever ready to drink, to treat, and to gamble. The fate of many a slave has depended upon the turn of a single card; and many a child has been snatched from the arms of its mothers by bargains arranged in a state of brutal drunkenness.



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The flesh-mongers gather up their victims by dozens, and drive them, chained, to the general depot at Baltimore. When a sufficient number have been collected here, a ship is chartered, for the purpose of conveying the forlorn crew to Mobile or to New Orleans. From the slave-prison to the ship, they are usually driven in the darkness of night; for since the anti-slavery agitation a certain caution is observed.

In the deep, still darkness of midnight, I have been often aroused by the dead, heavy footsteps and the piteous cries of the chained gangs that passed our door. The anguish of my boyish heart was intense; and I was often consoled, when speaking to my mistress in the morning, to hear her say that the custom was very wicked; that she hated to hear the rattle of the chains, and the heart-rending cries. I was glad to find one who sympathized with me in my horror.

Fellow citizens, this murderous traffic is to-day in active operation in this boasted republic. In the solitude of my spirit, I see clouds of dust raised on the highways of the south; I see the bleeding footsteps; I hear the doleful wail of fettered humanity, on the way to the slave markets, where the victims are to be sold like horses, sheep, and swine, knocked off to the highest bidder. There I see the tenderest ties ruthlessly broken, to gratify the lust, caprice, and rapacity of the buyers and sellers of men. My soul sickens at the sight.

Is this the land your fathers loved?
The freedom which they toiled to win?
Is this the earth whereon they moved?
Are these the graves they slumber in?

But a still more inhuman, disgraceful, and scandalous state of things remains to be presented. By an act of the American congress, not yet two years old, slavery has been nationalized in its most horrible and revolting form. By that act, Mason and Dixon's line has been obliterated; New York has become as Virginia; and the power to hold, hunt, and sell men, women, and children as slaves, remains no longer a mere state institution, but is now an institution of the whole United States. The power is coextensive with the star-spangled banner and American christianity. Where these go, may also go the merciless slave-hunter. Where these are, man is not sacred. He is a bird for the sportsman's gun. By that most foul and fiendish of all human decrees, the liberty and person of every man are put in peril. Your broad republican domain is a hunting-ground for **men**. Not for thieves and robbers, enemies of society, merely, but for men guilty of no crime. Your law-makers have commanded all good citizens to engage in this hellish sport. Your president, your secretary of state, your lords, nobles, and ecclesiastics, enforce as a duty you owe to your free and glorious country and to your God, that you do this accursed thing. Not fewer than forty Americans have within the past two years been hunted down, and without a moment's warning, hurried away in chains, and consigned to slavery and excruciating torture. Some of these have had wives and children dependent on them for bread; but of this no account was made. The right of the hunter to his prey, stands superior to the right of marriage, and to **all** rights in this republic, the rights of God included! For black men there are neither law, justice, humanity, nor religion. The fugitive slave law makes **MERCY TO THEM A CRIME**; and bribes the judge who tries them. An American judge **GETS TEN DOLLARS FOR EVERY VICTIM HE CONSIGNS** to slavery, and five, when he fails to do so. The oath of an [*sic*] two villains is sufficient, under this hell-black enactment, to send the most pious and exemplary black man into the remorseless jaws of slavery! His own testimony is nothing. He can bring no witnesses for himself. The minister of American justice is bound by the law to hear but **one side**, and that side is the side of the oppressor. Let this damning fact be perpetually told. Let it be thundered around the world, that, in tyrant-killing, king hating, people-loving, democratic, Christian America, the seats of justice are filled with judges, who hold their office under an open and palpable **bribe**, and are bound, in deciding in the case of a man's liberty, **to hear only his accusers!**



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In glaring violation of justice, in shameless disregard of the forms of administering law, in cunning arrangement to entrap the defenseless, and in diabolical intent, this fugitive slave law stands alone in the annals of tyrannical legislation. I doubt if there be another nation on the globe having the brass and the baseness to put such a law on the statute-book. If any man in this assembly thinks differently from me in this matter, and feels able to disprove my statements, I will gladly confront him at any suitable time and place he may select.



July 5, Monday: I know a man who never speaks of the sexual relation but jestingly, though it is a subject to be approached only with reverence & affection. What can be the character of that man's love? It is ever the subject of a stale jest—though his health or his dinner can be seriously considered. The glory of the world is seen only by a chaste mind. To whomsoever this fact is not an awful but beautiful mystery there are no flowers in nature.

White lilies continue to open in the house in the morning & shut in the night for 5 or 6 days until their stamens have shed their pollen and they turn rusty & begin to decay—and the beauty of the flower is gone—and its vitality so that it no longer expands with the light.

How perfect an invention is glass—There is a fitness in glass windows which reflect the sun morning & even—windows the doorways of light thus reflecting the rays of that luminary with a splendor only second to itself. This invention one would say was anticipated in the arrangement of things. The sun rises with a salute & leaves the world with a farewell to our windows. To have instead of opaque shutters—or dull horn or paper—a material like solidified air which reflects the sun thus brightly—It is inseparable from our civilization and enlightenment—It is encouraging that this intelligence & brilliancy or splendor should belong to the dwellings of men & not to the cliffs—and micaceous rocks & lakes exclusively.

Pm. to 2nd Div. Brook The typha latifolia or reed mace sheds an abundance of sulphur like pollen into the hand now. Its tall & handsome swords are seen waving above the bushes in low grounds now—What I suppose the Vaccinium fuscum or black blue-berry is now ripe here & there quite small. Heard the blating or lowing of a calf. Sat in the shade of the locusts in front of J. Hosmer's cottage—and heard a locust z-ing on them but could not find him—This cottage & the landscape seen through the frame made by the "R-Road Crossing" sign—as you approach it along the winding bushy road—is a pleasing sight. It is picturesque. There is a meadow on the Assabet just above Derby's Bridge—it may contain an acre bounded on one side by the river on the other by alders and a hill—completely covered with small hummocks which have lodged on it in the winter—covering it like the mounds in a graveyard at pretty regular intervals—Their edges are rounded like latter and they and the paths between are covered with a firm short green sward—with here and there hard hacks springing out of them—so that they make excellent seats—especially in the shade of an elm that grows there—They are completely united with the meadow—forming little oblong hillocks from 1 to 10 feet long—flat as a mole to the sward—I am inclined to call it the elphin burial ground—or perchance it might be called the Indian burial ground. It is a remarkably firm swarded meadow & convenient to walk on. And these hummock have an important effect in elevating it. It suggests at once a burial ground of the aborigines—where perchance are the earthly remains of the rude forefathers of the race.

I love to ponder the natural history thus written on the banks of the stream— for every higher freshet & intenser frost is recorded by it—The stream keeps a faithful & a true journal of every event in its experience—whatever race may settle on its banks and it purls past this natural grave-yard with a storied murmur—and no doubt it could find endless employment for an old mortality in renewing its epitaphs.

The progress of the season is indescribable—It is growing warm again—but the warmth is different from that we have had—We lie in the shade of locust trees—haymakers go by in a hay-rigging—I am reminded of berrying—I scent the sweet fern & the dead or dry pine leaves—cherry-birds alight on a neighboring tree.

The warmth is something more normal—and steady—ripening fruits. Campanula Aparinoides slender bell-flower The Cicutula maculata American Hemlock. It begins to be such weather as when people go a huckleberrying. Nature offers fruits now as well as flowers—We have become accustomed to the summer—It has acquired a certain eternity—The earth is dry—Perhaps the sound of the locust expresses the season as well as anything. The farmers say the abundance of the grass depends on wet in June. I might make a separate season of those days when the locust is heard. That is our torrid zone—This dryness & heat are necessary for the maturing of fruits. How cheering it is to behold a full spring bursting forth directly from the earth like this of Tarbel's—from clean gravel—copiously in a thin sheet—for it descends at once—where you see no opening—cool from the caverns of the earth—and making a considerable stream. Such springs in the sale of lands are not valued for as



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much as they are worth. I lie almost flat resting my hands on what offers to drink at this water where it bubbles –at the very udders of nature –for man is never weaned from her breast while this life lasts –²⁸⁵
How many times in a single walk does he stoop for a draught. We are favored in having two rivers –flowing into one –whose banks afford different kinds of scenery –the streams being of different characters– One a dark muddy –dead stream full of animal & vegetable life –with broad meadows –and black dwarf willows & weeds –the other **comparitively** –pebbly & swift with more abrupt banks –& narrower meadows.

285. William M. White's version is:

*How cheering it is to behold a full spring
Bursting forth directly from the earth,
Like this of Tarbell's,
From clean gravel, copiously,
In a thin sheet;
For it descends at once,
Where you see no opening,
Cool from the caverns of the earth,
And making a considerable stream.
Such springs, in the sale of lands,
Are not valued for as much as they are worth.*

*I lie almost flat,
Resting my hands on what offers,
To drink at this water where it bubbles,
At the very udders of Nature,
For man is never weaned from her breast
While this life lasts.*

HDT

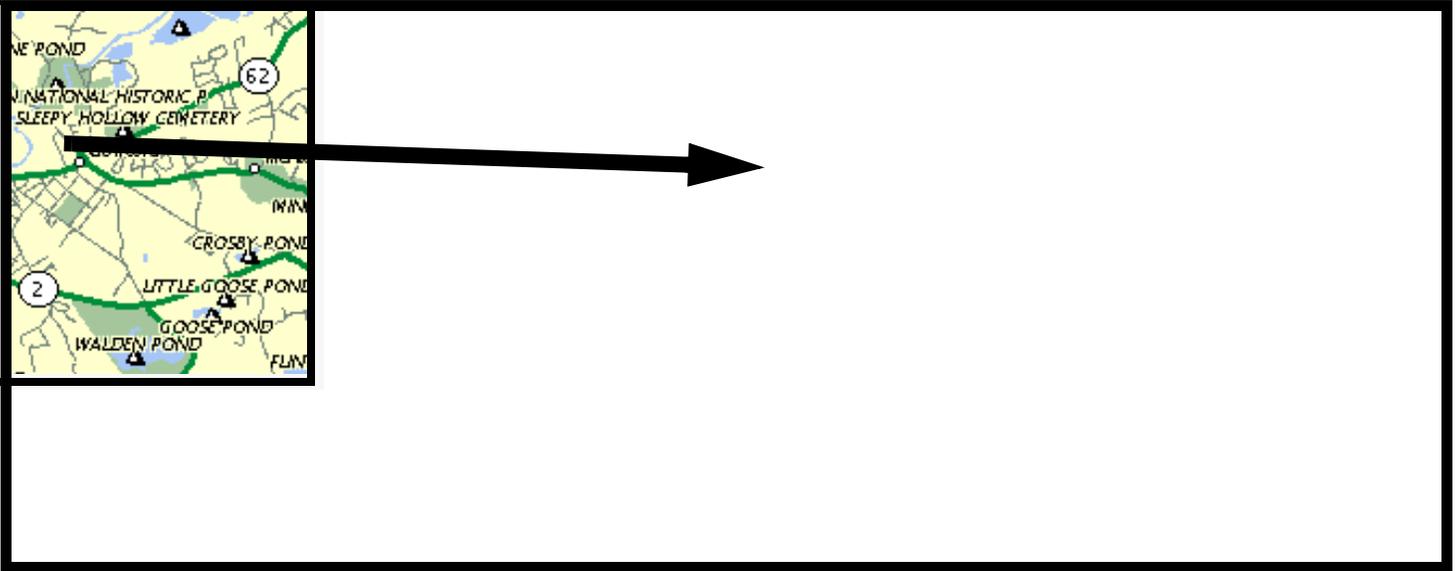
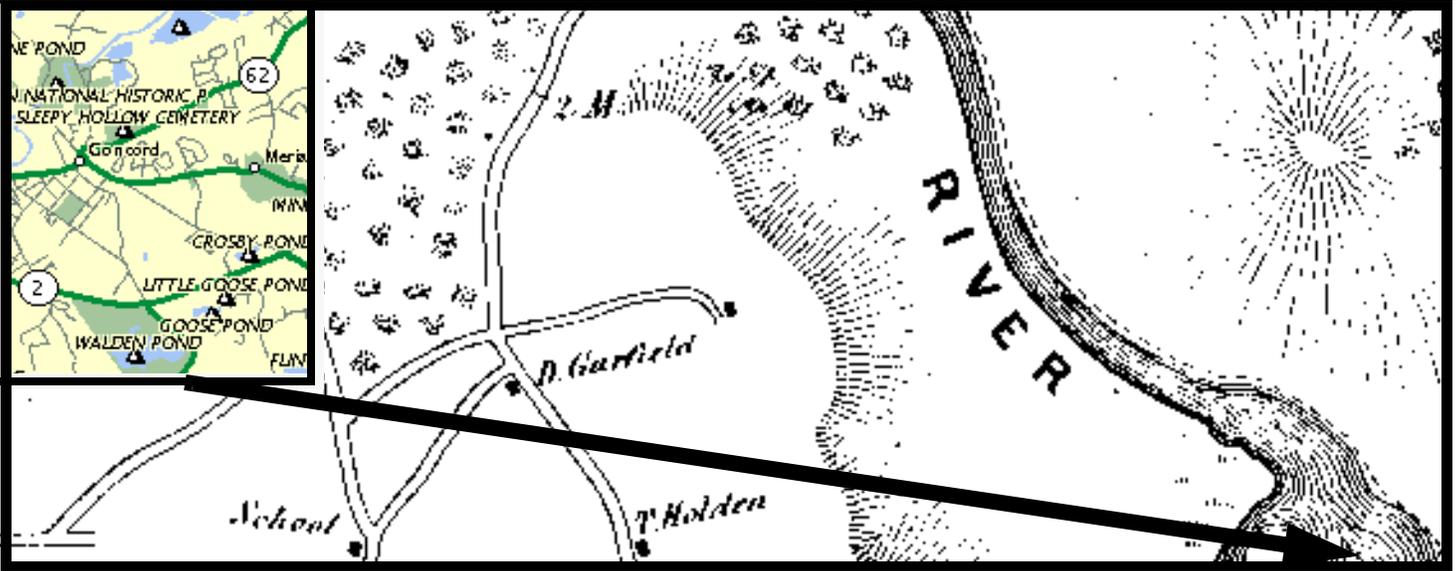
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To the latter I go to see the ripple –& the varied bottom –with its stones & sands & shadows –to the former for the influence of its dark water resting on invisible mud –& for its reflections. It is a factory of soil –depositing sediment. How many virtues have cattle in the fields –they do not make a noise at your approach like dogs – they rarely low –but are quiet as nature –merely look up at you. In the Ministerial swamp there is a great deal of the naked Viburnum rising above the dwarf andromeda– The calopogon or grass pink now fully open is remarkably handsome in the grass in low grounds by contrast –its 4 or 5 **open** purple flowers with the surrounding green. It makes a much greater show than the pogonia. –It is of the same character with that & the arethusa. –with a slight fragrance methinks– It is very much indebted to its situation no doubt –in low ground where it contrasts with the dark green grass– All color with only a grass like leaf below flowers eminently If it grew on dry & barren hill tops or in woods above the dead leaves –it would lose half its attractions. Butter cups have now almost disappeared –as well as clover Some of the earliest roses are ceasing –but others remain. I see many Devils-needles zigzagging along the 2nd Division Brook –some green some blue –both with black

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& perhaps velvety wings They are confined to the brook. How lavishly they are painted! How cheap was the paint— How free the fancy of their creator! I caught a handful of small water bugs 15 or 20 about as large as apple seeds— Some country people call them apple seeds it is said from their scent— I perceived a strong scent—but I am not sure it was like apples— I should rather think they were so called from their shape. Some birds are poets & sing all summer—they are the true singers— Any man can write verses during the love season— I am reminded of this while we rest in the shade on the Maj. Heywood road —& listen to a wood thrush [*Catharus mustelina*] now just before sunset— We are most interested in those birds who sing for the love of the music and not of their mates —who meditate their strains & amuse themselves with singing— The birds—the —strains of deeper sentiment—not bobolinks that lose their plumage their bright colors & their song so early.

The Robin [*American Robin Turdus migratorius*] —the —redeye —the veery the wood thrush [*Catharus mustelina*]- &c &c— The wood thrush's is no opera music—it is not so much the composition as the strain the tone —cool bars of melody from the atmospheres of everlasting morning or evening— It is the quality of the sound not the sequence —

In the peawai's note there is some sultriness—but in the thrush's, though heard at noon, there is the liquid coolness of things that are just drawn from the bottom of springs.²⁸⁶ The thrush alone declares the immortal wealth & vigor that is in the forest— Here is a bird in whose strain the story is told —though Nature waited for the science of aesthetics to discover it to man. Whenever a man hears it he is young —& nature is in her spring— Wherever he hears it it is a new world —and a free country —and the gates of heaven are not shut against him— Most other birds sing from the level of my ordinary cheerful hours —a carol—but this bird never fails to speak to me out of an ether purer than that I breathe —of immortal beauty & vigor— He deepens the significance of all things seen in the light of his strain. He sings to make men take higher and truer views of things. He sings to amend their institutions. To relieve the slave on the plantation —& the prisoner in his dungeon—the slave in the house of luxury & the prisoner of his own low thoughts.²⁸⁷

How fitting to have every day in a vase of water on your table the wild flowers of the season —which are just blossoming —can any house said to be furnished without them? Shall we be so forward to pluck the fruits of nature —& neglect her flowers? These are surely her finest influences So may the season suggest the fine thoughts it is fitted to suggest. Shall we say “A penny for your thoughts” —before we have looked in the face of nature. Let me know what picture she is painting —what poetry she is writing —what ode composing now.

I hear my hooting owl now just before sunset— You can fancy it the most melancholy sound in nature —as if Nature meant by this to stereotype & make permanent in her quire —the dying moans of a human being —made more awful by a certain gurgling melodiousness—

286. William M. White's version is:

*The wood thrush's is no opera music;
It is not so much the composition as the strain,
The tone,—
Cool bars of melody
From the atmosphere of everlasting morning
Or evening.*

*It is the quality of the song,
Not the sequence.*

*In the peawai's note there is some sultriness,
But in the thrush's,
Though heard at noon,
There is the liquid coolness
Of things that are just drawn
From the bottom of springs.*



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It reminds of ghouls –& idiots –& insane howlings– One answers from far woods in a strain made really sweet by distance– Some poor weak relic of mortality who has left hope behind –& howls like an animal –yet with human sobs –on entering the dark valley –I find myself beginning with the letters gl when I try to imitate it. Yet for the most part it is a sweet & melodious strain to me. Some fields are quite yellow with johns-wort now –a pleasing motley hue –which looks autumnal. What is that small chickweed like plant on Clamshell hill now out of bloom? The sun has set– We are in Dennis’ field. The dew is falling fast– Some fine clouds which have just escaped being condensed in dew hang on the skirts of day –& make the attraction in our western sky –that part of days gross atmosphere which has escaped the clutches of the night –& is not enogh condensed to fall to earth– Soon to be gilded by his parting rays– They are remarkably finely divided clouds –a very fine mackerel sky – or rather as if one had sprinkled that part of the sky with a brush –the outline of the whole being that of several large sprigs of fan coral –C. as usual calls it a mediterranean sky They grow darker & darker –& now are reddened –while dark blue bars of clouds of a wholly dif. character lie along the NW horizon. The Asclepias Cornuti (Syriaca) and the A. incarnata (pulchra –this hardly out) considerable fog tonight

287.

GOD IN CONCORD by Jane Langton © 1992

Viking Penguin **Penguin Books USA Inc.**

“Yes,” said Ananda with melancholy dignity. “I came to this country to see the place of Henry Thoreau.”

Homer threw back his head with a shout of laughter, then covered his mouth, remembering the bereaved husband nearby. He clapped Ananda on the back. “Good Lord, do you know what I was doing before all this happened? I was down there at Goose Pond, hoping to hear a wood thrush. You know, Thoreau’s famous wood thrush.”

“He sings to amend our institutions,” recited Ananda, his face brightening in a brilliant smile.

“He sings to amend our institutions,” repeated Homer in ecstasy. “Right, right. That’s what he does.” He took Ananda by his thin shoulders and bounced him up and down. “Listen, you can stay with us. Oh, I’ve got so much to show you. . . .”

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1853



 Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 49th birthday.



At a celebration dinner at Washington Hall in Springfield, Massachusetts, everyone stood up and cheered for one of the aged guests: the Reverend Jonathan Smith, who in the army of the Revolution had been a chaplain.

In Abington, Massachusetts there was a “Know Nothing Anti-Slavery celebration.”

In Norwalk, Connecticut, P.T. Barnum began the celebrations by delivering an address before a crowd of 10,000.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the cornerstone of the West Philadelphia Institute was set into place. Some 10,000 citizens visited Independence Hall, with each celebrant entitled to sit for a moment in the chair of John Hancock. At the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, the comedietta “My [Uncle Sam](#)” was performed.

In New-York, a 95-year-old, Daniel Spencer, “an old patriot of the Revolution, hailing from Canajoharie, New York,” was an honored participant in the celebration.

In Williamsburg, Virginia, Captain Taft's Company of Light Artillery fired off a national salute of 32 guns.

Some 500 residents of [Baltimore](#) went on an excursion to nearby Annapolis, where a fight occurred between them and a group of local Annapolis people, resulting in two deaths and several injuries.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1854



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 50th birthday.



Rowland Hussey Macy (1822-1919) had gotten started in retail in 1851 with a dry goods store in downtown Haverhill. Macy's policy from the very first was "His goods are bought for cash, and will be sold for the same, at a small advance." On this date Macy's 1st parade marched down the main drag of the little New England village. It was too hot and only about a hundred people viewed his celebration. In 1858 Macy would sell this store and, with the financial backing of Caleb Dustin Hunking of Haverhill, relocate the retail business to easier pickings in New-York. (So, have you heard of the New York Macy's department store? –Have you shopped there?)

When the mayor of Wilmington, Delaware jailed City Council member Joshua S. Valentine for setting off firecrackers, he was mobbed by a group of indignant citizens.

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[Henry Thoreau](#) went at "8 A.M. – To Framingham."

At this abolitionist picnic celebrating our nation's birthday and the [Declaration of Independence](#) and the successful completion of the [1st Great American Disunion](#), attended by some 600, a man the [Standard](#) described as "a sort of literary recluse," name of Henry David Thoreau, **declared for dissolution of the federal union.**



[Thoreau](#) was a secessionist — he believed that New Englanders should secede from the federal union of the United States of America, as the necessary step in disentangling themselves from the US national sin of race slavery.

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

[Sojourner Truth](#) was another of the speakers, although we do not know whether she spoke before of after Thoreau (the newspaper reporter who was present failed entirely to notice that Sojourner took part), nor



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whether he sat on the platform beside her. [Stephen Symonds Foster](#) and [Abby Kelley Foster](#) were present



(Abby probably brought her daughter Alla to the pic nic, for it was always a family affair, with swings for the children, boating on a nearby pond, and a convenient refreshment stand since the day would be quite hot,

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and confined her remarks to an appeal for funds), and [Lucy Stone](#), as were [Wendell Phillips](#), Charles Lenox



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Remond, and [William Lloyd Garrison](#).²⁸⁸



When the meeting in the shady amphitheater was called to order at 10:45AM by Charles Jackson Francis, the first order of business had to be election of officials for the day. [Garrison](#) became the event's president and Francis Jackson of Boston, [William Whiting](#) of [Concord](#), Effingham L. Capron of Worcester, Dora M. Taft of Framingham, Charles Lenox Remond of Salem, John Pierpont of Medford, Charles F. Hovey of Gloucester, [Jonathan Buffum](#) of Lynn, Asa Cutler of Connecticut, and Andrew T. Foss of New Hampshire its vice presidents. The Reverend Samuel J. May, Jr., of Leicester, William H. Fish of Milford, and R.F. Wallcut of Boston became its secretaries. [Abby Kelley Foster](#), Ebenezer D. Draper, Lewis Ford, Mrs. Olds of Ohio, [Lucy Stone](#), and Nathaniel B. Spooner would constitute its Finance Committee. Garrison then read from Scripture, the assembly sang an Anti-Slavery hymn, and Dr. Henry O. Stone issued the Welcome.

288. There was an active agent of the Underground railroad on that platform, we may note, and it was not the gregarious Truth but the "sort of literary recluse" Thoreau. That is, please allow me to state the following in regard to the existence of eyewitness testimony, that the Thoreau home in Concord was in the period prior to the Civil War a waystation on the Underground Railway: we might reappraise [Thoreau](#)'s relationship with [Sojourner Truth](#), of whom it has been asserted by [Ebony Magazine](#) that she was a "Leader of the Underground Railroad Movement" (February 1987), by asking whether there is any comparable eyewitness testimony, that Truth ever was involved in that risky and illegal activity? Her biographer refers to her as a "loose cannon," not the sort of close-mouthed person who could be relied upon as a participant in a quite secret and quite illegal and quite dangerous endeavor, and considers also that no such evidence has ever been produced. The Thoreaus, in contrast, not only were never regarded as loose in this manner, but were, we know, regarded as utterly reliable — and in the case of the Thoreau family home the evidence for total involvement exists and is quite conclusive.

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I will quote a couple of paragraphs about the course of the meeting from the Foster biography, AHEAD OF HER TIME:



Heading the finance committee, Abby made her usual appeal for funds, Stephen called on the friends of liberty to resist the Fugitive Slave Law, "each one with such weapons as he thought right and proper," and Wendell Phillips, Sojourner Truth, and Lucy Stone held the audience in thrall with their "soul-eloquence." After an hour's break for refreshments Henry Thoreau castigated Massachusetts for being in the service of the Slaveholders and demanded that the state leave the Union. "I have lived for the last month -and I think that every man in Massachusetts capable of the sentiment of patriotism must have had a similar experience- with the sense of having suffered a vast and indefinite loss. I did not know what ailed me. At last it occurred to me that what I had lost was a country."

Thoreau's speech is still reprinted, but William Lloyd Garrison provided the most dramatic moment of that balmy July day. Placing a lighted candle on the lectern, he picked up a copy of the Fugitive Slave Law and touched it to the flame. As it burned, he intoned a familiar phrase: "And let all the people say **Amen.**" As the shouts of "Amen" echoed, he burned the U.S. commissioner's decision in the Burns case. Then he held a copy of the United States Constitution to the candle, proclaiming, "So perish all compromises with tyranny." As it burned to ashes, he repeated, "And let all the people say **Amen.**" While the audience responded with a tremendous shout of "Amen," he stood before them with arms extended, as if in blessing. No one who was present ever forgot the scene; it was the high point of unity among the Garrisonian abolitionists.

This biography of Abby Kelley, with its suggestion that [Thoreau](#)'s speech, which it condenses to three sentences, must have been significant because it is "still reprinted," overlooks the fact that Thoreau had not been granted an opportunity to read his entire lecture. A contemporary comment on the speech was more accurate:



Henry Thoreau, of Concord, read portions of a racy and ably written address, the whole of which will be published in the Liberator.

That is, Thoreau delivered a 4th-of-July oration at Framingham, Massachusetts on "[SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS](#)", criticizing the governor and the chief justice of Massachusetts who were in the audience.

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–But, he was not allowed the opportunity to read his entire essay.

The whole military force of the State is at the service of a Mr. Suttle, a slaveholder from Virginia, to enable him to catch a man whom he calls his property; but not a soldier is offered to save a citizen of Massachusetts from being kidnapped! Is this what all these soldiers, all this training has been for these seventy-nine years past? Have they been trained merely to rob Mexico, and carry back fugitive slaves to their masters? These very nights, I heard the sound of a drum in our streets. There were men training still; and for what? I could with an effort pardon the cockerels of Concord for crowing still, for they, perchance, had not been beaten that morning; but I could not excuse this rub-a-dub of the "trainers." The slave was carried back by exactly such as these, i.e., by the soldier, of whom the best you can say in this connection is that he is a fool made conspicuous by a painted coat.

Note that on paper, at least, if not verbally as well, he made a reference to martyrdom by [hanging](#): "I would side with the light, and let the dark earth roll from under me, calling my mother and my brother to follow." In other words, lets us New Englanders secede from the federal union of the United States of America, as the necessary step in our clearing ourselves of this US national sin of race slavery.

Here is another account of the actual speech, as opposed to what was printed later, from one who was there in



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the audience standing before that platform draped in mourning black:

He began with the simple words, "You have my sympathy; it is all I have to give you, but you may find it important to you." It was impossible to associate egotism with Thoreau; we all felt that the time and trouble he had taken at that crisis to proclaim his sympathy with the "Disunionists" was indeed important. He was there a representative of Concord, of science and letters, which could not quietly pursue their tasks while slavery was trampling down the rights of mankind. Alluding to the Boston commissioner who had surrendered Anthony Burns, Edward G. Loring, Thoreau said, "The fugitive's case was already decided by God, -not Edward G. God, but simple God." This was said with such serene unconsciousness of anything shocking in it that we were but mildly startled.

— AUTOBIOGRAPHY, MEMORIES, AND
EXPERIENCES OF MONCURE DANIEL
CONWAY (Boston MA: Houghton,
Mifflin & Co.), Volume I,
pages 184-5.
[[Moncure Daniel Conway](#)]

DISUNION

ANTHONY BURNS

EDWARD GREELEY LORING

At the end of the morning meeting [Thoreau](#) was on the platform while [Garrison](#), the featured speaker, burned [the federal Constitution](#) on a pewter plate as a "covenant with death" because it countenanced the return of runaway slaves to their owners — [Margaret Fuller](#)'s grandfather Timothy Fuller Sr., who had refused to consent to that document when it was originally promulgated because of its ridiculous mincing about slavery, would have been proud of him! Thoreau's inflammatory oratory was less inflammatory than addresses made on that occasion by [Garrison](#), [Wendell Phillips](#), and Charles Lenox Remond, for their speeches drew comments but Thoreau's did not.

On our nation's birthday the platform had been draped in black crepe as a symbol of mourning, as at a state funeral, and carried the insignia of the State of Virginia, which stood as the destination of [Anthony Burns](#), and this insignia of the State of Virginia was decorated with — with, in magnificent irony, ribbons of triumph! Above the platform flew the flags of [Kansas](#) and Nebraska, emblematic of the detested new [Kansas/Nebraska Act](#). As the background of all this, the flag of the United States of America was hung, but it was upside down, the symbol of distress, and it also was bordered in black, the symbol of death.

I think no great public calamity, not the death of [Daniel Webster](#), not the death of [Charles Sumner](#), not the loss of great battles during the War, brought such a sense of gloom over the whole State as the surrender of [Anthony Burns](#).

[Garrison](#) placed a lighted candle on the lectern, and touched a corner of the Fugitive Slave Law to the flame.

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As it burned, he orated “And let all the people say **Amen**” and the crowd shouted “Amen!” Then he touched a corner of the US commissioner’s decision in the Burns case to the candle flame. Then he touched a corner of a copy of [the federal Constitution](#) to the candle flame, and orated “So perish all compromises with tyranny.” As the paper was reduced to ashes, he orated “And let all the people say **Amen**” and stood with his arms extended as if in blessing.



William Lloyd Garrison (in 1865)

[Moncure Daniel Conway](#)’s comment, later, about the moment when [Garrison](#) set the match to the constitution, and the few scattered boos and hisses were drowned out by the thunderous “Amen” of the crowd, was:

That day I distinctly recognized that the antislavery cause was a religion.

In the afternoon [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) spoke, as a Virginian aristocrat, a child of position and privilege. Look at me! It was his 1st antislavery attempt at identity politics grandstanding. Leaning on the concept, he insisted that the force of public opinion in his home state was so insane and so hotheaded that every white man with a conscience, “or even the first throbbings of a conscience,” was a **slave** to this general proslavery public posture. He offered that to resist this Southern certitude, each Northerner would need to “abolish slavery in his



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heart.”²⁸⁹

[AUTOBIOGRAPHY](#) | [VOLUME II](#)



(So, you see, the white man has been self-enslaved: the problem is not so much that slavery harms the black man as that slavery harms the white man, shudder.)

Then [Wendell Phillips](#) spoke.

We know that [Sojourner Truth](#) spoke from that mourning-draped platform after a white man from Virginia had described his being thrown in jail there on account of his antislavery convictions, because in her speech she commented on this: how helpful it was for white people to obtain some experience of oppression. She warned that “God would yet execute his judgments upon the white people for their oppression and cruelty.” She asked why it was that white people hated black people so. She said that the white people owed the colored race a debt so huge that they would never be able to pay it back — but would have to repent so as to have this debt forgiven them. Nell Painter has characterized this message as “severe and anguished,” and has commented that despite the cheers and applause, “Her audiences preferred not to grapple with all she had to say.” Her humor must have been such, Painter infers, as to allow her white listeners to exempt themselves from this very general denunciation:

They did not hear wrath against whites, but against the advocates of slavery. It is understandable, no doubt, that Truth’s audiences, who wanted so much to love this old black woman who had been a slave, found it difficult to fathom the depths of her bitterness.

289. We may note how different this was from the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)’s “kill the Negro in us.”



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Carleton Mabee's BLACK FREEDOM

Americans at large often held the abolitionists responsible for the war. They argued that the abolitionists' long agitation, strident as it often was, had antagonized the South into secession, thus beginning the war, and that the abolitionists' insistence that the war should not end until all slavery had been abolished kept the war going. In 1863 the widely read New York Herald made the charge devastatingly personal. It specified that by being responsible for the war, each abolitionist had in effect already killed one man and permanently disabled four others. ... While [William Lloyd Garrison](#) preferred voluntary emancipation, during the war he came to look with tolerance on the abolition of slavery by military necessity, saying that from seeming evil good may come. Similarly, the Garrisonian-Quaker editor, Oliver Johnson, while also preferring voluntary emancipation, pointed out that no reform ever triumphed except through mixed motives. But the Garrisonian lecturer Pillsbury was contemptuous of such attitudes. Freeing the slaves by military necessity would be of no benefit to the slave, he said in 1862, and the next year when the Emancipation Proclamation was already being put into effect, he said that freeing the slaves by military necessity could not create permanent peace. Parker Pillsbury won considerable support for his view from abolitionist meetings and from abolitionist leaders as well. Veteran Liberator writer Edwin Percy Whipple insisted that "true welfare" could come to the American people "only through a **willing** promotion of justice and freedom." [Henry C. Wright](#) repeatedly said that only ideas, not bullets, could permanently settle the question of slavery. The recent Garrisonian convert, the young orator Ezra Heywood, pointed out that a government that could abolish slavery as a military necessity had no antislavery principles and could therefore re-establish slavery if circumstances required it. The Virginia aristocrat-turned-abolitionist, [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), had misgivings that if emancipation did not come before it became a fierce necessity, it would not reflect true benevolence and hence could not produce true peace. The Philadelphia wool merchant, Quaker Alfred H. Love, asked, "Can so sublime a virtue as ... freedom ... be the offspring of so corrupt a parentage as war?" The long-time abolitionist [Abby Kelley Foster](#)—the speak-inner and Underground Railroader—predicted flatly, if the slave is freed only out of consideration for the safety of the Union, "the hate of the colored race will still continue, and the poison of that wickedness will destroy us as a nation." Amid the searing impact of the war—the burning fields, the mangled bodies, the blood-splattered hills and fields—a few abolitionists had not forgotten their fundamental belief that to achieve humanitarian reform, particularly if it was to be thorough and permanent reform, the methods used to achieve it must be consistent with the nature of the reform. ... What abolitionists often chose to brush aside was that after the war most blacks would still be living in the South, among the same Confederates whom they were now trying to kill.



CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



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1855



→ Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July.²⁹⁰ It was while the Emerson gate was festooned with its usual 4th-of-July black mourning cloth for the slave that Whitman's anonymous book LEAVES OF GRASS arrived in the mail.

In Worcester, Massachusetts, citizens demonstrated against city officials who had refused to fund the usual drunken 4th-of-July event.

In Columbus, Ohio there was a parade of firemen, Turners, and other local tough-guy societies, and after awhile this segued into a downtown riot, leaving one corpse and several citizens injured.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Inspired by the George and Godfrey Frankenstein panorama of [Niagara Falls](#), the poet Corilla rhapsodized the birthday of our nation by a reference to these painters/presenters in a poem ending:

“America, Niagara, Frankenstein—
Three names united in a kindred bond—
Glad freedom's home — her voice of Praise — her mind.”

The poet was equating this name, not at all sarcastically, with the collective mentation of America! George Frankenstein would later be renowned for his [Civil War](#) scenes while Godfrey Frankenstein's painting “Lagonda Creek” has been described as representing the “Emersonian Transparent Eyeball,” the eye of inner

290. [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 51st birthday.



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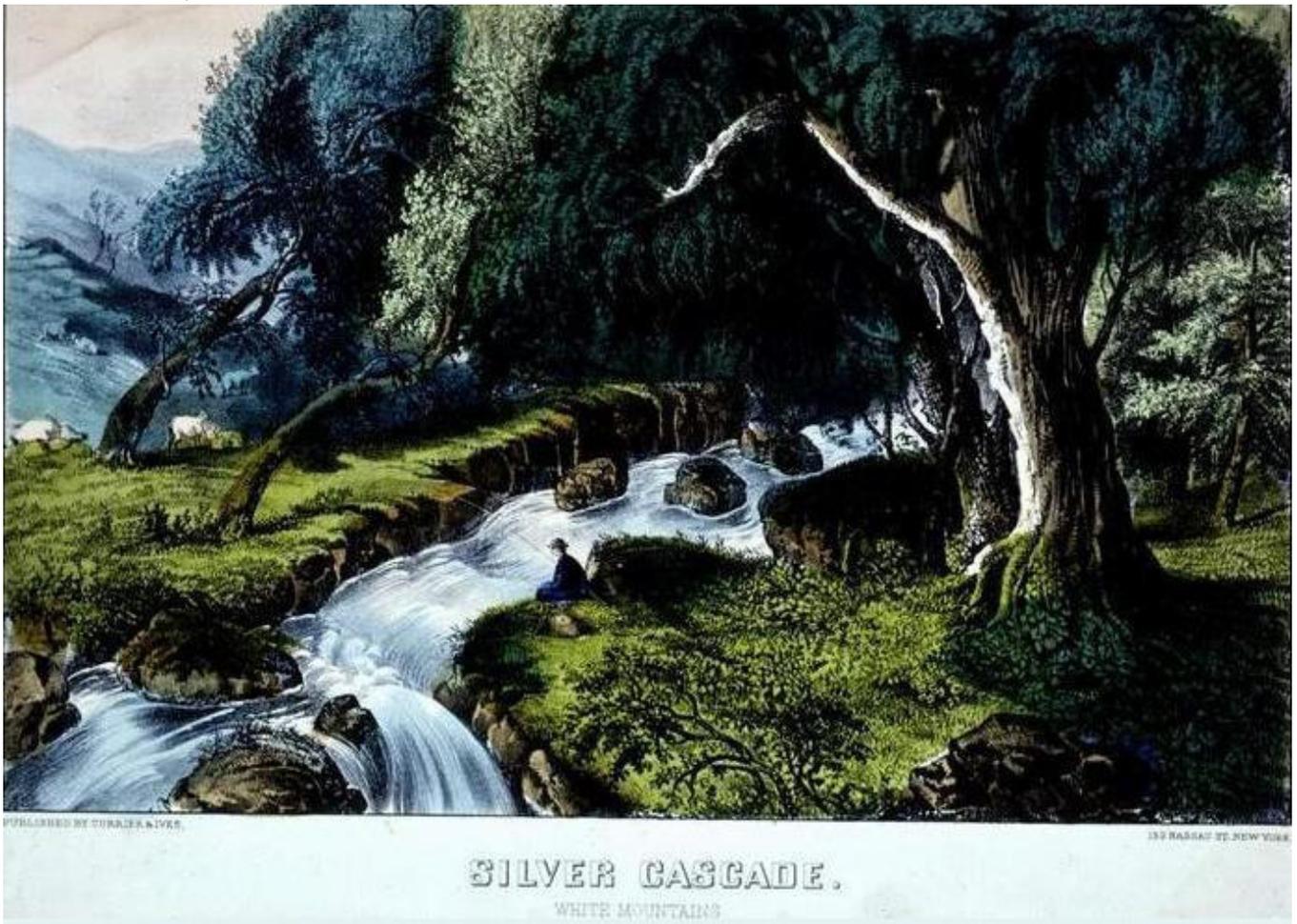
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man transcending the ego to view God's nature, in the surrounding landscape, and himself, as one.



Godfrey enjoyed the romantic setting of the White Mountains of [New Hampshire](#), painting dramatic scenes of the rugged landscape. (Well, lots of people enjoyed the romantic settings of the White Mountains of New Hampshire. In fact, in this year Currier & Ives was issuing a print featuring fishing at "Silver Cascade" in this area.)



Frankenstein Cliff in Crawford Notch was named after Godfrey by Dr. Bemis, who owned land in the area. Dr.



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Bemis, like Dippel and like the “Victor Frankenstein” of [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#)’s romance FRANKENSTEIN; OR, THE MODERN PROMETHEUS, was fascinated with technology. He invented artificial teeth, developed a new genetic strain of apples, and is credited with taking the very first Daguerreotype landscape images (scenes in the White Mountains). This venue would be remarked upon by [Henry Thoreau](#), [Waldo Emerson](#), Thomas Cole, [Daniel Webster](#), and [Hawthorne](#). For instance, in SKETCHES FROM MEMORY Hawthorne would describe the area around Frankenstein Cliff:

A demon it might be fancied or one of the Titans, was traveling up the valley elbowing the heights carelessly aside as he passed, till at length a great mountain took its stand directly across his intended road. He tarries not for such an obstacle but rendering it asunder a thousand feet from peak to base, discloses its treasures of hidden minerals, its guileless water, all the secrets of the mountain’s innermost heart, with a mighty fracture of rugged precipices on each side. This is the Notch of the White Hills.

It is only today that a name such as “Frankenstein” evokes either an image of a monster from a Hollywood makeup lab or an image of the “Mad Scientist” of Hollywood.

Hoping to promote South Carolina’s trade in sea island cotton, [William Elliott](#) was serving as South Carolina’s commissioner to the Paris Exposition, and on this day addressed the Imperial Agricultural Society of France (in a letter home from Europe, he wrote of having seen [Queen Victoria](#)’s legs²⁹¹).

[Thoreau](#) saw Frederic Edwin Church’s “The Andes of Equador” at the Athenaeum gallery in [Boston](#).



July 4. To Boston on way to Cape Cod with C.

The schooner Melrose was advertised to make her first trip to Provincetown this morning at eight. We reached City (?) Wharf at 8.30. “Well, Captain Crocker, how soon do you start?” “To-morrow morning at 9 o’clock.” “But you have advertised to leave at 8 this morning.” “I know it, but we are going to lay over till to-morrow.”!!! So we had to spend the day in Boston, — at Athenaeum gallery, Alcott’s, and at the regatta. Lodged at Alcott’s, who is about moving to Walpole.

291. In this year she was 36 and although an exceedingly short person (4' 10" before osteoporosis would shorten her another couple of inches) she had not yet begun to become rotund.

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1856



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 52d birthday, dedicated to the firecracker and other firearms surrogates.



In the [Kansas Territory](#), the Topeka legislature was dispersed by the US Army. This day's date is on a petition, upon which the signatures of [Waldo Emerson](#) and [Henry Thoreau](#) appear among others, protesting an attack made upon Massachusetts people as these travelers had been transiting the territory of Missouri on their way to settle in the [Kansas Territory](#).

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

In [New-York](#), the "inauguration" of Henry K. Brown's equestrian statue of [George Washington](#), the Southern slavemaster who had made himself into the Father of Our Nation through sponsoring and enabling the [1st Great American Disunion](#) (this may not be the greatest work of art ever commissioned but it does, befitting the gravity of his offense, stand a magnificent 29 feet high).



[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)





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1857



→ Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 53d birthday.



H.G.O. Blake having been unable to make it in response to the invitation, [Henry Thoreau](#) and Theophilus Brown and Dr. Seth Rogers went "Up Assabet."

In Milwaukee, the [Declaration of Independence](#) was read aloud publicly, in German, by Edward Saloman.

The cornerstone for a national monument in memory of Henry Clay was set in position with appropriate ceremony near Lexington, Kentucky.

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July 4, Tuesday: Former governor of New York William Learned Marcy died in Ballston Spa at the age of 70.

As depicted in the 2002 Martin Scorsese movie “Gangs of New York,” federal troops ended a New-York gang brawl in lower Manhattan after 8 of the 1,000 participants were lying dead.



Stepping to the beat of a different drummer, big city style.

The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) delivered an oration before the citizens of [Boston](#) on the topic of “The genius and posture of America,” which met with disfavor in the Legislature because of its bold treatment of the slavery issue. (This oration would soon be published by the office of the [Daily Bee](#), but the Legislature would not issue its customary vote of thanks and would withhold funds for its normal publication until, in 1864 in the midst of civil war, it would become obvious even to legislators that the Reverend’s remarks had been appropriate — then in 1864 it would be issued in the normal way, by the firm of J.E. Farwell and Company, Printers to the City, as THE GENIUS AND POSTURE OF AMERICA: AN ORATION DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS

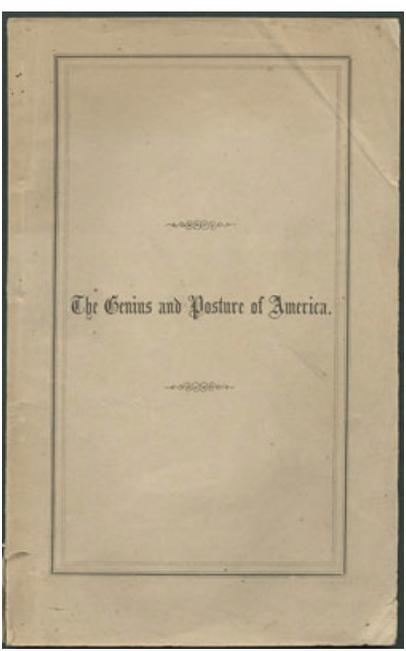
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OF BOSTON, JULY 4, 1857 / BY WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE ALGER; WITH PREFACE AND APPENDIX.)



At the Navy Yard in [Boston](#), the frigate *Vermont* was somewhat damaged by fire when a flying flaming wad hit its hull. (This flying flaming wad come from a cannon salute — it had **not** been fired from the mouth of the above reverend orator.)

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1858



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 54th birthday.



In [Chicago, Illinois](#) Central Railroad workers were attempting to launch a balloon they were referring to as "The Spirit of '76." The record doesn't state whether or not they did manage to get this "monster balloon" up into the air, or if they did, how long it stayed up or how high it rose.²⁹²

In Brooklyn, New-York, the corner-stone of the Armory was set in position with appropriate ceremony.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes delivered an oration in Boston.

A treaty was signed in Tientsin between [China](#) and France. Over and above the sums in silver to be paid to Britain, China would pay 16,000,000 francs in silver to France. Chinese Christians currently imprisoned were to be released.

292. The Russian film "Burnt by the Sun" records a similar attempt near Moscow.



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This is what the [Niagara Falls](#) looked like in this year, to Currier & Ives:



During the celebration of the opening of the associated hydraulic canal, the dam gave way (fortunately, no one was injured).

The [negrero](#) *Wanderer* sailed from the harbor of [Charleston](#), South Carolina for the coast of Africa, disguised as a luxury cruise ship. There's now an entire book about this one remarkable vessel, Erik Calonius's *THE WANDERER: THE LAST AMERICAN SLAVE SHIP AND THE CONSPIRACY THAT SET ITS SAILS*, published by St. Martin's Press in 2006.

[Jefferson Davis](#), delivering a 4th-of-July oration on board a steamer bound from [Baltimore](#) to Boston, predicted (it would seem :-)) the outcome of the Civil War, when he roundly declared that "this great country will continue united."

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)



Overlooking Lake Winnepiseogee, now Winnepesaukee:



July 4. Sunday. A. M.—Clears up after a rainy night. Get our breakfast apparently in the northern part of Loudon, where we find, in a beech and maple wood, *Panax quinquefolium*, apparently not quite out,

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BIGELOW

Osmorrhiza brevistylis (or hairy uraspernum), gone to seed, which Bigelow refers to woods on Concord Turnpike, i. e. hairy sweet cicely. Also ternate polypody (?). Saw a chestnut tree in Loudon.

Leaving Loudoh Ridge on the right we continued on by the Hollow Road—a long way through the forest without houses—through a part of Canterbury into Gilmanton Factory village. I see the Ribes prostratum, or fetid currant, by roadside, already red, as also the red elder-berries, ripe or red. Strawberries were abundant by the roadside and in the grass on hillsides everywhere, with the seeds conspicuous, sunk in pits on the surface. (Vide a leaf of same kind pressed.)

The Merrimack at Merrimack, where I walked,—half a mile or more below my last camp on it in '9,—had gone down two or three feet within a few days, and the muddy and slimy shore was covered with the tracks of many small animals, apparently three-toed sandpipers, minks, turtles, squirrels, perhaps mice, and some much larger quadrupeds. The Solidago lanceolata, not out, was common along the shore. Wool-grass without black sheaths, and a very slender variety with it; also Carex crinita.

We continue along through Gilmanton to Meredith Bridge, passing the Suncook Mountain on our right, a long, barren rocky range overlooking Lake Winnepiseogee. Turn down a lane five or six miles beyond the bridge and spend the midday near a bay of the lake. Polygonum cilinode, apparently not long. I hear song sparrows there among the rocks, with a totally new strain, ending *whit whit, whit whit, whit whit whit*. They had also the common strain. We had begun to see from Gilmanton, from high hills in the road, the sharp rocky peak of Chocorua in the north, to the right of the lower Red Hill. It was of a pale-buff color, with apparently the Sandwich Mountains west of it and Ossipee Mountain on the right. The goldfinch was more common than at home, and the fragrant fern was perceived oftener. The evergreen-forest not frequently heard.

It is far more independent to travel on foot. You have to sacrifice so much to the horse. You cannot choose the most agreeable places in which to spend the noon, commanding the finest views, because commonly there is no water there, or you cannot get there with your horse. New Hampshire being a more hilly and newer State than Massachusetts, it is very difficult to find a suitable place to camp near the road, affording water, a good prospect, and retirement. We several times rode on as much as ten miles with a tired horse, looking in vain for such a spot, and then almost invariably camped in some low, unpleasant spot. There are very few, scarcely any, lanes, or even paths and bars along the road. Having got beyond the range of the chestnut, the few bars that might be taken down are long and heavy planks or slabs, intended to confine sheep, and there is no passable road behind. And beside, when you have chosen a place one must stay behind to watch your effects, while the other looks about. I frequently envied the independence of the walker, who can spend the midday hours and take his lunch in the most agreeable spot on his route. The only alternative is to spend your noon at some trivial inn, pestered by flies and tavern loungers.

Camped within a mile of Senter Harbor, in a birch wood on the right near the lake. Heard in the night a loon, screech owl, and cuckoo, and our horse, tied to a slender birch close by, restlessly pawing the ground all night and whinnying to us whenever we showed ourselves, asking for something more than meat to fill his belly with.



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1859



→ Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 55th birthday.



Because of its symbolic significance, this had been the day selected by [John Brown](#) for the raid on [Harpers Ferry](#). But that had been mere planning. [Harriet Tubman](#) hadn't shown up, and various items of supply had been delayed. The raid had had to be postponed.



CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

In [Washington DC](#), a convict who was serving a sentence for murder was allowed to read the [Declaration of Independence](#) aloud for the benefit of the other prisoners. (That ought to have been instructive!)

In an oration delivered in Grahamville, South Carolina by Robert Barnwell Rhett, the creation of a Southern nation was proposed.



July 4: June 28th, I observed up the Assabet some exceedingly handsome amelanchier leaves, bright-crimson, regularly striped with green on the veins and with scattered yellow spots. The shrub probably dying. *Vide* some in press.

P.M. – To Fair Haven Pond, measuring depth of river.

As you walk beside a ditch or brook, you see the frogs which you alarm launching themselves from a considerable distance into the brook. They spring considerably upward, so as to clear all intervening obstacles, and seem to know pretty well where the brook is. Yet no doubt they often strike, to their chagrin and perhaps sorrow, on a pebbly shore or rock. Their noses must be peculiarly organized to resist accidents of this kind, and allow them to cast themselves thus heedlessly into the air, trusting to fall into the water, for they come down



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nose foremost. A frog reckons that he knows where the brook is. I shudder for them when I see their soft, unshielded proboscis falling thus heedlessly on whatever may be beneath.

I observe at Well Meadow Head that the fall has already come conspicuously to the hellebore, and they are mostly turned yellow, while their large green seed-vessels are ripening; but the skunk-cabbage is still green.

The front-rank polygonum, having been submerged by the unusually high water of the last fortnight, is a conspicuous red or purple color; and this is evidently the effect of the water alone, as, I think, it is the water which turns the early maples. [Both white and red, when the leaves are not half developed, long ago.] All the river's edge is now tinged with this purplish streak, yet they are healthy-looking leaves.

Johnswort is just fairly begun. *Hypericum ellipticum* and Jersey tea first observed.

The deepest place I find in the river to-day is off Bittern Cliff, answering to the bold shore. There is an uninterrupted deep and wide reach of the river from Fair Haven Pond to Nut Meadow Brook.



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1860



→ Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 56th birthday.



[Henry Thoreau](#) had been invited to speak at the [John Brown](#) Memorial Celebration in [North Elba, New York](#) on the 1st anniversary of the symbolic day on which the raid on the federal arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#) had been intended to go down. (The secretary of the meeting, [Richard Josiah Hinton](#), had stopped off in Concord on his way in order to pick up a copy of something that Thoreau had written for the occasion, so it could be read *in absentia* at the meeting.)

On an entirely appropriate day for a bloodthirsty and inspired patriot citizen, [John Brown](#) was therefore being celebrated *in absentia* in North Elba NY, and Thoreau's "The Last Days of John Brown" was being read *in absentia* by R.J. Hinton.



But now there is Charles Joyner's "'Guilty of Holiest Crime': The Passion of John Brown" in Paul Finkelman, ed. HIS SOUL GOES MARCHING ON: RESPONSES TO JOHN BROWN AND THE HARPERS FERRY RAID (Charlottesville VA: UP of Virginia, 1995, pages 296-334, page 324): Relying upon the Bradford Torrey and Franklin B. Sanborn edition of THE WRITINGS OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU published in 1894 and 1895 and reprinted in 1906, Volume X, pages 237-48, Joyner writes:



On Independence Day, Henry David Thoreau spoke at Brown's burial place. "The North, I mean the LIVING North, was suddenly all



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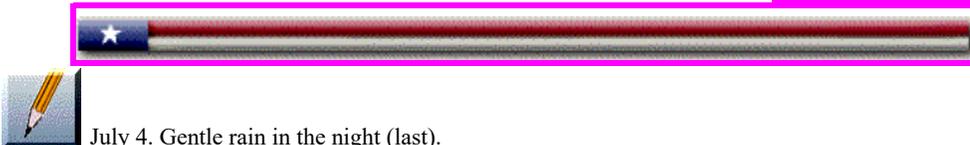
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transcendental," he noted. "It went beyond the human law, it went beyond the apparent failure, and recognized eternal justice and glory." Thoreau echoed Emerson's disparagement of those who failed to see Brown's nobility. "When a noble deed is done, who is likely to appreciate it? Those who are noble themselves," he declared. "How can a man behold the light who has no inward light?" Thoreau asked. Brown's detractors, he charged, could not even **recite** poetry, let alone write it. "Show me a man who feels bitterly towards John Brown, and let me hear what noble verse he can repeat. He'll be as dumb as if his lips were stone."

The Alexandria, Virginia Gazette published a chronology of notable 4th-of-July events occurring in that town from 1800 to 1860. (I haven't seen this list, but presumably, the last item on this list would have been: "In 1860, the Alexandria, Virginia Gazette published a chronology of notable 4th-of-July events occurring in that town from 1800 to 1860.")

In Jamestown, New York, the Museum Society, made up of children between the ages of ten and fifteen, took charge of the celebration because most of the town adults were off in Randolph, New York, celebrating.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 4. Gentle rain in the night (last).

The white pine shoot which on the 19th of June had grown sixteen and a quarter inches and on the 27th twenty and three quarters is now twenty-three and an eighth inches long.

2 P.M.—Look at springs toward Dugan's and White Pond.

Standing on J.P. Brown's land, south side, I observed his rich and luxuriant uncut grass-lands northward, now waving under the easterly wind. It is a beautiful Camilla, sweeping like waves of light and shade over the whole breadth of his land, like a low steam curling over it, imparting wonderful life to the landscape, like the light and shade of a changeable garment, waves of light and shade pursuing each other over the whole breadth of the landscape like waves hastening to break on a shore. It is an interesting feature, very easily overlooked, and suggests that we are wading and navigating at present in a sort of sea of grass, which yields and undulates under the wind like water; and so, perchance, the forest is seen to do from a favorable position.

None of his fields is cut yet.

Early, there was that flashing light of waving pine in the horizon; now, the Camilla on grass and grain.

Juncus bufonius, probably several days in some places.

The sedgy hollows, table-lands, and frosty places in the woods now most beautiful, the sedge most fresh and yellowish-green, a soft, dry bed to recline on. For example, that place south of Ledum Swamp, the sedge, especially in the old path, falling every way like cowlicks on an unkempt head. When we enter it from the west, with the sun shining between thundery clouds, it is all lit with a blaze of yellow light, like a pasture on Mt. Washington, nearer the sun than usual.

How beautiful the dark-green oak leaves now! How dark the chincapin oak leaves! Now the pines are almost indistinguishable by color amid the deciduous trees.

The large johnswort now begins to be noticed generally,—a July yellow.

Scared up a young bobolink, which flies a couple of rods only.

A few toads still ring at evening, and I still notice, on the rocks at White Pond, the pine pollen yellowing them, though it fell some time ago.

7 P.M., river is one and three eighths above summer level.



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1861



 Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Report of the Secretary of the Navy.” –SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 37 Cong. 1 sess. No. 1, pp. 92, 97.

A return letter informed [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#), in [Italy](#), that the [emancipation](#) of the American negroes was “not the intention of the Federal Government” because “to throw at once upon that country in looseness, four millions of [slaves](#)” would create “a dreadful calamity.”²⁹³ What a singularly inappropriate letter for the US government to initiate upon the anniversary of its birth as a land of freedom! Further negotiations were entrusted to Henry Shelton Sanford and [George Perkins Marsh](#), experienced senior diplomats — exactly as if

293. In fact President [Abraham Lincoln](#)’s own attitude toward an Emancipation Proclamation was that it was, if it was anything, a mere military tactic of last resort. He would become famous in American history as “The Great Emancipator” not because of any affection for the American negro but only after the course of events had caused him to begin to muse in desperation that “Things have gone from bad to worse ... until I felt that we had played our last card, and must change our tactics or lose the game!” Never was a man more reluctant to do the right.

HDT

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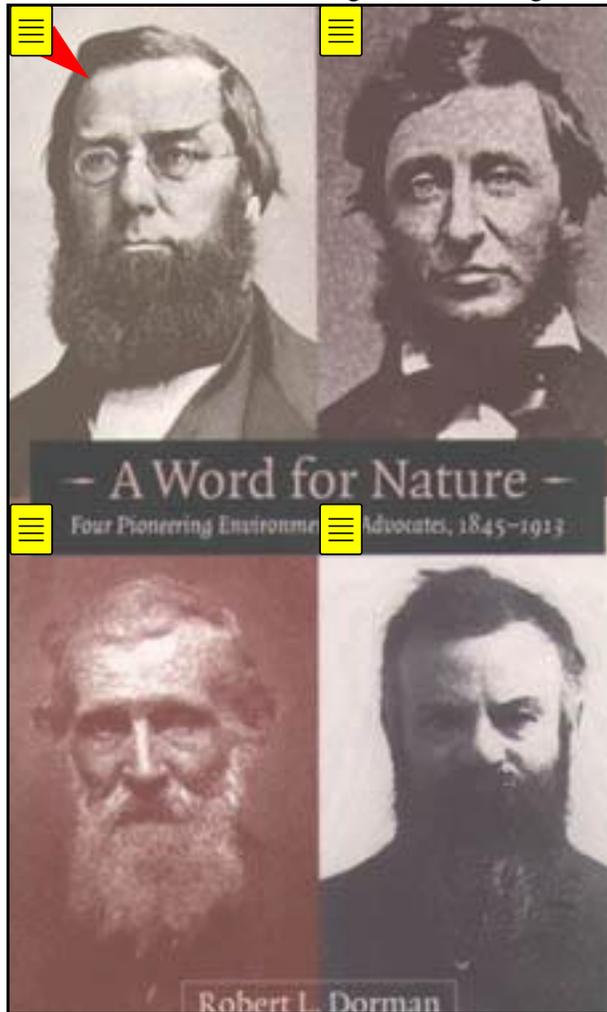
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we supposed there to remain some basis for further negotiations with a gentleman of honor such as Garibaldi.





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Galusha A. Grow became the only Speaker of the House of Representatives ever to be elected and take office on the 4th of July.

An artillery salute of 15 guns was fired at Camp Jackson near Pigs Point, Virginia, in honor of the 15 states that had declared or were declaring their independence from the US federal government in [Washington DC](#).

Maria Mason Tabb Hubbard wrote in her [diary](#):

On yesterday July the 3rd heard of another shocking accident from the manufacturing of fulminating powder for percussion caps, the second death that has occurred in [from it - this is crossed out] this city from the same cause, poor young Laidley was the last victim, having an arm & his head blown off causing instant death! oh how shocking! and what a warning to all who handle any explosive, or igniting powder, and I am in constant dread of my precious Husband being injured during some of his chemical experiments.

US CIVIL WAR

In Charleston, South Carolina, blockading Federal ships fired a salute at sunrise, which was answered by Confederate artillery salutes from Forts Moultrie and Sumter.

In Washington DC, 29 New York regiments passed in review before the President at the White House.

In a speech sent over from the White House to the two houses of the US Congress, President [Abraham Lincoln](#) defended himself against the accusation that by suspending the basic right of *habeas corpus* he had violated his oath of office “to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,” by inquiring whether “all the laws, but one, [are] to go unexecuted, and the Government itself go to pieces, lest that one be violated?”

He sought to justify the newly begun Civil War by the same argument that slavemasters used in the controversy over manumission without fair compensation to the slave’s “present owner,” who had “bought the slave fair and square,” for the loss of his “pecuniary investment”: “The nation purchased, with money, the countries out of which several of these [confederate] states were formed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave, and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums (in the aggregate, I believe, nearly a hundred millions) to relieve [Florida](#) of the aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she shall now be off without consent, or without making any return?”

In [Baltimore](#) citizens presented a “splendid silk national flag, regimental size,” to the 6th Massachusetts Regiment.



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Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts was celebrating this national holiday with the 1st Massachusetts Regiment at Camp Banks near Georgetown.

At the annual abolitionist picnic at Harmony Grove in Framingham, Massachusetts, [William Lloyd Garrison](#), [Wendell Phillips](#), and [Stephen Symonds Foster](#) spoke.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 57th birthday.



Manning their line outside Alexandria VA, the white boys of the 1st Minnesota ate a local delicacy, crab, and were able to witness the skyrockets and other fireworks over the national capitol, and they had a peculiar celebration of their own:

We had a grand burlesque Indian War Dance, executed in a style which would do justice to any set of savages wherever congregated.





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1862



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: It was the 4th of July in the Year of Our Lord 1862, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 58th birthday and our national birthday. The author had a piece currently appearing in [The Atlantic Monthly](#). A pyrotechnic depiction of the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* that was currently going down in [New-York](#) harbor. The wounded Colonel Daniel Butterfield lay on his cot and was composing bugle calls on the backs of envelopes. One of the calls he was developing was a new one to replace the old final call of the day, which had variously been known as "Taps," as "tattoo," and as "lights out." He was trying to make "Taps" become something that would bring comfort to soldiers who were physically exhausted, and peacefulness to soldiers who were of troubled mind:

The music was beautiful on that still summer night and was heard beyond the limits of the Butterfield Brigade as it echoed through the valleys. The next morning, buglers from other Brigades came to visit and to inquire about the new Taps and how to sound it.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Nelson J. Waterbury, the head at this point of the Tammany Hall political organization and thus an enormously powerful American politician, declared at this point that the President of the United States of America would need to "set his foot firmly on abolitionism and crush it to pieces." This would be essential to maintaining the fighting spirit of the Union armies. If there was one thing this civil war could not be about, it could not be about the freeing of America's [slaves](#). Don't even think of going there.

IRISH

In England, a famous river excursion was taking place. The Reverend Charles Ludwidge Dodgson, a dean of Christ Church college in [Oxford University](#), had taken the 2 Liddell sisters, prepubescents, for a row on the Thames River and was inventing a charming story which soon he would write down, about a girl named Alice and her adventures down a rabbit hole. Dodgson subscribed to the Victorian notion that prepubescent humans were purity incarnate and found their purity to be utterly compelling. He liked to take photographs of little girls with their clothes off, as such naked innocence was emblematic of this compelling purity. The Reverend would later publish ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND under the pseudonym Lewis Carroll. For unspecified reasons this dean soon would become a former dean, and be more or less banned from the company of little girls.





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1863



 Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: An attempt at a dialect rendering, by Joseph Dugdale, of one of [Sojourner Truth](#)'s testimonies/rants, appeared in the [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#):

*"Children, I talks to God and God talks to me. I goes out and talks to God in de fields and de woods. [The weevil had destroyed thousands of acres of wheat in the west that year.] Dis morning I was walking out, and I got over de fence. I saw de wheat a holding up its head, looking very big. I goes up and takes holt of it. You b'lieve it, dere was no wheat dare? I says, God [speaking the name in a voice of reverence peculiar to herself], what is de matter wid dis wheat? and he says to me, "Sojourner, dere is a little weasel in it." Now I hears talkin' about de Constitution and de rights of man. I comes up and I takes hold of dis Constitution. It looks **mighty big**, and I feels for **my** rights, but der aint any dare. Den I says, God, what **ails** dis Constitution? He says to me, "Sojourner, dere is a little **weasel** in it."*

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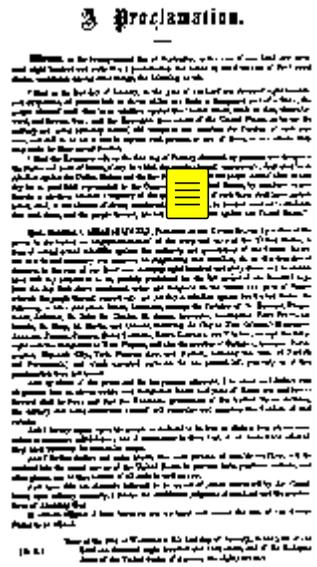
During our nation’s 4th of July celebrations,²⁹⁴ while full-pitched battles were going on at Vicksburg and at Gettysburg, the corpse of the scalped²⁹⁵ red raspberry picker lay in the main street of Hutchinson, Minnesota while celebrants stuffed firecrackers into its body orifices. An embarrassed town doctor finally threw it into

RACE WAR IN MINNESOTA



the town refuse pit and covered it with some dirt, but then a US Army cavalry officer wanted the head in order to preserve the skull with its distinctive teeth, and it was discovered that this was *Taoyateduta* “Our Red Nation,” Headman Little Crow V. Then some people came around to dig up the torso as well, because the

294. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s 59th birthday. He was with 25,000 other citizens, attending a “Democratic Mass Meeting” in Concord, New Hampshire at which his good ’ol buddy [Franklin Pierce](#) (quite possibly the worst president we ever endured prior to Wubya) was declaring the [Emancipation Proclamation](#) to be unconstitutional, and was in complete agreement with his good ’ol buddy on such an issue.



CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

295. Scalped: of course the white farmer’s white son, Nathan Lamson, wanted to obtain the \$75.⁰⁰ the State of Minnesota was then offering for any Indian scalp no questions asked. Such a sum of blood money could never be passed up.



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shattered forearm bones were also distinctive of the hated politician and negotiator who had failed to prevent Minnesota's race war.

[US CIVIL WAR](#)

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)

The aftermath: Orphaned, the boy would be soon caught starving by the US army, after having managed with his last cartridge to kill a wolf to gnaw upon, and he would readily confess that he was Wowinape "The Appearing One" or "Thomas Wakeman," son of headman "Our Red Nation," and that it had been he, that dusk, who had been the other raspberry picker who had gotten away. The boy would turn 17 years old by the time he would be tried and sentenced by a military court to be hanged. After not being among those selected by President [Abraham Lincoln](#) to be hanged in the largest mass hanging in US history, and after being released from the Pike Island Sequestration Facility to the Indian reservation, Thomas Wakeman, a Presbyterian, would devote his life to the YMCA.



The farmer received a large sum of money as reward from the State of Minnesota for killing the Indian father. The skull and shattered forearm bones of the father would be placed on display in a glass case at the Minnesota Historical Society.

[THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS](#)



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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Of course our civil war continued without interruption on this day: did you expect otherwise? —There was “real” fighting at Helena. The above event in Minnesota was insignificant, as it was not what was being done to white people. A war dispatch from Walt Whitman:

BAROUCHE

“Specimen Days”

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

The weather to-day, upon the whole, is very fine, warm, but from a smart rain last night, fresh enough, and no dust, which is a great relief for this city. I saw the parade about noon, Pennsylvania avenue, from Fifteenth street down toward the capitol. There were three regiments of infantry, (I suppose the ones doing patrol duty here,) two or three societies of Odd Fellows, a lot of children in barouches, and a squad of policemen. (A useless imposition upon the soldiers — they have work enough on their backs without piling the like of this.) As I went down the Avenue, saw a big flaring placard on the bulletin board of a newspaper office, announcing “Glorious Victory for the Union Army!” Meade had fought Lee at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, yesterday and day before, and repuls’d him most signally, taken 3,000 prisoners, &c. (I afterwards saw Meade’s despatch, very modest, and a sort of order of the day from the President himself, quite religious, giving thanks to the Supreme, and calling on the people to do the same.) I walk’d on to Armory hospital — took along with me several bottles of blackberry and cherry syrup, good and strong, but innocent. Went through several of the wards, announc’d to the soldiers the news from Meade, and gave them all a good drink of the syrups with ice water, quite refreshing — prepar’d it all myself, and serv’d it around. Meanwhile the Washington bells are ringing their sundown peals for Fourth of July, and the usual fusilades of boys’ pistols, crackers, and guns.

A CAVALRY CAMP

I am writing this, nearly sundown, watching a cavalry company (acting Signal service,) just come in through a shower, making their night’s camp ready on some broad, vacant ground, a sort of hill, in full view opposite my window. There are the men in their yellow-striped jackets. All are dismounted; the freed horses stand with drooping heads and wet sides; they are to be led off presently in groups, to water. [Page 730] The little wall-tents and shelter tents spring up quickly. I see the fires already blazing, and pots and kettles over them. Some among the men are driving in tent-poles, wielding their axes with strong, slow blows. I see great huddles of horses, bundles of hay, groups of men (some with unbuckled sabres yet on their sides,) a few officers, piles of wood, the flames of the fires, saddles, harness, &c. The smoke streams upward, additional men arrive and dismount — some drive in stakes, and tie their horses to them; some go with buckets for water, some are chopping wood, and so on.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



The steamboat Ontario ventured four times out of Charlotte onto Lake Ontario, bearing parties of celebrants.



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In Buffalo, New York, 17 veterans of the [War of 1812](#) marched in the parade.

At Annapolis, a “flag of truce” boat filled with [secessionist](#) women from Philadelphia and elsewhere, having departed on July 3rd, was voyaging south.

Governor Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina delivered an oration in which he urged the citizenry “to continue their assistance in prosecuting the war until the independence of the [Confederate States](#) was established.”

At Randal and Aston’s store in Columbus, Ohio, 8,500 [Union](#) flags were available for purchase, but of

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Confederate flags not so much. In Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, as the [Confederate](#) troops were making their escape from the great battle just fought there, someone threw a bunch of firecrackers among the ambulances carrying their wounded and this caused not only a stampede of the horses but also panic among the surviving soldiers.

US CIVIL WAR

Vicksburg, the final [Confederate](#) stronghold on the Mississippi, was captured by General [Ulysses S. Grant](#)'s Army of the West. In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), when news of this would arrive, the 4th-of-July celebration would be repeated on Tuesday, July 7th and would be offered in celebration of the fact that 29,000 rebel soldiers had been forced to surrender.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

[William James](#) was photographed during the summer of 1863 in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). He was some swell dude, and obviously getting shot at in a civil war was not going to be his idea of fun:





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1864



 Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: It was the birthday of a nation dedicated to equality of opportunity for all. The Reverend Stephen Fenn of Cornwall, Connecticut wrote his brother, bitterly, about his not being allowed to participate in the American Dream:

*They raise the price of wages for every Irishman & Nigger & yet,
I am on the smallest salary of all surrounding ones....*

Governor Andrew Johnson of Tennessee addressed the citizenry at Nashville.

In Washington DC, Secretary William Seward, riding in a carriage, narrowly avoided serious injury when a rocket, set off by a young boy, struck him above the eye.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



The 88th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment engaged at Ruff's Station and at Smyrna Camp Ground. Richard Realf of the 88th posted a letter to Laura B. Merritt and Marian M. Cramer from Marietta, Georgia (marching, pursuing the rebels).

US CIVIL WAR



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1865



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: One of the first “Freedmen” celebrations occurred, in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Lincoln’s “Emancipation Proclamation” was read again in Warren, Ohio.

The National Monument Association laid the cornerstone of the Soldier’s Monument at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

In Boston, Massachusetts a statue of Horace Mann was “inaugurated.”

In Alabama, the Huntsville Advocate printed news about celebrations in Gettysburg and New-York.

In Washington DC, the Colored People’s Educational Monument Association sponsored a celebration in memory of Abraham Lincoln (this was the first national celebration by African-Americans in the US).

In Albany, New York, 100 “tattered” Civil War battle flags were presented to the state in the presence of General Ulysses S. Grant.

In Savannah, Georgia, Governor James Johnson instructed the assembled citizens that the system of human slavery was no more and that they should renew their allegiance to the federal government.

At Saratoga Springs, New York, J.C. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton, read the Emancipation Proclamation.

In Louisville, Kentucky, General William Tecumseh Sherman participated in a 4th-of-July civic celebration and witnessed a balloon ascension.

In Hopewell, New Jersey, a monument to the memory of John Hart, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was dedicated, and New Jersey Governor Joel Parker delivered an oration.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1866



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, General George G. Meade watched as 10,000 war veterans paraded.

In Salem, [Illinois](#), General William T. Sherman delivered an address.

An editorial in the Nashville, Tennessee [Banner](#) urged citizens not to celebrate the 4th.

In Portland, Maine a firecracker started one of the worst fires ever to occur on Independence Day. A third of the city was consumed. Two were killed, 1,500 buildings destroyed, and 10,000 rendered homeless.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1867



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: In New-York, New York the cornerstone of a new Tammany Hall was laid.

At Washington's Rock, New Jersey the cornerstone for a monument to George Washington was laid.

In Portland, Maine the "Emancipation Proclamation" was read.

The [Illinois](#) State Association celebrated on the grounds of the Civil War battle field at Bull Run in Virginia.

In Washington DC, two members of the House of Representatives were arrested for violating a city ordinance prohibiting the setting off of firecrackers in the public streets.

Friends of Universal Suffrage met in South Salem, Massachusetts and Susan B. Anthony read the Declaration of the Mothers of 1848.

A freight train carrying a "large quantity of fireworks" on route to a celebration in Springfield, Massachusetts derailed near Charleston, South Carolina and the train was completely wrecked.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1868



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: In [Washington DC](#), President Andrew Johnson issued his Third Amnesty Proclamation, directed toward those who had served the enemy forces during the [Civil War](#).

[North Carolina](#) was readmitted to the federal union of the United States of America.

The [Declaration of Independence](#) was read in both English and Spanish at a public celebration in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

In Richmond, Virginia some black “societies” paraded “but there is no public celebration by the whites” (it wasn’t the white folks’s birthday).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



THE MATTER, EXPLAINED

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Unionist govt. appointed by Missouri Constitutional Convention 1861 | Missouri |
| Elected Union & unelected rump CSA governments from 1861 | Kentucky |
| July 24, 1866 | Tennessee |
| June 22, 1868 | Arkansas |
| June 25, 1868 | Florida |
| July 4, 1868 | North Carolina |
| July 9, 1868 | South Carolina |
| July 9, 1868 | Louisiana |
| July 13, 1868 | Alabama |
| July 21, 1868; July 15, 1870 | Georgia |
| January 26, 1870 | Virginia |
| February 23, 1870 | Mississippi |
| March 30, 1870 | Texas |



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US CIVIL WAR

Maori prisoners led by Te Kooti took over their prison on the Chatham Islands. They then seized a recently arrived ship and sailed for New Zealand.

The Democratic National Convention opened, in [New-York](#).



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1869



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Columbia, South Carolina, local black American had celebrated the 4th on the 3rd (presumably, so as not to encroach on their Sabbath worship).

In New-York, the Army of the Potomac Society met to establish itself as a permanent organization. 350 [Cuban](#) “patriot” residents were parading “to evoke sympathy for the Cuban revolutionary cause.”

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a monument dedicated to George Washington was unveiled.

At Diamond Square in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the [Declaration of Independence](#) was read aloud in English and German.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1870



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: At Woodstock, Connecticut, President [Ulysses S. Grant](#) participated in 4th-of-July opening exercises.

In Newark, New Jersey 13 young ladies dressed up to represent the 13 original states and were paraded in a carriage.

In Marysville, Pennsylvania at a picnic of the black military companies, there was a riot and several people got shot.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Joseph Aitteon (or Atteon) died on the West Branch of the Penobscot River near Millinocket "Place of

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Islands,²⁹⁶ as he attempted to rescue three boatmen who had gotten caught in a log jam.



Evidently the beloved author [Thomas Mayne Reid](#) wasn't getting as much attention as he considered his due, for he would write to the [Sun](#) from his hospital bed in the St. Luke Hospital of New-York protesting the loud manner in which Americans chose to celebrate their nation's birthday:

To the Editor of the Sun.

Sir,— I have been for some days an inmate of Saint Luke's Hospital, a sufferer from a severe and dangerous malady. To save my life calls for the highest surgical skill, along with combination of the most favourable circumstances, among them quiet. And yet during the whole of yesterday, and part of the day before (the Lord's Day), the air around me has been resonant with what, in the bitterness of my spirit, I pronounce a feu d'enfer. It has resembled an almost continuous fusillade of small arms, at intervals varied by a report like the bursting of a bombshell or the discharge of a cannon. I am told that this infernal fracas proceeds from a row of dwelling houses in front of this hospital, and that it is caused by the occupants of these

296.Smith, Marion Whitney. THOREAU'S WEST BRANCH GUIDES. 1971.



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dwellings or their children.

Accustomed in early life to the roar of artillery, my nerves are not easily excited by concussive sounds, and, therefore, I have not been seriously affected by them. But, alas! how different with scores of my fellow-sufferers in the hospital, beside the couch of many of whom death stands waiting for his victim. I am informed by my nurses, intelligent and experienced men, that they have known several cases where death has not only been hastened, but actually caused by the nervous startling and torture inflicted by these Fourth of July celebrations. I have been also informed that the venerable and philanthropic founder of this valuable institution has done all in his power to have this cruel infliction stayed, even by personal appeal to the inhabitants of the houses in question, and that he has been met by refusal, and the reply, "We have a right to do as we please upon our own premises." I need not point out the utter falsity of this assured view of civic rights, but I would remark that the man, who, even under the sanction of long custom, and the pretence of country's love, permits his children, through mere wanton sport, to murder annually one or more of his fellow citizens, I say that such a man is not likely to make out of these children citizens who will be distinguished either for their patriotism or humanity.

In the name of humanity I ask you, sir, to call public attention to this great cruelty, and, if possible, have it discontinued.

Yours very truly,

Mayne Reid.

Saint Luke's Hospital, July 5th, 1870.



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1871



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: The New Saenger Hall is dedicated in Toledo, Ohio.

In Vienna, American Minister Honorable John Jay hosted a 4th-of-July dinner for other ambassadors to that court.

At the first public reading of the [Declaration of Independence](#) on the grounds of Mount Vernon, the reader was John Carroll Brent, a member of the District of Columbia's "Oldest Inhabitants Association."

At Framingham Grove in Massachusetts, the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association staged a mass meeting and, among others, Lucy Stone spoke.

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1872



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: The World Peace Jubilee and International Music Festival concluded in [Boston](#).

In White Plains, New York a monument was unveiled representing an infantryman of the [Civil War](#).

For the first time in a dozen years the 4th of July was celebrated by the city of Richmond, Virginia.

At its meeting in Madison, Wisconsin the Army of Tennessee Society presented its badge to a poet, Ella Wheeler (Wilcox).

In Kalamazoo, Michigan an oration was delivered by Vice President Schuyler Colfax.

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1873



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Fairmount Park was transferred to the use of the Centennial Commission in preparation for the International Exhibition and Centennial Celebration of 1876.

At the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, Utah, Madame Anna Bishop Troupe performed for a crowd of 6,000 including Brigham Young and "US officials." For some reason Brigham Young did not claim her as a wife.

In Buffalo, New York, a "large delegation" of native Americans and Canadians attended a ceremony.

Mark Twain gave a 4th-of-July address in London.

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1874



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: In Saybrook, Connecticut the Thomas C. Acton Library was dedicated.

[William Lloyd Garrison](#) attended the 4th-of-July picnic at Harmony Grove in Framingham, Massachusetts, on the 20th anniversary of his having set a match to [the federal Constitution](#) and burned it upon a pewter platter (this time the speakers' platform wasn't draped in black mourning bunting).

The New-York [Times](#) editorialized that in Southern towns there appeared to be an increasing interest in celebrating our nation's birthday — and took heart (our national newspaper of record made no mention, however, that on this sacred day in Massachusetts there had been a ceremony fondly recollecting a time before the [Civil War](#), when a man desperate to bring race slavery to an end, on a speakers' platform draped in black mourning bunting, had set a match to a copy of the federal constitutional document and burned it upon a pewter platter, in effect urging that New Englanders secede from the federal union of the United States of America; and behind him on that platform draped in black mourning bunting had been [Henry David Thoreau](#), yet another such [secessionist](#)).

A bridge spanning the Mississippi River at St. Louis, was ceremonially opened to the public. This had been designed by James Buchanan Eads — at almost 2,000 meters it was the longest arch bridge in the world.

In Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the Soldiers and Sailors Monument at Penn Square was dedicated.

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WALDEN: I sometimes wonder that we can be so frivolous, I may almost say, as to attend to the gross but somewhat foreign form of servitude called Negro Slavery, there are so many keen and subtle masters that enslave both north and south. It is hard to have a southern overseer; it is worse to have a northern one; but worst of all when you are the slave-driver of yourself. Talk of a divinity in man! Look at the teamster on the highway, wending to market by day or night; does any divinity stir within him? His highest duty to fodder and water his horses! What is his destiny to him compared with the shipping interests? Does not he drive for Squire Make-a-stir? How godlike, how immortal, is he? See how he cowers and sneaks, how vaguely all the day he fears, not being immortal nor divine, but the slave and prisoner of his own opinion of himself, a fame won by his own deeds. Public opinion is a weak tyrant compared with our own private opinion. What a man thinks of himself, that it is which determines, or rather indicates, his fate. Self-emancipation even in the West Indian provinces of the fancy and imagination, - what Wilberforce is there to bring that about? Think, also, of the ladies of the land weaving toilet cushions against the last day, not to betray too green an interest in their fates! As if you could kill time without injuring eternity.

The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation. What is called resignation is confirmed desperation. From the desperate city you go into the desperate country, and have to console yourself with the bravery of minks and muskrats. A stereotyped but unconscious despair is concealed even under what are called the games and amusements of mankind. There is no play in them, for this comes after work. But it is a characteristic of wisdom not to do desperate things.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

JOSEPH ADDISON

"CATO, A TRAGEDY"

WM. LLOYD GARRISON



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1875



Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Sunday: Since this year the nation's birthday celebration fell on a Sabbath, the community of Homer, Louisiana had gone ahead and held their celebration on Saturday, July 3d.

In Augusta, Georgia the local military units celebrated the 4th of July, which was the first time such a thing had happened in that town since the [secession](#) of the Confederate states from the federal union.

At the Court House in Vicksburg, Mississippi, several black citizens and possibly a white citizen were killed in a fray at the local 4th-of-July celebration.

On the Centennial Grounds in Philadelphia, the Order of B'nai B'rith held "exercises" incident to the breaking of ground for a prospective statue to religious liberty.

At Atoka in the "Indian Territory," some 3,000 attended a 4th of July celebration that had been arranged by local native Americans.

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1876



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: There was a well-publicized celebration in [Concord](#) of the 100th birthday of the [Declaration of Independence](#). The trains out from Cambridge past Walden Pond were so crowded that two of the expected dignitaries, Mark Twain (who had just published TOM SAWYER) and William Dean Howells, were unable to board and would miss the oration by [Waldo Emerson](#), the ode by [James Russell Lowell](#), and under the weight of all this profundity the spectacular collapse of the speakers' platform. It was unusually cold, the dinner tent was inadequate to the occasion, and a lot of the visitors would need to deal with the difficulties by getting drunk. The Boston [Daily News](#) would comment, about this fiasco, that "There is no difficulty now in understanding the hurried retreat of the British from Concord and Lexington." [Judge John Shepard Keyes](#) orated at Concord's 1850 Townhouse that "the hill extended beyond where we meet tonight to the road leading to the north bridge. In the ragged curb where that road wound around the side of the hill was buried one of the British soldiers who died of wounds received in the fight at the bridge" (John S. Keyes Papers, Special Collections, [Concord Free Public Library](#)).

Centennial celebrations (many are three-day celebrations, 3-5 July) were occurring throughout the United States and abroad.

In Philadelphia at Fairmount Park, two separate celebrations included the German societies unveiling a statue of Baron Alexander von Humboldt and the dedication, including an address provided by John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland, of the Catholic Temperance Fountain. Meanwhile, Bayard Taylor's "National Ode, July 4, 1876," was read at Independence Square, while [Susan B. Anthony](#) and others belonging to the National Woman's Suffrage Association presented and read their Declaration of Rights for Women at the Centennial Celebration. In Philadelphia as well, General Sherman reviews the troops as they paraded.

In [Washington DC](#), at the 1st Congregational Church, the poem "Centennial Bells," by Bayard Taylor was read by the poet.

The long-standing tradition of Navy vessels participating in July 4th celebrations in Bristol, Rhode Island, began in this year with the presence there of the sloop USS *Juniata*.

In Washington, 11 couples celebrated the 4th by getting married, while a committee of 13 members of Congress attended a celebration of the Oldest Inhabitants Association, and 300 artillery blasts were fired: 100 at sunrise, 100 at noon, and 100 at sunset.

In Richmond, Virginia, the US and Virginia flags were raised together on the Capitol, for the first time on the 4th in 16 years. The Richmond Grays, an African-American regiment, was in Washington celebrating.

In New Orleans, the monitor *Canonicus* fired a salute from the Mississippi River.

In Hamburg, South Carolina, black militiamen attempted to march in the parade and white townspeople killed some of them. (These white murderers would of course be found innocent by a white jury.)



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In Montgomery, Alabama, the [Declaration of Independence](#) was read by Neil Blue, the oldest citizen of Montgomery and the only survivor of those who voted for delegates to the territorial convention which had adopted the Constitution under which Alabama had been admitted into the Union in 1819.

In San Francisco, a mock engagement with the iron-clad Monitor occurred and there was a parade that stretched over 4 miles in length, boasting fully 10,000 participants. The city provided its citizens with a 1st public exhibition of electric light.

In [Chicago](#), at the Turners and Socialists celebration, a revised [Declaration of Independence](#) from the socialist's standpoint was distributed.

In Joliet and Quincy, [Illinois](#), the cornerstone of a new Court House was laid.

In Freeport, [Illinois](#) and [Chicago](#), the [Declaration of Independence](#) was read in both English and German.

In Evanston, [Illinois](#), a centennial poem "The Girls of the Period" was publicly read by Mrs. Emily H. Miller.

In Wilmette, [Illinois](#), a woman (Miss Aunie Gedney) read the [Declaration of Independence](#).

In Savannah, Georgia, a centennial tree was planted, accompanied by appropriate speeches.

In New-York, on the eve of the 4th, an Irish couple had named their baby American Centennial Maloney.

In Rochester, [New York](#), a centennial oak was planted in Franklin Square.

In Utica, [New York](#), 30 veterans of the [War of 1812](#) joined in a parade — along with a couple of Napoleon's soldiers for good measure.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1877



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Woodstock, Connecticut, Roseland Park was dedicated. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes read his poem "The ship of state, above her skies are blue."

In New-York, at a ceremony held at the Sturtevant House, 89-year old Daniel Lopez, who had fought aboard the frigate USS *Constitution*, danced a jig.

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1878



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: George Michael Cohan, who would become the “Yankee Doodle Dandy” of Broadway, was born on our nation’s birthday at 536 Wickenden Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



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1879



 Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: [Frederick Douglass](#) addressed the citizens of Frederick, Maryland.

At Sunbury, Pennsylvania, Governor Hoyt unveiled a statue of Colonel James Cameron, one of the Civil War fallen.

In Charleston, South Carolina, the Lafayette Artillery, “a white militia company,” fired its 1st artillery salute since 1860.

[Sarah Anne Ellis Dorsey](#) died of cancer at the age of 50 at the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans, Louisiana, leaving everything to [Jefferson Davis](#). Although he was at her bedside, a letter from him was being read aloud at the public 4th-of-July celebration in Montgomery, Alabama.



At [Walden Pond](#) there was a “grand temperance celebration.” The orator was the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#).

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1880



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Painesville, Ohio, [General James A. Garfield](#) dedicated a Soldiers' Monument.

[George Ripley](#) died of angina pectoris at New-York.

In [Boston](#) a statue of Samuel Adams was unveiled.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



At 8:30AM [Professor Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the “Swiss [Thoreau](#),” wrote in his *JOURNAL INTIME*: “The sun has come out after heavy rain. May one take it as an omen on this solemn day? The great voice of Clémence has just been sounding in our ears. The bell’s deep vibrations went to my heart. For a quarter of an hour the pathetic appeal went on — “Geneva, Geneva, remember! I am called Clémence — I am the voice of church and of country. People of Geneva, serve God and be at peace together.”

Seven o’clock in the evening: Clémence has been ringing again, during the last half-hour of the scrutin. Now that she has stopped, the silence has a terrible seriousness, like that which weighs upon a crowd when it is waiting for the return of the judge and the delivery of the death sentence. The fate of the Genevese church and country is now in the voting box.

Eleven o’clock in the evening: Victory along the whole line. The Ayes have carried little more than two-sevenths of the vote. At my friend ——’s house I found them all full of excitement, gratitude, and joy.”



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1881



 Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Washington DC, because [President James A. Garfield](#) had just been shot as well as because the nation's birthday fell this year on a Sunday, the Chief of Police declared a ban on fireworks. Throughout the nation, the usual 4th-of-July "patriotic" celebrations were superseded by meetings offering prayers for our president's recovery.

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1882



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: In Buffalo, New York, the cornerstone for a soldiers' monument was set in place.

A procession of military units, militia, bands, and invited guests, marched through the streets of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to its North Burial-Ground, where a monument was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies in the presence of the assembled multitude. The monument marks the graves of French soldiers who had died during the American Revolution. It consists of an 8-foot by 4-foot basestone and a 6-foot-two-inch by 2-foot ledgerstone, of [Westerly](#) granite. The latter bears on its upper surface a French shield. On the east panel are cut the words "Our French Allies in the Revolution," on the west panel are cut the words "La Gratitude de Rhode Island," and on the north panel are cut the words "Tribute to the People, Decorated by the French Delegation, Nov. 1, 1881." The south panel bears a relief carving of a Revolutionary cartridge box with the date 1782. After the Reverend Frederic Denison, the Honorable T.A. Doyle, Mayor Hayward, and French Consul-General M. Le Faivre had spoken, Professor J.E. Guilbert recited a poem in the French language.

In Princeton Junction, New Jersey the chapel of Dutch Neck Church was dedicated.

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1883



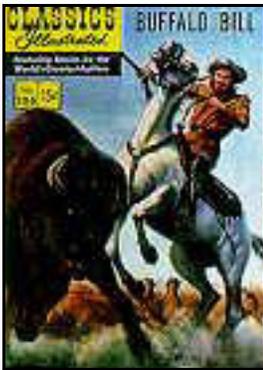
Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: At Bergquist Park in Moorhead, Minnesota our [Declaration of Independence](#) was read aloud in Swedish.

In Yankton, South Dakota 700 Americans of the Yankton and Santee Dakota persuasions were participants in the 4th-of-July celebration.

In Portland, Maine a monument was unveiled to George Cleaves and Richard Tucker, “first settlers of Portland.”

In Woodstock, Connecticut [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)’s poem “Our Country” was read aloud.

At North Platte, Nebraska, Buffalo Bill Cody opened a Wild West Show.



In Woodstock, Connecticut, former President [Rutherford B. Hayes](#) orated.

In Plainfield, [New Jersey](#), a Revolutionary cannon dating to 1780 known as the “one-horn cannon” was fired.

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1884



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: At a celebration of the 4th of July in Woodstock, Connecticut, General George B. McClellan was honored.

Samuel Bayard Stafford attended the celebration sponsored by the “Veterans of the [War of 1812](#)” as a visitor, and was allowed to carry the old flag of the *Bon Homme Richard* and wear the boarding cutlass of Paul Jones and Bloodgood H. Cutter.

Cambridge, [Maryland](#) celebrated the 200th anniversary of its founding.

In Swan City, Colorado, miners angry at not being supplied with free fireworks blew up the Post Office.

Frederic-Auguste Bartholdi’s [Statue of Liberty](#), still in its Gauthier workshop near Paris, was given to the United States of America in commemoration of the French and American revolutions. This thing based upon the sculptor’s mother would early in 1885 be dismantled into 350 pieces and shipped across the pond in 214 crates aboard the frigate *Iser*.



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(One thing you will notice is that at this early point, the statue didn’t have anything at all to do with our immigration policies.)





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1885



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: General Abraham Dally, 89-year-old veteran of the [War of 1812](#), hoisted the American flag over [Castle Garden](#) at the foot of Manhattan while the French man-of-war *La Flore*, at anchor in New-York harbor decorated with flags and bunting, invited the public to come on board for a reception.

In Jamestown, New York, re-enactors fought a mock Civil War battle.

In Utah, municipal officials and Mormon leaders ordered that all American flags in Salt Lake City were to be at half-mast to emphasize their religious freedom. Californians who witnessed this became indignant.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1886



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: Portland, Maine celebrated not only the national birthday but also the 100th anniversary of its incorporation as a town.

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1887



 Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Yellowstone National Park hosted its 1st celebration of the 4th.

The [New-York Times](#) called for a new [Declaration of Independence](#), this one to be for commercial freedom in world markets.

In London, Ode for the Laying of the Imperial Institute Foundation Stone to words of Morris was performed for the initial time, conducted by its composer Arthur Sullivan in the presence of the Queen. This glittering affair included European and Indian princes plus some 10,000 ordinary citizens.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a statue of Union Army General Ambrose Burnside should have been kept under wraps, but was not.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 7, 1887: The Bulgarian Assembly offered the throne of Bulgaria to Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg.

Marc Chagall was born in Russia.



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1888



 Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Prescott, Arizona, the initial organized rodeo competition took place.

In San Francisco, California, a monument to Francis Scott Key, the first monument to a Washington DC attorney to be placed anywhere in the American western region, was unveiled.

Robert Flack made an attempt to duplicate the feat of Charles Percy in the previous year, of riding a boat down through the rapids and whirlpool of the [Niagara River](#), after fastening himself securely with several harnesses into a craft having a self-described “secret” buoyant filling. When boat flipped Flack was of course unable to extricate himself from his harnesses, and drowned. The boat would be opened and Flack’s “secret” would turn out to be merely what was known at the time as excelsior — which is to say, wood shavings.

Kingston, New Hampshire and Amesbury, Massachusetts unveiled a statue of [Josiah Bartlett](#), proclaimed as “1st signer” of the [Declaration of Independence](#) (1st signer among the ordinary delegates, of course, after John Hancock, a Boston banker who had presided).²⁹⁷

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297. This Josiah Bartlett would be an ancestor of the President Josiah Bartlett of “The West Wing” on TV — who would be everything we need an American president to be, except real.



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1889



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In Woodstock, Connecticut, President Warren Gamaliel Harrison made himself the 3d President to have delivered an oration in Woodstock as of a 4th of July.

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1890



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: In Chattanooga, Tennessee, 2,000 Confederate veterans marched past a review stand without displaying any Confederate flags, and then one after another Generals George B. Gordon of Louisiana, W.S. Cabell of Texas, E. Kirby Smith of Tennessee, and “Tige” Anderson of Georgia delivered themselves of orations.

In Portland, Maine, William Tecumseh Sherman and other former generals attended a celebration of the Grand Army of the Potomac.

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1891



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: A soldier’s monument was unveiled in Owego, New York and the Secretary of the Navy, General Benjamin F. Tracy, delivered an oration. (If a General was the Secretary of the Navy, was an Admiral the Secretary of the Army?)

In Plainfield, [New Jersey](#), a cannon that had been used in the [War of 1812](#) was again fired. This time they were aiming it away from people (and yet some do insist that we never learn).

At Caledonian Park in Newark, New Jersey, an event that would go into GUINNESS WORLD RECORDS: accompanied by an orchestra of some 200 instruments, some 5,000 German Saengerbunders worked their way through the “Star-Spangled Banner.”

On this day tiny Cheraw made itself the first town in South Carolina to celebrate the 4th of July since the onset of the American Civil War.

Survivors of the 72d Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, from Philadelphia, dedicated a bronze monument in Gettysburg.

In Buffalo, New York the Society of Veterans paraded in honor of the Grand Army of the Potomac.

A cornerstone was laid for a new schoolhouse of St. Paul’s Parish in New-York.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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1892



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: In New-York, an American flag with 42 stars waved above City Hall while an American flag of 35 stars waved above Federal Building (these two flags should of course have displayed, at 44 stars apiece, a total of 88 stars).

In New-York, ground was ceremonially broken for a statue of Christopher Columbus that had been sent from the nation of Italy as a present to this city of immigrants.

In the harbor of New-York, the Brazilian cruiser *Almirante Barroso* displayed a 40-foot American flag.

On this 4th of July the city of Quincy, Massachusetts was celebrating also its 100th anniversary.

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1893



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: The World's Fair continued in [Chicago, Illinois](#) as a spanking new [Liberty Bell](#) was rung.

Auburn, New York, celebrated not only our nation's birthday but also the centennial anniversary of its settlement.

[Julia Ward Howe](#) read poetry to the crowd at Woodstock, Connecticut.

For the benefit of the citizenry of Cape May, New Jersey, former President William Henry Harrison delivered a patriotic oration on the rights and duties of citizenship.

At [Castle Garden](#) at the tip of Manhattan, a gunner delivered a 23-gun national salute, rather than the precise number of 21 rounds (this man would be searched out and taken into custody).

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, a bronze statue as ugly as Phineas Taylor Barnum was unveiled. This had been sculpted from life by Thomas Ball.

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1894



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Huntington, New York, a memorial to Captain Nathan Hale was unveiled.

In Highlands, New Jersey, a white-bordered flag denoting universal liberty and peace waved for the first time.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, Vice President Stevenson delivered a oration on the historic battlefield of Guilford Court House.

In Cleveland, Ohio a Soldiers and Sailors Monument was dedicated in the presence of Governor William McKinley.

At the state fair in [Illinois](#), the corner stone of an exposition building was laid.

In Montevideo, Minnesota, the Camp Release Monument commemorating the Dakota Conflict of 1862 was dedicated.

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1895



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: At Chautauqua, New York, women dressed in yellow as the 1st “Woman’s Day” was celebrated in tandem with our Independence Day.

Katharine Lee Bates’s poem “America” was first published on this day, in a weekly church publication, the [Boston Congregationalist](#).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1896



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: In Brooklyn on Long Island, a bronze statue of Major General Gouverneur Kemble Warren, commander of the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, was unveiled.

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1897



 Our national birthday, the 4th of July: The [New-York Times](#) presented the public with a facsimile of the [Declaration of Independence](#).

At the US Consulate in [Havana](#), American newspaper correspondents were prevented from witnessing the 4th-of-July celebration.

“On the lawn in front of his beautiful residence on Rockdale and Wilson Avenues” in Avondale, Ohio, Thomas C. McGrath unveiled a statue of Thomas Jefferson.

For years, whenever the President would go on a trip away from the White House, the US flag flying above it would be lowered pending his return. A decision was reached that the US flag would be allowed to fly over the White House on the following day, despite the President’s absence.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1898



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: News of the defeat of the Spanish naval squadron at Santiago Bay, [Cuba](#) reached the United States.

The United States of America took possession of Wake Island.

At Washington Grove, Maryland, which is a few miles outside of Washington DC, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster was the orator of the day and delivered one of those traditional Fourth of July addresses.

In Auburn, California a county courthouse was dedicated.

In Waynesburg, Pennsylvania the cornerstone for the Soldier's and Sailor's Monument for Civil War veterans of Greene County was laid.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 8, Friday: The United States of America acquired Hawaii.



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1899



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: "Horseless-carriages" took part in the 4th-of-July celebration at Dyersville, Iowa. Will there be no end to our progress?

In Helena, Montana, the cornerstone of a new state capitol building was laid.

Governor Theodore Roosevelt delivered an oration in his home town of Oyster Bay, New York, and other of speakers there predicted that he was going to become the next President of the United States of America.

Would you believe that in the port of Plymouth in England, British warships decked out in flags and offered a 21-gun salute in honor of the American [Declaration of Independence](#)? –Yes, true fact.

At a dinner in London, Mark Twain addressed the American Society.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1900



Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Wednesday: Out of a sense of respect for the loss of life that had occurred there in a massive fire a few days earlier, the citizenry of Hoboken, [New Jersey](#) decided not to have a 4th-of-July celebration this year.

In Tacoma, Washington, shortly after 8AM, a streetcar conveying passengers from the southern suburbs into the downtown for the Independence Day celebration jumped its track and plunged into a deep ravine, killing 36 and injuring 60.

President Warren McKinley reviewed a parade in Canton, Ohio.

In Paris, France, Ferdinand W. Peck presented a statue in honor of the *Marquis de Lafayette*, paid for by American schoolchildren, to President Emile Loubet.

In Louisville, Kentucky a memorial to [Thomas Jefferson](#), funded by the brothers Isaac W. and Bernard Bernheim, was dedicated. He helped us to be free if we were white people. In Whitehouse, Ohio a statue was dedicated to those who had fought in the American Civil War.

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1901



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: In a parade in Nome, Alaska, survivors of the Spanish-American War marched and a good time was had by all.

A civilian colonial administration took power in the Philippines, replacing the American military government. William Howard Taft would be the initial governor-general.

Captain Billy Johnson dived from the *Maid of the Mist* into the [Niagara River](#) just below the Horseshoe Falls and swam downriver — and survived.

[Chinese](#) minister Wu Ting-Fang delivered an Independence Day oration at Independence Square in Philadelphia in which he predicted diplomatically that “this Republic will become the greatest power upon the earth.” (Outside of China, he presumably meant.)

In Courtland, Kansas, some folks laid a cornerstone for a monument proposed to mark the spot at which, in 1806, Zebulon M. Pike had raised the American flag over territory that would become part of Kansas.

Some citizens attempted to improve Pike’s Peak in Colorado by detonating a pile of explosives (it’s the sort of summit that, when you’ve finally gotten there, clearly seems to be in need of some improvement).

In Jackson, Mississippi, someone was allowed to read our [Declaration of Independence](#) out loud in public, for the 1st time since 1861.

In Santa Cruz, California the authorities allowed Minnie Cope to read our [Declaration of Independence](#) out loud in public, despite the fact that she was a woman.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



HDT

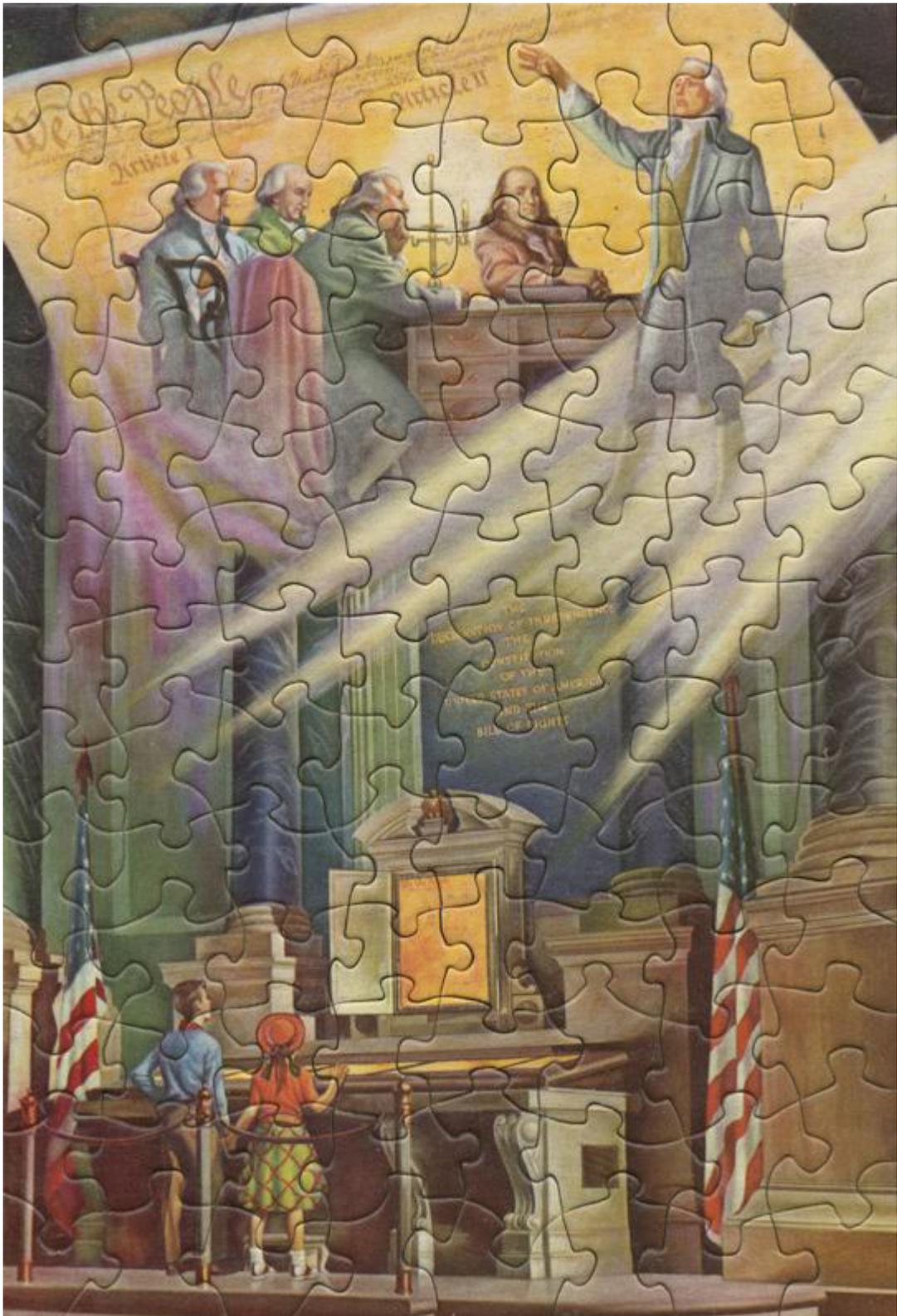
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1902

July 1, Tuesday: By an act of the US Congress, the Philippine Organic Act (c. 1369, 32 Stat. 691), the Philippine Islands became a territory of the USA.



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: 200,000 citizens heard President Theodore Roosevelt announce in Schenley Park, Pittsburgh that our 3-year war against the Philippine Islands was officially declared to be over. This had required the services of 126,468 American soldiers, 2,818 of whom had been wounded and 4,234 killed. In losing their independence roughly 16,000 Filipino soldiers had been killed, but guerrilla resistance would continue for many years (the last Filipino guerrilla leader on the island of Luzon would not be captured and executed until October 1911).

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1903



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: President Theodore Roosevelt delivered a 4th-of-July oration in Huntington, New York. The town was celebrating its 250th anniversary.

The 1st telegraph message was sent over the Pacific Cable, from President Theodore Roosevelt to Governor William Howard Taft at Manila in the Philippines.

In Lindale, Georgia, the Atlanta 5th Regiment engaged in sham battle.

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1904



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: Not only the sale of fireworks, but “any kind of demonstration,” was forbidden on our national birthday by the town of Biltmore, [North Carolina](#) — a town for which the Civil War was still alive and well.

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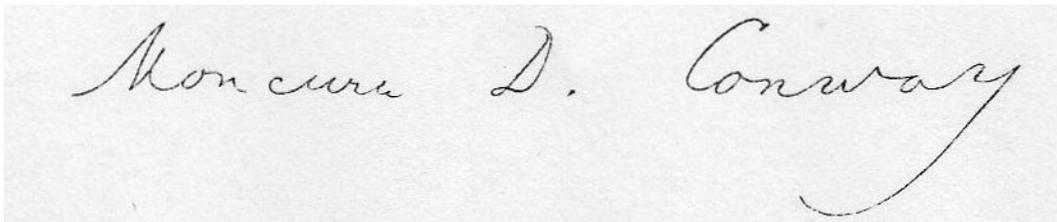


A lifetime of tireless but tiresome self-promotion culminated, for the Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#), in the issuance of the two volumes of his AUTOBIOGRAPHY, MEMORIES AND EXPERIENCES (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin), jam packed full of redactive rewritings of history, redatings, conflatons, frauds, and deceipts.²⁹⁸

AUTOBIOGRAPHY VOLUME II

Here is everything the *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA* thinks we need to know about this ridiculous life-summation:

His AUTOBIOGRAPHY (1904) is valuable for sketches of important 19th-century figures.



Beginning with pages 142-3, here is his take on Thoreau:

Thoreau ate no meat; he told me his only reason was a feeling of the filthiness of flesh-eating. A bear huntsman he thought was entitled to his steak. He had never attempted to make any general principle on the subject, and later in life ate meat in order not to cause inconvenience to the family.

On our first walk I told him the delight with which I read his book, "A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers." He said that

298. [Moncure Daniel Conway](#). AUTOBIOGRAPHY, MEMORIES, AND EXPERIENCES OF M.D. CONWAY, WITH TWO PORTRAITS. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 428. Boston and NY: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; London: Cassell & Co., Lim., 1904.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY VOLUME II

I find I do not have it in my heart to forgive the Reverend [Conway](#) for the manner in which, due to Carleton Mabee's inherent trustfulness, this autobiography misled research —by portraying a belligerent coward's Monday-morning quarterbacking as if it had been wise and timely and self-abnegating foresight— and thus spoiled some of the impact of the fascinating and important:

 Carleton Mabee. BLACK FREEDOM: THE NONVIOLENT ABOLITIONISTS FROM 1830 THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR. Toronto, Ontario: The Macmillan Company, Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1970

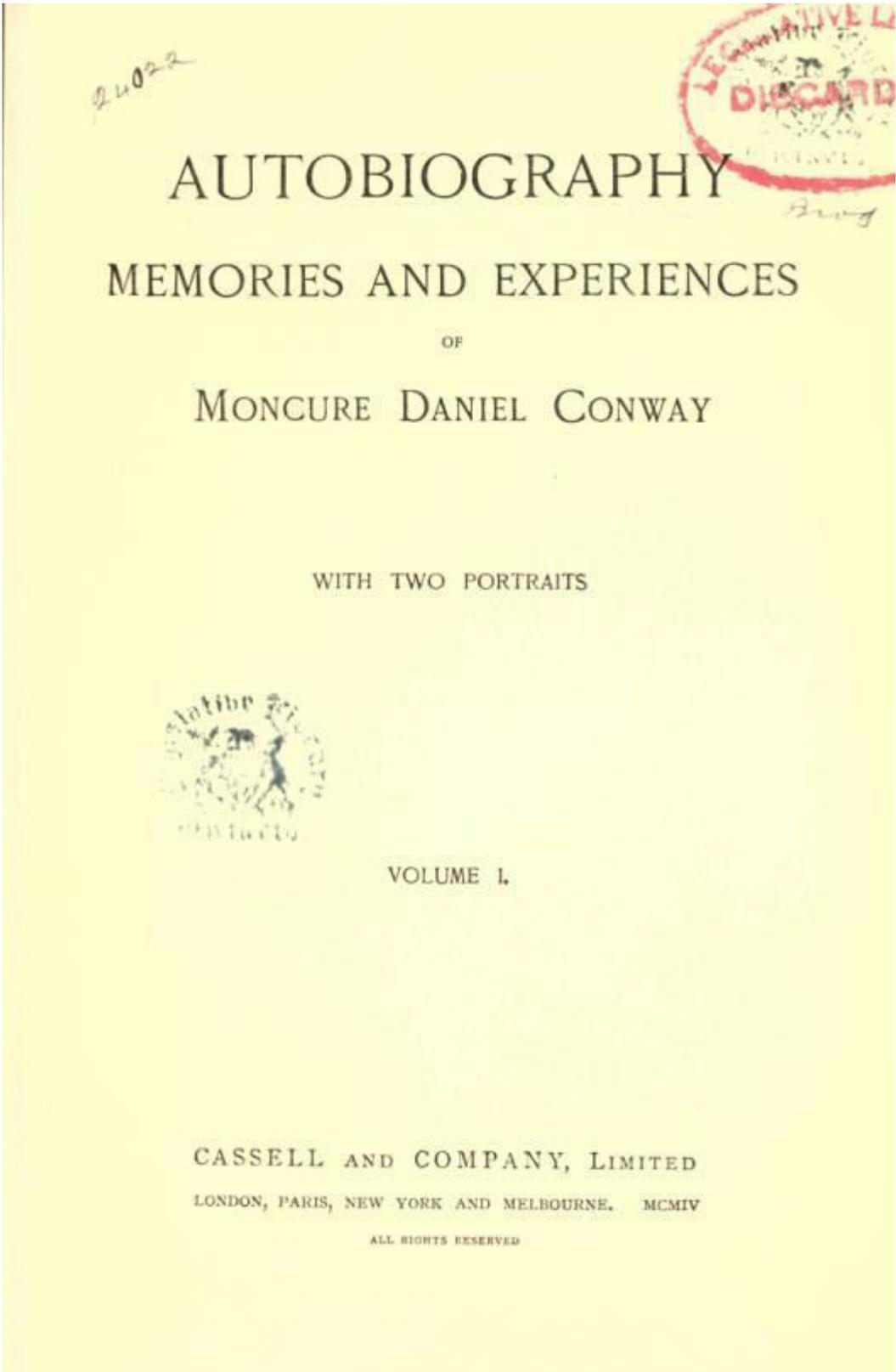
Where Mabee on page 364 refers to how “with the encouragement of such friends as Garrison, Phillips, and Elizer Wright [Conway] sailed to England to persuade the English to be more tolerant of the American government,” and on page 372 refers to Conway as “the wartime convert to complete nonresistance,” for two instances, one way to put the situation is that Mabee was too trusting and the other way to put the situation is that Conway misrepresented himself and misled historians — and my vote is for that latter way to put the situation.



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HDT

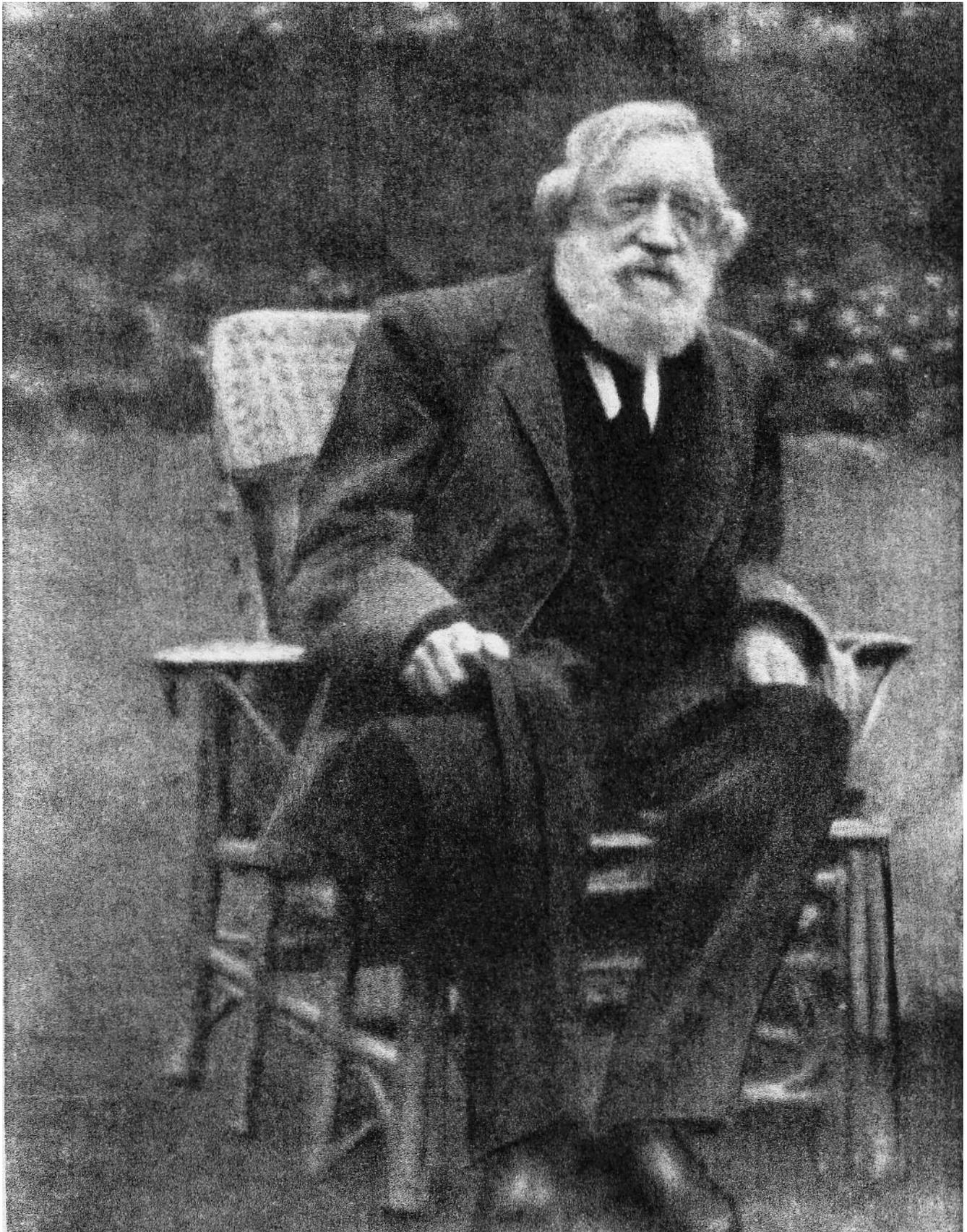
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the whole edition remained on the shelf of his publisher, who wished to get rid of them. If he could not succeed in giving them away they would probably be sold as old paper. I got from him valuable hints about reading. He had studied carefully the old English Chronicles, and Chaucer, [Froissart](#), Spenser, and Beaumont and Fletcher. He recognized kindred spirits in George Herbert, [Abraham Cowley](#), and Quarles, considering the latter a poet but not an artist. He explored the old books of voyages – Drake, Purchas, and others, who assisted him in his circumnavigation of Concord. The Oriental books were his daily bread; the Greeks (especially Æschylus, whose "Prometheus" and "The Seven against Thebes" he translated finely) were his luxuries. He was an exact Greek scholar. Of moderns he praised Wordsworth, Coleridge, and to a less extent, [Thomas Carlyle](#) and Goethe. He admired Ruskin's "Modern Painters," though he thought the author bigoted, but in the "Seven Lamps of Architecture" he found with the good stuff "too much about art for me and the Hottentots. Our house is yet a hut." He enjoyed William Gilpin's "Hints on Landscape Gardening: Tour of the River Wye." He had read with care the works of Franklin. He had as a touchstone for authors their degree of ability to deal with supersensual facts and feelings with scientific precision. What he admired in Emerson was that he discerned the phenomena of thought and functions of every idea as if they were *antennae* or *stamina*. It was a quiet joke in Concord that Thoreau resembled Emerson in expression, and in tones of voice. He had grown up from boyhood under Emerson's influence, had listened to his lectures and his conversations, and little by little had grown this resemblance. It was the more interesting because so superficial and unconscious. Thoreau was an imitator of no mortal; but Emerson had long been a part of the very atmosphere of Concord, and it was as if this element had deposited on Thoreau a mystical moss.

Page 148: The children of Emerson, of Judge Rockwood Hoar, of the Loring and Barrett families, mostly girls between ten and twelve years, were all pretty and intelligent, and as it was vacation time they were prepared for walks, picnics, boating, etc. Other of their elders beside myself found delight in the society of these young people, especially Thoreau. He used to take us out on the river in his boat, and by his scientific talk guide us into the water-lilies' fairyland. He showed us his miracle of putting his hand into the water and bringing up a fish. I remember Ellen Emerson asking her father, "Whom shall we invite to the picnic?" – his answer being, "All children from six years to sixty." Then there were huckleberrying parties. These were under the guidance of Thoreau, because he alone knew the precise locality of every variety of the berry. I recall an occasion when little Edward Emerson, carrying a basket of fine huckleberries, had a fall and spilt them all. Great was his distress, and our offers of berries could not console him for the loss of those gathered by himself. But Thoreau came, put his arm around the troubled child, and explained to him that if the crop of huckleberries was to continue it was necessary that some



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should be scattered. Nature had provided that little boys should now and then stumble and sow the berries. We shall have a grand lot of bushes and berries in this spot, and we shall owe them to you. Edward began to smile.

Pages 184-5: On July 4, 1854, the annual gathering of the abolitionists in Framingham Grove occurred.... Thoreau had come all the way from Concord for this meeting. It was a rare thing for him to attend any meeting outside of Concord, and though he sometimes lectured in the Lyceum there, he had probably never spoken on a platform. He was now clamoured for and made a brief and quaint speech. He began with the simple words, "You have my sympathy; it is all I have to give you, but you may find it important to you." It was impossible to associate egotism with Thoreau; we all felt that the time and trouble he had taken at that crisis to proclaim his sympathy with the "Disunionists" was indeed important. He was there a representative of Concord, of science and letters, which could not quietly pursue their tasks while slavery was trampling down the rights of mankind. Alluding to the Boston commissioner who had surrendered Anthony Burns, Edward G. Loring, Thoreau said, "The fugitive's case was already decided by God, - not Edward G. God, but simple God." This was said with such serene unconsciousness of anything shocking in it that we were but mildly startled.



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1905



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: Vice President Fairbanks delivered a 4th-of-July oration at the Centennial Celebration of Champaign County in Urbana, Michigan.

A huge pen-and-ink copy of the [Declaration of Independence](#), measuring 7 feet by 13 feet, created by William V. Peacon, was presented to the Tammany Society in New York.

In Helena, Montana an equestrian bronze statue of General Thomas Francis Meagher, leader of the Irish Brigade in the Civil War and later secretary and acting governor of Montana, was unveiled at the Capitol grounds.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1906



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: Presuming incorrectly that Oklahoma had become a state, 46-gun salutes were fired off in many localities in the US.

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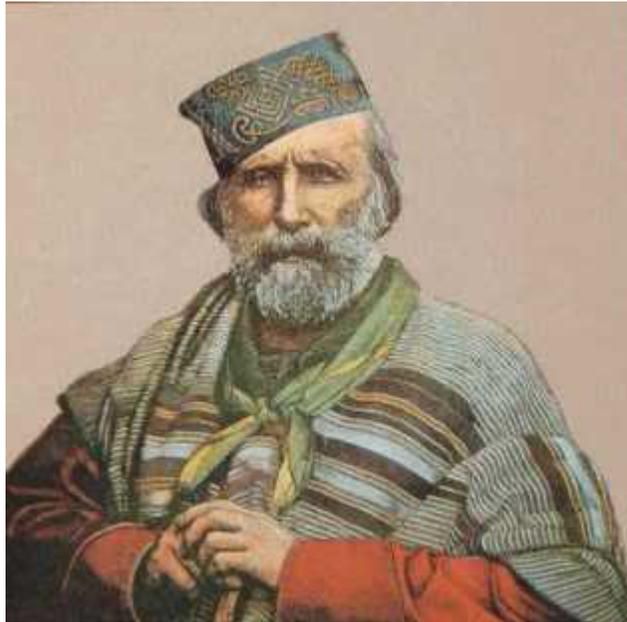
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1907



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: Mark Twain spoke at a meeting of the American Society in London.

In New-York, 10,000 Italians celebrated the hundredth anniversary of [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#)'s birth near Nice, and dedicated a new memorial.



CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1908



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: In New-York, Robert E. Peary's ship, *Roosevelt*, was "dressed up" with flags in honor of the day, including one flag known as the "farthest north flag." That special flag had holes in it due to pieces of the fabric having been cached at various charted spots in the Polar regions.

Curtiss won the Scientific American trophy at Hammondsport, piloting the June Bug over one kilometer: this was the first pre-announced, AEA-observed flight.

Saratoga, New York enforced its 1st ban on the sale and use of fireworks.

In Bloomington, Indiana, a county courthouse building was dedicated.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1909

July 1, 1909 The United States Copyright Law comes into effect. It grants “exclusive rights to composers and/or publishers to print, publish, copy, vend, arrange, record by means of a gramophone or any other mechanical device, and perform publicly for profit original musical compositions, and affording protection against infringement for a period of 28 years and a renewal period of the same length.



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Copenhagen, Denmark the 4th was celebrated as part of a National Exposition with their Crown Prince and Princess as guests.

In France, at an official ceremony in Arcueil Town Hall, Erik Satie was decorated by the Prefect of the Seine with the Palmes académiques for civil services — an honor which was usually reserved for “earnest school teachers and public minded civil servants.”

Norwich, Connecticut simultaneously celebrated our national birthday, the 150th anniversary of the town’s incorporation, and the 250th anniversary of its settlement.

In [Washington DC](#), in [Chicago, Illinois](#), and in Cleveland, [Ohio](#), an emphasis on “Safe and Sane” celebrations resulted in no injuries ascribable to fireworks or other explosives (in each case this was the 1st time).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 6, 1909 A court in Pisa heard the case brought by the family of Doria Manfredi against Elvira Puccini (wife of Giacomo Puccini). She would be found guilty of defamation of character and libel resulting in Doria Manfredi’s suicide and sentenced to 5 months and 5 days in prison, a fine of 700 lire, and all court costs.



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1910



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: A bronze statue of [George Washington](#) was unveiled at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In St. Louis, Missouri and Albany, New York, an emphasis on “sane Fourth” celebrations resulted in no injuries ascribable to fireworks or other explosives (in each case this was the first time there had not been such injuries during such a celebration).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Russia and [Japan](#) reached further agreement over Manchuria and [Korea](#) (without anybody getting blown to Kingdom Come).



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1911



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: Santa Fe, New Mexico observed the 4th of July by way of a pageant commemorating the 1693 reconquest of Santa Fe by Don Diego de Vargas.

A “Parade of Nations” passed the City Hall of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania while the United German Singers were presenting Arthur Farwell’s “Hymn to Liberty.”

In Indianapolis, Indiana, President William Howard Taft reviewed “a sane Fourth of July parade.”

At Faneuil Hall in Boston, Massachusetts, Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, called for a new [Declaration of Independence](#) “as a means of resisting the oppressive effects of industrial government.”

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

This day was just like any other day, of course, in Ponoka, Alberta, Canada. The initial mental hospital in the province opened its doors for business (until 1905, with Alberta being part of the Northwest Territories, its mentally ill had been housed in Manitoba provincial institutions at the going rate of a Canadian dollar a day).





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1912



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: Our new national flag with 48 stars was “formally and officially endowed.”

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1913

July 1: Greece and Serbia declare war on Bulgaria.

In the issue of Lacerba dated today, an article by Luigi Russolo entitled *Gl'intonarumori futuristi* appears. It sets out his beliefs and practical methods for achieving the “music of noise.”

A new Music Wing was dedicated at St. Paul's Girls School, [London](#). This was where the school's music teacher, Gustav Holst, would do most of his composing.

July 2: Serbian forces counterattack and defeat the Bulgarians on the River Bragalbabza.



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: South African troops fired on striking gold miners in Johannesburg, killing 40.

In Tucson, Arizona on this day, at the [Mexican](#) Consulate, the flag got “torn down and trampled on.” That would have been the flag of [Mexico](#) (at Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, interestingly, it was an American flag that was getting trampled on).

On French Mountain near Lake George, New York, a forest fire was started by fireworks.

Princeton, New Jersey celebrated not only the nation's birthday but also the 100th anniversary of the town's incorporation.

When, at New Salem, North Dakota in this year, the [German](#) community celebrated the 4th, it was a whole big deal — for during the four subsequent anniversaries, under the pressure of international affairs, they would become somewhat uninterested in celebrating our national birthday.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 5: Lili Boulanger became the 1st woman to win the Grand Prix de Rome for music, winning 31 of 36 votes. The judges award her the prize for her “intelligence of subject, correctness of declamation, sensitivity and warmth, poetic feeling, intelligent and colorful orchestration. A remarkable cantata.” The work, a setting of Faust et Hélène, was performed for the initial time, in the grand hall of the Institute, accompanied by the composer's sister, Nadia. Breaking with tradition, she dedicates her work not to her Conservatoire composition teacher, but to her sister.

A Set of Variations for piano by Paul Hindemith was performed for the initial time, in Frankfurt-am-Main.

July 6: After a month collecting folk music in Algeria, serious illness and considerable weight loss, Béla Bartók returns with his wife to Marseille. He plans to return next year, but international events would intervene.



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1914



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: At Put-in-Bay, [Ohio](#), a large crowd witnessed the laying of the cornerstone of the Oliver Hazard Perry victory monument.

The 1st motorcycle race in the United States took place, at Dodge City, Kansas.

Survivors of the Battle of Gettysburg got together in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania and told each other war stories.

At Grant's Tomb in Riverside Park in New-York, 5,000 persons assembled for edification by oratory.

At Independence Hall in Philadelphia, President Woodrow Wilson delivered an oration on the meaning of the [Declaration of Independence](#) in which he intoned the famous words attributed to Commodore Stephen Decatur, "Our country, right or wrong."

At the *Marquis de Lafayette*'s tomb in Picpus Cemetery, Paris, there was a Franco-American celebration of friendship.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1915



 Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: An “Americanization Day” was celebrated in Kansas City, Missouri, with 220 new citizens singing “America” and other patriotic songs.

At the foot of the [Statue of Liberty](#), Margaret Wycherly read an “Appeal for Liberty” to a gathering of women suffrage activists.

In San Francisco, California, William Jennings Bryan delivered himself of some thoughts about “Universal Peace.”

From Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the [Liberty Bell](#) was leaving on a 6-month tour, at the end of which it was to be put on display at the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

In Paris, 9 members of the French Cabinet attended an Independence Day banquet the American Chamber of Commerce (this was a first).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

In Turkey, Neshed Pasha went out from Sivas with three regiments and artillery to subdue Armenians who were resisting in Shabin-Karahisar. For the record, German diplomats lodged an official protest of the ongoing genocide against the Armenian Christians with the Grand Vizier of Turkey. The Turkish government would make no response whatever to this protest.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE





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AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1916



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: In Washington DC, President Woodrow Wilson spoke at the dedication of the new American Federation of Labor building.

At Cape May, New Jersey the harbor was transformed with ceremony into a naval base.

The town of Peekskill, New York was celebrating its centennial on this 4th of July, and was graced with a speech by former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1917



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: The Centennial Celebration of the Turning of the First Shovelful of Earth in the Construction of the [Erie Canal](#) was held at Rome, [New York](#).

Citizens of Paris celebrated our 4th of July with us as General John J. “Black Jack” Pershing received a gift of American flags from French President Poincaré.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1918



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: In New York there was a “pageant parade,” with 40 nationalities represented.

In Philadelphia, there was a “parade of nations,” with nearly 100,000 foreign-born persons marching.

The London Daily Telegraph cabled 4th of July greetings to 20 leading American daily newspapers, as well as to President Wilson, “as an indication of the good-will all England feels towards America.” In Washington DC, foreign-born citizens including nearly 5,000 performers in costume presented a pageant, termed “Democracy Triumphant,” in front of President Woodrow Wilson and government officials at the Capitol. President Woodrow Wilson then went to Mount Vernon to deliver an oration at an “international Fourth of July celebration.” In Florence, Italy, they were conferring the honor of “the freedom of the city” upon President Wilson.

Nearly a hundred American military ships were being launched at various US ports, “to help build the ocean bridge for the allied fighting forces in Europe.”

The New York Times published a full-page facsimile of the Declaration of Independence.

The first official Toronto, Canada celebration of the 4th of July, ever, took place, with the American flag flying above its City Hall.

In Indianapolis, an Americanization Day parade, featuring primarily immigrants, took place.

In Duluth on this day of great national patriotism and public celebration, birthday of our nation “the land of the brave and the home of the free,” a citizens’ group terming itself the Public Safety Commission issued a “Fight or Work” declaration, as follows:

EVERY MALE PERSON IN MINNESOTA SHALL BE REGULARLY ENGAGED
IN SOME USEFUL OCCUPATION .

**MINNESOTA
CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY**





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1919



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: One of the peaks in the Black Hills near Deadwood, South Dakota was renamed Mt. Theodore Roosevelt in honor of the former President.

Panama celebrated its first official 4th of July.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



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1920

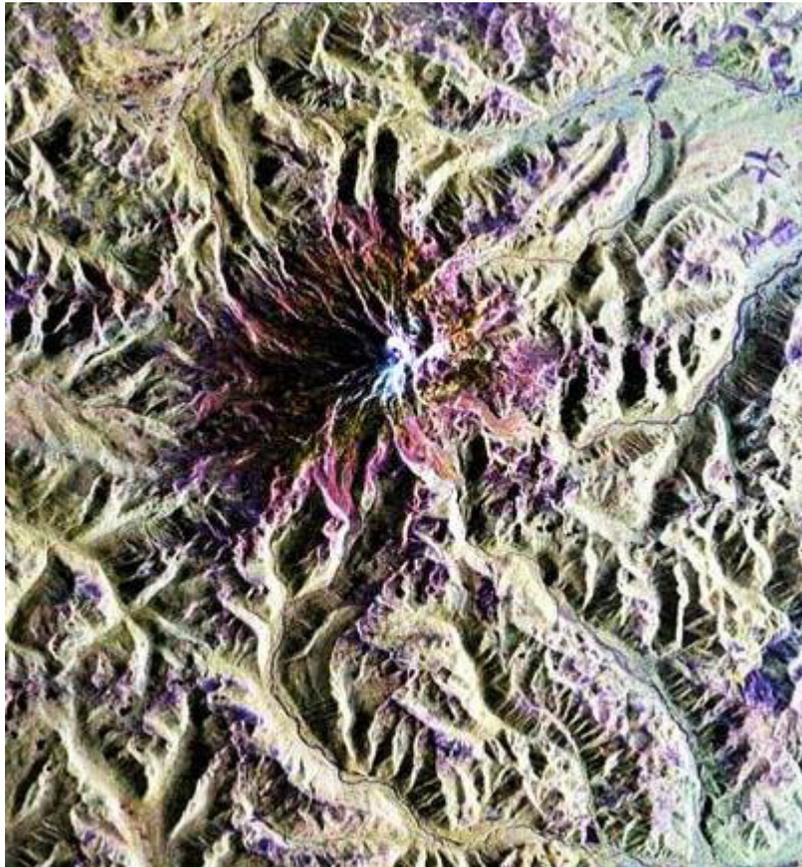


Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: At the British Embassy in Washington DC, in commemoration of his military achievements in Europe, General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing received an engraved sword from the City of London.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



The road into Paradise Valley on the slopes of [Mount Rainier](#) having just been cleared of snow, [Friends Floyd Schmoe](#) and [Ruth Schmoe](#) were able to take a day of leave. During this year a crew of US Geological Survey surveyors would be able to establish the elevation of the peak as 14,408 feet above sea level, somewhat lower than the 1897 reading of 14,528 feet.





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1921



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: In New-York, there was a longish anti-prohibition parade. Meanwhile, jazz, as well as British music, were forbidden as 50 bands marched in another parade, one being sponsored by the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1922



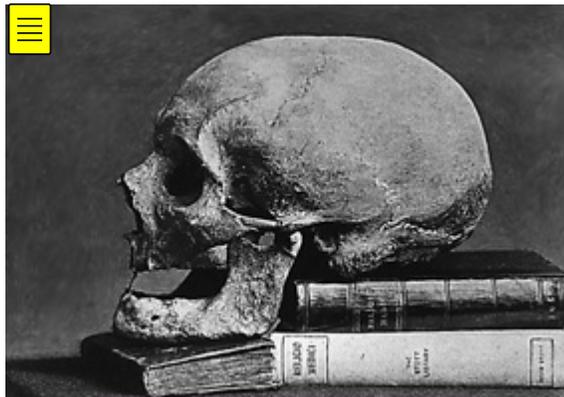
Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: In Atlanta, messages from President Warren Harding and Governor Davis of Ohio were read to the crowd as a bronze memorial tablet to President McKinley was unveiled near the Peace Monument in Piedmont Park.

In Gettysburg, Pennsylvania the 4th Brigade of the United States Marine Corps re-enacted Pickett's charge using modern armaments.²⁹⁹

Lenox, Massachusetts presented a pageant depicting life 150 years ago.

In Constantinople a tablet was unveiled in commemoration of David Porter, the first American Minister to Turkey (1831 to 1843).

Restoring normality, in Washington DC the German flag was allowed to fly above the German Embassy for the first time since US/German relations had been interrupted in February 1917. Restoring normality, also, the skull of [Sir Thomas Browne](#) was re-interred at St. Peter Mancroft Church in England and marked with a Latin couplet on a paving stone (in the church's sacristy, a plaster cast of this skull was placed on permanent display).



DIGGING UP THE DEAD

In Exeter, New Hampshire a Park & War Memorial was dedicated.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



299. No live ammo was permitted this time, which of course represented a considerable improvement over the original event — guns don't kill people, bullets kill people.



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1923



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: President Warren Gamaliel Harding addressed the citizens of Portland, Oregon and became an honorary member of the Cayuse Tribe.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1924



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: President Calvin Coolidge addressed the national convention of the NEA in Washington DC.

Supposedly on this day the 1st Caesar Salad was prepared, by Caesar Cardini in Tijuana.

At Columbus Circle in New-York the Bureau for American Ideals presented an outdoor pageant "Our Own United States" led by Irish baritone Thomas Hannon.

In Paris at a luncheon at the "American Village," General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing was a guest of the American Olympic team.

In Geneva, Switzerland a tablet to the memory of President Woodrow Wilson was unveiled on Quay Wilson.

Alumni Lodge, which had been the original Seminary stable made of bricks from the [Maryland](#) 1676 State House, was dedicated at St. Mary's College in St. Mary's City, Maryland.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1925



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: As part of national Defense Day exercises, 50 US military planes flew over New-York as the [Declaration of Independence](#) was being read from one of the planes, and transmitted by radio and broadcast over radio station WOR.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

As a tribute to the United States of America, Chile declared this year's July 4th to be a national holiday.

The Women's Peace Union presented a "Declaration of Independence from War" oration at Battery Park in New York.

The lights were turned on in a 21-meter high advertisement for Citroën, on the Eiffel Tower.





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1926



July 4/5: Our national birthday celebrations this year were actually so intense that they consumed two days, the 5th as well as the 4th. At Philadelphia during the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the [Declaration of Independence](#), the USS *Constellation* made its last public appearance as a commissioned vessel.

London's Morning Post, "the only great English newspaper of the present time that was in existence in 1776," printed a miniature reproduction of the page in which the full text of the [Declaration of Independence](#) had been printed in its issue of August 17, 1776.

The text of the only known letter written on the Fourth of July by a signer of the [Declaration of Independence](#) (Caesar Augustus Rodney of Delaware) was printed in the New York [Times](#).

President Calvin Coolidge planted the same kind of willow tree as was growing near the [tomb of George Washington](#) at [Mount Vernon](#) on the South Jersey exposition grounds in connection with the opening of the Delaware River bridge, and also delivered an oration in Philadelphia at its Sesquicentennial Exposition, and at Christ Church read the names of 7 signers of the [Declaration of Independence](#) on a bronze replica of a tablet that was being unveiled there by 6 young women descendants of the signers.

The National Amateur Press Association had its 50th anniversary, the first meeting having taken place on July 4, 1876.

In Charlottesville, Virginia, upon the centenary of [Thomas Jefferson's](#) death, the Right Reverend William T. Manning, Episcopal Bishop of New York, stood at the graveside and delivered an oration.

At Natural Bridge, Virginia, on July 5th, a bronze and granite marker commemorating the granting of Natural Bridge to [Jefferson](#) by King George III on July 5, 1774 was unveiled. Monticello was formally "given to the nation."

In Budapest, Hungary, as church bells tolled, Count Albert Apponyi delivered a Fourth of July gratitude speech.

Near Chatham, New Jersey, on the banks of the Passaic River, as a pageant depicting colonial life and the birth of a new nation was being presented, the collapse of a grandstand threw people to the ground.

In [Washington DC](#), Representative Harry R. Rathbone of Illinois delivered a celebration speech in which he called for home rule for the [District of Columbia](#).

In the Bronx, New York, Congressman Anthony J. Griffin delivered an oration as part of a Sesquicentennial



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service held at the historic St. Ann's Episcopal Church of Morrisania, known also as the Church of the Patriots.

In London, American Ambassador to England Alanson B. Houghton presented a bronze statuette of a bison to the Prince of Wales on behalf of the Boy Scouts of America. The prince received this statuette on behalf of the Boy Scouts of Great Britain.

In Prague, Czechoslovakia, near the American Legation, the American flag was raised in the Sokol Stadium.

At Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, the "Star-Spangled Banner" peace chime and the National Birthday Bell were dedicated.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1927



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Commander Richard E. Byrd and other fliers were honored in Paris upon completion of a transatlantic flight.

20,000 native and naturalized citizens eligible to vote attended a reception at City Hall in New-York as guests of the Mayor's Committee on Independence Day Reception to First Voters.

At Sea Gate in New-York, Lindbergh Park was dedicated in honor of the first New-York to Paris flight by Charles A. Lindbergh.

In Indianapolis, Indiana the cornerstone of the central shrine of the WWI memorial was laid, with General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing assisting.

In Washington DC, the Sylvan Theater on the Washington Monument Grounds was for the first time used for an official fourth of July ceremony.

In Petersham, Massachusetts a tablet was dedicated to mark the capture in that town of the insurgents under Daniel Shays, on February 4, 1787.

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1928



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In New-York, the last celebration of the Tammany Society in its Fourteenth Street Hall (the historic Wigwam built in 1867 had been sold) was held and Governor Alfred E. Smith addressed the members of that society.

Edith Nourse Rogers, Republican Representative from the Fifth Massachusetts District, was the orator for a Boston ceremony held in Faneuil Hall.

In Hinsdale, [Illinois](#) the Memorial Building was dedicated to those who had served in this nation's wars.

Joseph Albert Jean "Smiling Jean" Lussier, a French-Canadian Québécois, inserted himself into a rubber ball and at 3:35PM went over the [Niagara Falls](#) according to the engineering principle of resiliency (rather than, as always before, according to the more conventional engineering principle of rigidity as exemplified in the wooden barrel or steel drum). Here's the way this came about: Lussier had been a worker in a grocery store in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1920 when Charles Stephens had gotten himself ripped to pieces and drowned in the Horseshoe Falls. Lussier had saved up \$1,500, and ordered from an Akron, Ohio rubber company a

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rubber ball device of his own design 6 feet in diameter with inner and outer steel bands, with 150 pounds of hard rubber ballast at its bottom. This structure was intended to contain 32 innertubes for shock protection around the space left available in the middle for his 154-pound body. Lussier would take along enough bottled oxygen to keep himself alive for 40 hours in case his ball became trapped in eddies. Here's what happened: as the ball was carried in the river currents, before it had even gotten to the lip of the falls, the ballast bottom ripped out. The impact of the fall burst three of the inner tubes and twisted the metal of the frame Lussier had



bruises, but was intact. Here's what would happen afterward: to recoup his costs and make some money, Lussier would begin selling the tourists pieces of rubber off of his apparatus. When the apparatus was completely gone Lussier would begin to cheat a little bit, by purchasing pieces of rubber from a nearby tire store and passing them off as from his apparatus.³⁰⁰

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



300. At the age of 61 years, in 1952, Lussier would begin to scheme to make himself the only person ever to conquer not only the Horseshoe Falls but also the American Falls. He would sketch a new ball device twice as big as the one he had brought to the [Niagara Falls](#) in New York in 1928. This 12-foot ball was to be built in 3 layers, cork surrounded by aluminium surrounded by rubber, and was to have in addition a number of internal braces. There was to be an outer ball and a separate inner one, that would be ballasted and mounted on roller bearings so as to remain upright at all times. This time he would plan not only for an oxygen supply but also for a radio link with the outside world. (Nothing would ever come of this scheme for a renewed fame, which is just as well, because no one has ever gone over the American Falls and survived.)



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1929



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: In Jerusalem, there took place the first celebration of the 4th of July ever to be headed by an American General Consul (his name was Paul Knabenshue).

Droop Mountain Battlefield State Park near Hillsboro, West Virginia was dedicated.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

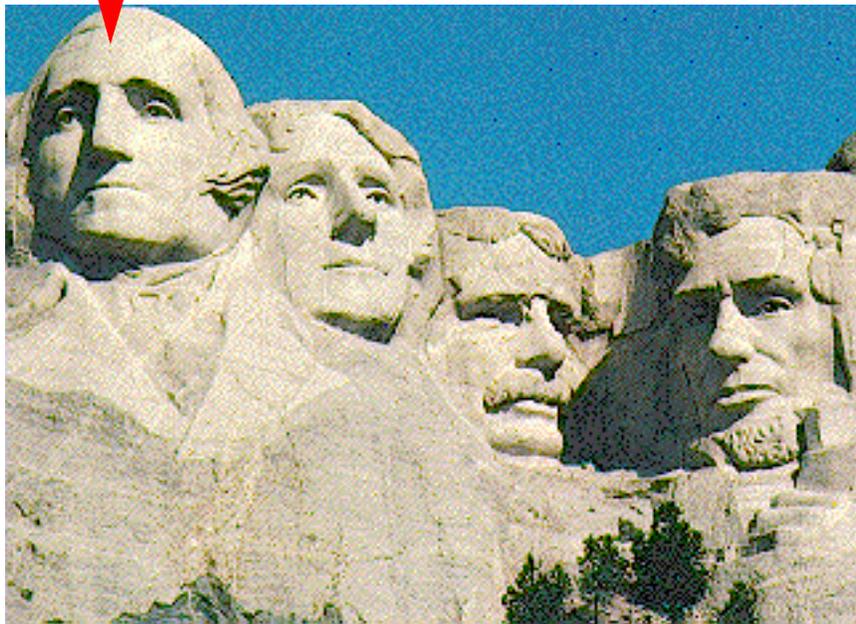


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1930



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: Gutzon Borgium's 60-foot visage of George Washington, jack-hammered into Mount Rushmore's granite cliff in South Dakota, was ceremoniously unveiled.



In Columbus, [Ohio](#), at a convention of the National Education Association, John H. Finley, an associate editor for the New York [Times](#), delivered an oration on the benefits of interdependence among nations.

In New Brunswick, New Jersey the birthplace of poet Joyce Kilmer became a shrine to his memory.

Documents illustrating the development of the [Declaration of Independence](#) went on display at the Library of Congress in Washington DC.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1931



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: At the Sylvan Theater on the grounds of the Washington Monument in Washington DC, Assistant Secretary of State James Grafton Rogers delivered an oration recommending a “debt moratorium.”

At Independence Hall in Philadelphia, to represent 155 years of American independence, the [Liberty Bell](#) was tolled 155 times.

In Rio de Janeiro, an “Amizade” or friendship monument was presented by the people of the United States to the people of Brazil.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, the sesquicentennial of the battle of Guilford Court House was observed.

At Stratford Hall in Stratford, Virginia, Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee, two signers of the [Declaration of Independence](#), were honored in absentia by the Society of Colonial Dames of Virginia and by the Lee Foundation.

This was the 25th anniversary of the unveiling of the Washington monument in Budapest, Hungary.

Ignace Paderewski presented a memorial statue of President Woodrow Wilson, designed by Gutzon Borgium, to the people of Poland.

On the 10th anniversary of the death of James Monroe, radio station WJZ presented a special broadcast from the campus of the University of Virginia with Under-Secretary of State William R. Castle orating on the topic “Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine.”

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1932



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: At Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ernest Lee Jahncke delivered an oration.

In [Mexico City](#), a group of Mexicans presented United States representatives with a plaque in honor of Dwight W. Morrow.

Fascists and anti-Fascists clashed on the Staten Island grounds of the Garibaldi-Meucci Memorial.

At St. Ann's Protestant Episcopal Church in the Bronx, New York, a marble monument to Gouverneur Morris, signer and contributor to our Constitution, was unveiled.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1933



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: At 30 ports along the Pacific coast 150 United States warships decorated in multicolor signal bunting simultaneously delivered 21-gun salutes.

At My Old Kentucky Home State Park in Bardstown, Kentucky 3,000 voices sang "My Old Kentucky Home" and other melodies of Stephen Collins Foster.

In New Jersey, Morristown National Historical Park was dedicated.

In front of the US embassy in Rio de Janeiro, in honor of the American national day, the Brazilian Marine Bugle Corps sounded reveille.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1934



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, legislators began a meeting by tossing firecrackers at each other's toes.

President [Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) was vacationing in the Bahamas. Within earshot of the President's location, the US cruiser *Houston*, on its way toward Panama, delivered a 21-gun salute to the Commander in Chief.

At Arlington Cemetery, a plaque in memory of some "Unknown Soldier" was added to the permanent collection of memorial trophies.

The first annual historical pageant of Southwestern Virginia took place in Roanoke, Virginia before a crowd of 50,000.

Takoma Park, Maryland presented a pageant depicting the tercentenary of Maryland and its history.

Fireworks caused a fire on the grounds of the [Statue of Liberty](#) in New York harbor.

The [Liberty Bell](#) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was rung by a hammer "guided by an electrical impulse transmitted from Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd's base in Antarctica."

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1935



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: Near Tuscumbia, Alabama, 30,000 persons attended a “Tennessee Valley Authority Appreciation Day” event.

In Rockport, Indiana the Lincoln Pioneer Village was dedicated.

In Grass Valley, California, Herbert Hoover delivered an oration before a crowd of 6,000.

In Paris, a plaque in honor of John Paul Jones was being unveiled at the Rue des Ecluses, the site at which our Admiral had been interred until 1905, while meanwhile another plaque, this one in honor of Benjamin Franklin and King Louis XVI of France both of whom had signed a “Treaty of Friendship” on February 6, 1778, was being unveiled at the Hotel de Coislin, the building in which that event had taken place.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1936



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: Near Boonsboro, Maryland, on South Mountain, they rededicated a “109 year-old monument, believed to be the first erected [on July 4, 1827] to the memory of [George Washington](#).”

In New York, Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for Governor, called for a new [Declaration of Independence](#), one that this time would be freeing us from “judicial tyranny and industrial autocracy.”

In Suffolk County, New York, the beginning of the Long Island Tercentenary Celebration.

At Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, the 135th anniversary of the birth of favorite son Admiral David Glasgow Farragut was being celebrated this year in tandem with the 4th-of-July event (they called it “Farragut Day”).

In New-York, Tammany Hall left nothing unattempted in marking its 150th anniversary with a spasm of corruption and celebration.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1937



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: At Rebild National Park in north Jutland the Danes tootled their great "lurs," ancestral horns, to mark the start of their 4th of July celebrations.

Paul Green presented the drama "The Lost Colony" at the outdoor theatre on Roanoke Island, [North Carolina](#), adorning the theatre with the immodest statue of Virginia Dare by Miss Maria Louisa Lander.



On this evening, near the Washington Monument in the District of Columbia, as part of their annual National Jamboree event the Boy Scouts of America staged a torchlit procession that must have been most impressive.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1939



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: Lou Gehrig offered his farewell-to-baseball speech.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1940



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) officially turned over the library bearing his name to the Federal Government.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

Italian forces captured Kassala, Sudan.

Pro-[German](#) businessman Ion Gigurtu replaced Gheorghe Tatarescu as prime minister of Romania.

This is Our Time (Secular Cantata no.1) by William Schuman to words of Taggard, was performed for the initial time, in Lewisohn Stadium, New York.

The *Foylebank*, an anti-aircraft vessel of 5,582 tons (in a previous existence, this had been the *Andrew Weir*), was dive-bombed in Portland harbor and there were some real 4th-of-July fireworks. When the flames reached the magazine the ship blew up. 176 died.³⁰¹



301. At a first order of approximation there seems to be a remarkable similarity between fighting at sea and feeding fish.





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1942



July 4, Saturday, our national birthday: Three “liberty” ships were launched in [Baltimore](#), Maryland — replacements for other ships, already at the bottom of the sea. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania at the site of the [Liberty Bell](#), 200 young men were inducted into the armed forces — replacements for other young men, already in their graves.

For first time United States Army bombers joined with the Royal Air Force in an air raid on Western Europe.

In New York, at a service of the “Eternal Light,” flags of the allied nations were displayed in a colorful V for victory. In [Washington DC](#), “civilian protective forces” were put on alert in case of emergency.

One [Japanese](#) naval vessel was sunk off Agattu, Aleutian Islands:

- Destroyer *Nenohi*, by submarine *Triton* (SS-201)

In Metuchen, New Jersey, 2,000 Danes celebrated the 30th anniversary of the celebration at Rebild National Park in Denmark, a tradition that had begun in 1912.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Convoy PQ-17, comprising 22 American and 11 British merchant ships, sailed on this day from Iceland for the port of Murmansk in the Barents Sea. Suspecting that German warships were on their way to intercept the convoy, the British Admiralty ordered “Scatter, and proceed to destination at utmost speed.” During the 10-day 700-mile dash that would follow, German bombers and U-boats would be having themselves a turkey shoot, destroying a total of 23 ships and killing 153 seamen. Only 11 of the 33 vessels would ever reach port. On board the sunken vessels had been 3,500 trucks, 435 tanks, and a couple of hundred aircraft — essential war materials, and most desperately needed by our Russian ally.

WORLD WAR II





1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

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1943



Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Sunday: At the annual Independence Day observance by the Oldest Inhabitants of the District of Columbia Society held in the Old Union Engine Fire House in Washington DC, John Clagett Proctor read an original poem.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



General Wladyslaw Sikorski, president of the Polish government-in-exile, was killed in a plane crash near Gibraltar.

United States Destroyer *Wilkes* (DD-441) was damaged by grounding in North African waters, at 37 degrees 18 minutes North, 9 degrees 51 minutes East.

WORLD WAR II



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1945



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Berlin, [Germany](#) in a formal ceremony involving a 48-gun salute, the Stars and Stripes was being hoisted over the [Adolf Hitler](#) Barracks (before this year, as everyone present for the ceremony appreciated, it would have been hard to imagine something like this being allowed to happen on the 4th of July).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY
WORLD WAR II



With written permission from the park authorities, [Roland Wells Robbins](#), an amateur archeologist who lived on the old Cambridge turnpike, began to search for the remains of [Henry Thoreau](#)'s habitation near the shore of [Walden Pond](#).

In the  July issue of [The Atlantic Monthly](#), which was on the newsstand in Concord while Robbins was digging at Walden Pond, we saw another signal event in the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN: Dr. Vannevar Bush, a bomb expert, had finally found a forum for his pioneering article "As We May Think," the foundation thinking on the MEMEX or memory-expander (an idea for a personal computer of sorts, and on hypertext).

450 US bombers drop 3,000 tons of incendiaries on Tokushima, Takamatsu, Kochi, and Himeji.



Several works by Charles Koechlin were performed for the initial time, at the Ecole Normale, Paris: Six of Les chants de Nectaire for flute op.198, Soir païen op.35/4 for voice and piano to words of Samain, and Il pleure dans mon coeur op.22/4 for voice and piano to words of Verlaine, 44 years after it was composed.



1ST WAR OF DISUNION, 1776-1783

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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1946



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: Americans observed their first peacetime Fourth in five years as occupation troops celebrated in Germany and Japan with parades and artillery salutes.

In Des Moines, the 100th anniversary of Iowa statehood was also being celebrated.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1947



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: The annual ceremony at the Washington Monument in the [District of Columbia](#) was for the 1st time televised.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1949



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Near the Washington Monument in the District of Columbia, a scene "The Drafting of the [Declaration of Independence](#)" from Paul Green's THE COMMON GLORY was presented.

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1950



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: A young boy in Manhattan fired a pistol from a rooftop in the direction of the Polo Grounds, killing a spectator at a [baseball](#) game, Bernard Lawrence Doyle.

SPORTS

On the Monument grounds in [Washington DC](#), John Foster Dulles, special consultant to the State Department, delivered a 4th of July oration centering on the North Korean invasion of South Korea.

KOREAN WAR

In Bled, Yugoslavia, Premier Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia attended a 4th-of-July party.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1951



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In addition to celebrating our national birthday, New Canaan, Connecticut was celebrating the 150th anniversary of its founding.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1953



 Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: A draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#), part of a “Milestones of Freedom” exhibit, was placed on display at the New York Public Library.

[President Dwight David “Ike” Eisenhower](#) had declared that this day was to be a national day of “penance and prayer,” so in the morning he went fishing, in the afternoon he golfed, and in the evening he played bridge.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1956



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In [Tokyo](#) some 10,000 citizens attended an anti-American rally and demonstrated against foreign military bases on the Japanese islands. With friends like us they really didn't need any enemies!

The Association of Oldest Inhabitants in Washington DC staged its final 4th-of-July celebration at the Old Union Engine House (this tradition being discontinued had begun in 1909).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1959



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: [President Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower](#) laid the 3d cornerstone in the 166-year history of the US Capitol building, and delivered an oration.

A 49-star American flag was hoisted to the top of a flagpole as Alaska achieved its statehood. So, do we know how to do a ceremony? –Yes, we do.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1960



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: A 50-star American flag was hoisted to the top of a flagpole as Hawaii achieved its statehood. So, do we know how to do a ceremony? –Yes, we do.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1961



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: At 4:15AM, the primary coolant system of the [nuclear reactor](#) of [Soviet submarine K-19](#), conducting exercises in the North Atlantic near the Norwegian island of Jan Mayen, sprang a leak. When water pressure in the aft reactor dropped to zero the coolant pumps stopped. Within three weeks 8 members of the crew would be dead, but their family members would not be informed of the nature of their deaths. Likewise, the replacement crewmembers would not be informed of what had just happened. The commander of the sub, [Nikolai Vladimirovich Zateyev](#), would be required by the Soviet government to keep silent about this accident.

The Kennedy administration had imposed, in April, some new financial limitations on the celebration of holidays. The 4th-of-July celebrations at the US embassy in London and other world capitals were therefore somewhat less than ordinarily flamboyant.

At public swimming spots near Fort Lauderdale, Florida and Lynchburg, Virginia, African-American citizens had the temerity to don swimsuits and get wet in spite of the offensive color of their skins — staging something they were terming a [civil disobedience](#) “swim-in.”

In the Philippines, Manila staged a celebration in honor of [General Douglas MacArthur](#) that was even bigger and better than any celebration that had ever before been staged in honor of that General.

In Berlin, a row of Patton tanks delivered a terrifying 50-gun salute. BANG!

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania the flag that had been flying continuously above the gravesite of Betsy Ross was stolen.³⁰²

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



302. Betsy has somehow acquired the reputation of being this country's first American flag-maker. This reputation seems poorly grounded in historical detail and, anyway, the flag that was stolen had been manufactured recently in China and was quickly replaceable with another American flag perhaps out of the same shipping container.



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1962

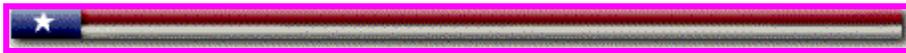


Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: At a ceremony in Aalborg, Denmark, former Vice President [Richard Milhouse Nixon](#) delivered an anti-communist oration at his usual level of toxicity.

Francis Chichester completed a solo voyage across the North Atlantic from Plymouth, England to Paumanok Long Island in the yacht Gypsy Moth III.

At Congressional Cemetery, a crowd of some 200 gathered in honor of Elbridge Gerry, Vice President of the US in 1813-1814 and the only signer of our [Declaration of Independence](#) to have acquired the distinction of being buried in the soil inside the sacred federal square of the District of Columbia.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

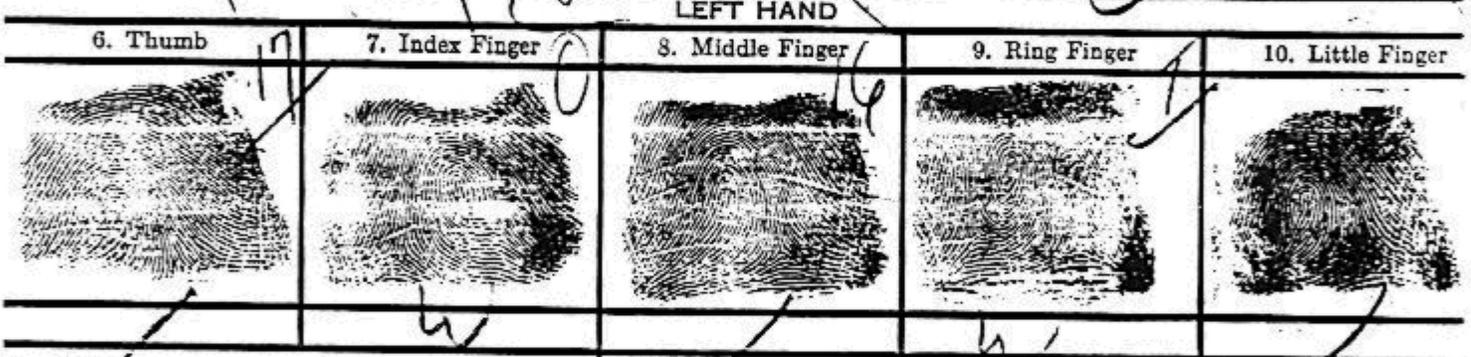
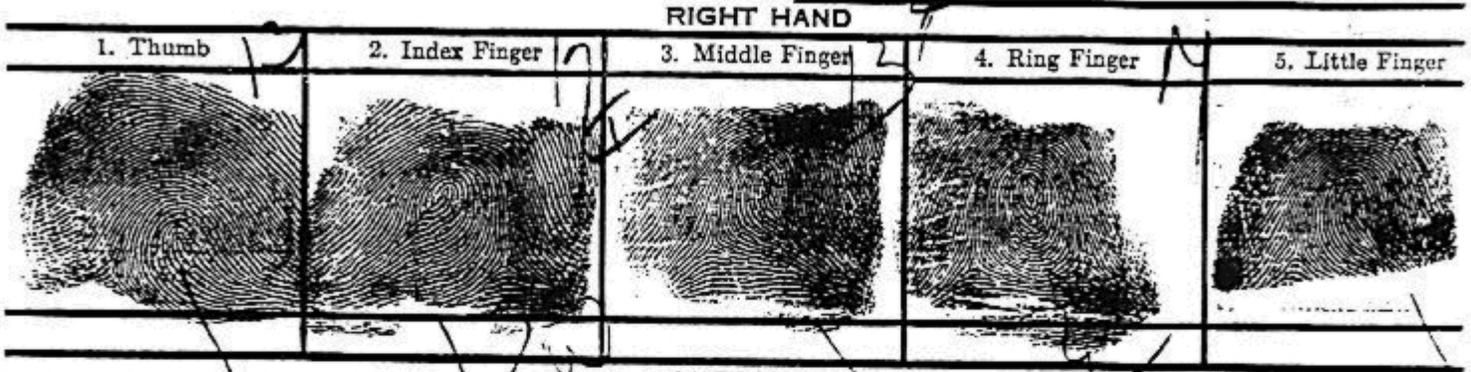


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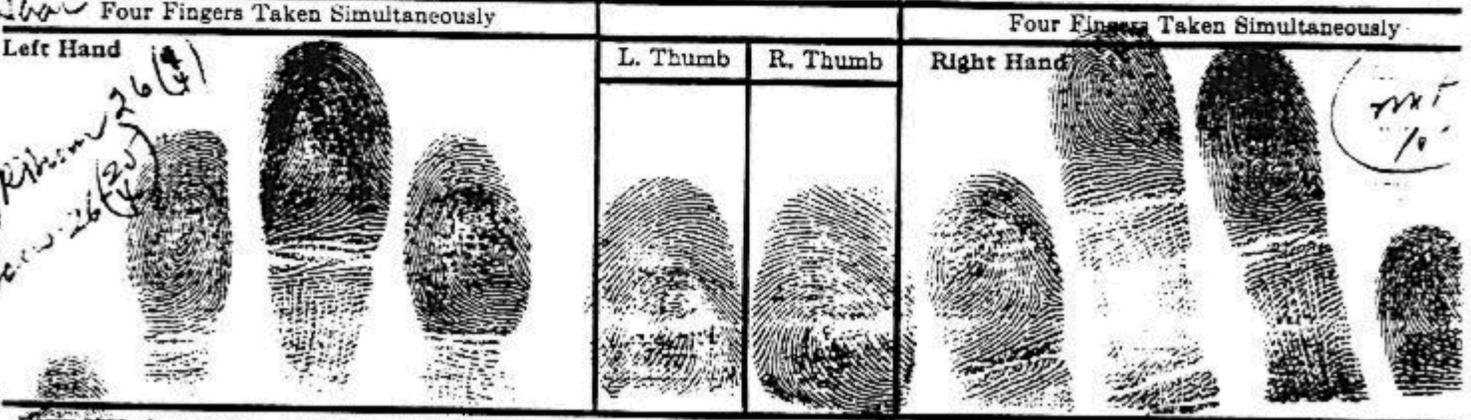
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| <p>INVESTIGATIONS-OEM</p> <p>NAME <u>Nixon/ Richard M.</u> (Typewritten) (Last name) (First name) (Initial or initials)</p> <p>Position to which appointed <u>Associate Attorney</u></p> <p>Department and Bureau <u>OEM Office of Price Admin.</u></p> <p>Location <u>Washington, D. C.</u></p> | <p style="text-align: center;">LEAVE THIS SPACE BLANK</p> <p>INVESTIGATIONS-OEM</p> <p>Class. <u>13 59 ROOM 1</u></p> <p>Ref. <u>25 L 4 WOOD</u></p> |
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1963



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: At Monticello, Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies of Australia delivered an oration.

The annual “Let Freedom Ring” tradition began as houses of worship across our nation simultaneously rang their bells 13 times. Meanwhile, a Buddhist South Vietnamese General, Tran Van Don, perceiving that what the United States of America needed in order to make freedom go ding-ding-ding for the [Vietnamese](#) was a more efficient local puppet satrap, contacted our Central Intelligence Agency personnel in [Saigon](#) about the possibility of his staging a coup against President Ngo Dinh Diem, who had been growing more and more bothersome to us.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1964



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: Shortly after former President [Harry S Truman](#) addressed a crowd of a couple of hundred citizens at the Truman Presidential Library in Independence, Missouri, black citizens from the Congress of Racial Equality organization began their own protest event.

In Prescott, Arizona, for the annual Frontier Days Rodeo parade, Senator Barry Goldwater rode a horse.

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1966



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: At the 8th annual 4th-of-July celebration on the Truman Library grounds, former president [Harry S Truman](#) made a final appearance as a speaker (he was simply getting too old for the trips to his office there).

In Salem, [North Carolina](#), they re-enacted the celebration that had occurred there in 1783.

At Knott's Berry Farm in Buena Park, California, an exact reconstruction of the Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania opened to the public.

President Lyndon Johnson signed the Freedom of Information Act. President Johnson signed the Freedom of Information Act. [FBI](#) records would eventually become subject to disclosure under this Act — however, the government interpretation of the Act would eventually come to be that it covered only paper records, and thus the Act would be evadable simply by converting such records into one or another electronic form.

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1968



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: Vice President Hubert Humphrey attempted to deliver a piece of 4th-of-July oratory in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania while Governor George Wallace attempted to deliver a piece of 4th-of-July oratory in Minneapolis, Minnesota. These weren't the same piece of oratory, but anti-Vietnam-war protests made it equivalently hard for the speakers to make their thoughts heard in each location.

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1969



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: Former President [Harry S Truman](#) watched the parade in his home town of Independence, Missouri.

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1970



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: "Honor America Day," a project of the president's friend the Reverend Billy Graham and of Hobart Lewis of Reader's Digest magazine, was celebrated in Washington DC.

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1971



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Manila, Ambassador Henry A. Byroade unveiled a monument that commemorated the careful manner in which US personnel had destroyed all American flags there, 29 years earlier, to prevent them from being desecrated by the [Japanese](#) conquerors.

WORLD WAR II

In Times Square of Manhattan the cast of "1776," a musical based on the [Declaration of Independence](#), read that document aloud while attired in their period costumes.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1972



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: In the vicinity of Wall Street in lower Manhattan, tourists and local people celebrated a “July 4th in Old New York” event.

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1973



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts delivered orations at a "Spirit of America" event in Decatur, Alabama.

Bridgeport, Connecticut celebrated its 25th annual Phineas Taylor Barnum festival, featuring Senator Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.

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1974



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: The Kennedy Center in Washington DC featured a reenactment of the Frederick Douglass speech “What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?”

In Raleigh, [North Carolina](#) thousands of protestors marched in an attempt to rekindling the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Our television sets began to offer us “Bicentennial Minute” spots, 732 different ones, reminding us of our nation’s heritage (these spots were intended to create anticipation for the Bicentennial of July 4th, 1976).

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1975



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: Fort McHenry near Baltimore, Maryland hosted a re-enactment of the famous British shelling that had occurred there. Some 40 ships participated (this time no live ammo, just cannon salute boom boom boom and multicolored fireworks rockets).

As part of the filming of the Playboy Productions made-for-television movie "The Mighty Niagara," a plank-and-oil-drums raft was to be filmed as it made its way through the Whirlpool Rapids of the [Niagara River](#). The film crew had obtained permits from the US government and the Canadian government with the understanding that a dummy would be used rather than a stuntman. As filming began, however, Jim Sarten, a professional stuntman, boarded the raft and rode it through the river rapids to the Whirlpool. Nonresponsive when fished out of the Whirlpool, he was rushed to hospital, where he recovered. Playboy Productions would be fined \$75 for allowing a stunt to be performed in violation of the Niagara Parks Act.

Pulitzer-Prize winner Dumas Malone delivered an oration at Monticello.

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1976



 Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: This was our nation's long-awaited Bicentennial celebration. At 2PM, the time the [Declaration of Independence](#) was originally approved (this had happened at 2PM on July 2d, actually), the bells of churches across the continent began to toll.

In the harbor of New York, there was a parade of ships of various nations termed "Operation Sail."

In the harbor of Boston, Massachusetts the USS *Constitution* delivered cannon salvos for the 1st time in almost a century.

There was a determined effort to fly as many American flags as possible over the US Capitol building on this day, so that these flags could be certified as such and retailed to the public. We would certify that we had flown 10,471 in total. When I purchased such a flag by mail order, however, it came to me in its box with its signed certificate of authenticity, and when I shook out the flag to take a look at it — the original factory inspection scrap of paper fell from a fold in the fabric.

A wagon train consisting of 2,500 wagons, traveling across the landscape from east to west, arrived on this day at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania (the total trip would require 13 months). [President Gerald Rudolph Ford](#) delivered an oration at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, and then another at ceremonies at Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

At Fort McHenry near Baltimore, Maryland a re-enactment of the historic bombardment was staged while citizens feasted on a 69,000-pound birthday cake.

The Miami Beach Convention Center did double duty as an enormous Federal courtroom for purposes of the mass naturalization of 7,241 individuals (we believe this to be a Guinness Book of World Records record for the largest group to be naturalized at one time in the history of our nation).

In Sparks, Nevada the James C. Lillari Railroad Park was dedicated.

In New Bremen, Ohio the New Bremen Historical Museum was dedicated.

In Clinton, Missouri the Henry County Museum was dedicated.

In Charlotte, Michigan the Eaton County Courthouse was dedicated.

Concord, Massachusetts was in the newspapers (see the following screen).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



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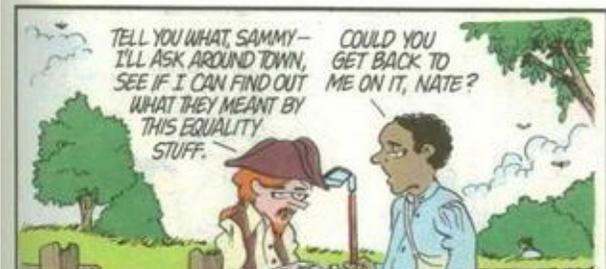
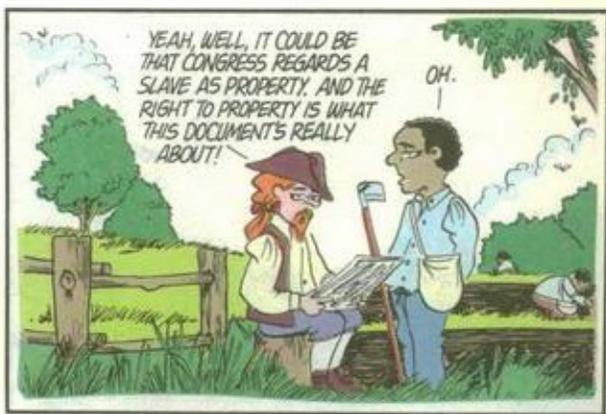
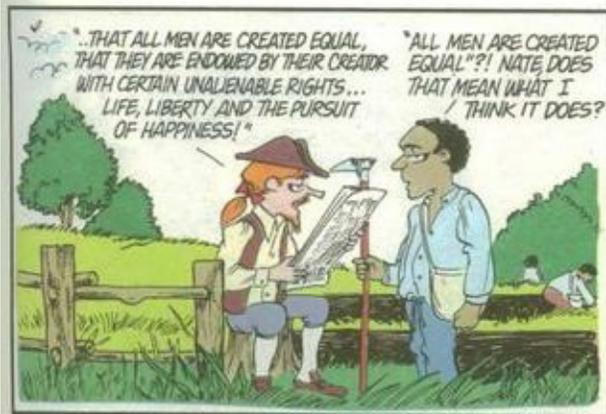
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1977



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: At a [Ku Klux Klan](#) rally in Columbus, [Ohio](#) it turned out that the klansmen needed to defend themselves from a group of protestors. What's the USA turning into?

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1978



 Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: At Charlestown, Massachusetts the USS *Constitution*, the Navy's oldest commissioned ship, delivered a 21-gun salute.

In Port Tobacco, Maryland a memorial plaque was installed at the burial location of Thomas Stone, who had signed our [Declaration of Independence](#).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1979



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Toledo, [Ohio](#) it was necessary to postpone the holiday parades and celebrations and hoopla until Labor Day, due to an ongoing compensation dispute between the city administration and local police and firefighters.

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1980



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: Throughout our nation this day was being “observed amid somber reminders” that 53 American citizens were still being held as hostages in Tehran, Iran. To further such reflection Cleveland, [Ohio](#) planted 53 trees.

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1981



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: The 14th annual Yippies July 4th march to repeal anti-marijuana laws went down in Washington DC. That evening [President Ronald Wilson Reagan](#), somewhat recovered from an assassin's bullet, was able to leave George Washington Hospital in order to view the fireworks on the Mall.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1982



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: [President Ronald Wilson Reagan](#) welcomed astronauts Thomas K. Mattingly and Henry W. Hartsfield as they brought the *Columbia* back down to earth at Edwards Air Force Base in California.

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1983



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: In Bladensburg, Maryland we unveiled a [Korean](#) and [Vietnam](#) War Memorial.

KOREAN WAR

In Boston Harbor, the bronze cannon of the 185-year-old USS *Constitution* offered a 21-gun salute.

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1984



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: “Top-Sail ’84” took place off the California coast and includes 26 tall ships — the largest group of sailing vessels to converge there at any point during the 20th Century.

In Gatlinburg, Tennessee the paraders began marching down the main street in the town at one minute past midnight with the idea that this would make them 1st in the nation (such not being, for Gatlinburg, an atypically stupid idea).

The residents of Westville, Georgia re-enacted a typical 4th-of-July celebration of the 1850s (minus of course most of that slavery stuff).

In the harbor of New York City a crowd of 4,000 kibitzed as workmen carefully cherrypicked the torch off the upraised right hand of the [Statue of Liberty](#) to make way for its replacement.



CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1988



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: In a ceremony attended by 2,000 Kennedy Space Center workers, the rebuilt shuttle *Discovery* slowly rolled out to its launch pad. Wow.

On the West Lawn of the Capitol was staged a star-studded tribute to Irving Berlin. Wow.

That evening, from atop our Library of Congress building in Washington DC, a Soviet delegation headed by Nikolai Sermenovich Kartashov, the director of the Lenin State Library, escorted by our Librarian of Congress James Billington, obtained a most excellent viewing of the capitol's most excellent 4th-of-July fireworks performance. Wow.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1989



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: American flag burnings, and pro-American flag rallies, occurred in many locales throughout our nation, and meanwhile, in Newport News, Virginia, our Vice President, J. Danforth Quayle, defended a Bush administration proposal that it be made illegal to desecrate our nation's banner.

This July 4th, 1989 had been designated as "Lou Gehrig Appreciation Day" in honor of the 50th anniversary of Gehrig's memorable farewell-from-baseball address, which he had made on July 4th, 1939.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania a Medal of Liberty was awarded to Polish union leader Lech Walesa.

In Boston, Massachusetts the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts honored the pro-democracy [civil disobedience](#) protesters of Beijing's Tiananmen Square. At a 4th-of-July celebration at the University of Tulsa in Oklahoma, 7 [Chinese](#) students formally requested political asylum in the USA.

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1990



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In Molalla, Oregon, at the 67th annual Giant Buckeroo Street Parade, Senator Bob Packwood (Republican-Oregon) and others wear yellow ribbons demonstrating their support of the timber industry versus those supporting the preservation of endangered spotted owls.

A colonial re-enactment of Colonists versus the British occurs in front of the National Archives in Washington DC.

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1991



Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: In Memphis, Tennessee the National Civil Rights Museum was dedicated.

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1992



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: The seven astronauts aboard the shuttle *Columbia* in orbit held up a Stars and Stripes and chanted "Happy Birthday, America."

Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney delivered an oration as the Navy unveiled its newest aircraft carrier, the USS *George Washington*.

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1993



 Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Washington DC, Johnny Cash recited his patriotic poem “Rugged Old Flag” while citizens held up flags that represented the “POW/MIA”: [Vietnam](#)-era prisoners of war and servicemen and women still not accounted for after the ending of hostilities.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

United Nations arms inspectors left Iraq because they were not allowed to install cameras at missile sites.

The last Russian troops left [Cuba](#) (having been a constant presence on the island since 1962).

Suite for saxophone by Robin Holloway was performed for the initial time, in West Road Concert Hall, Cambridge.





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1994



Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: In Hydes, Alaska the town supply of fireworks, stored at the municipal office building, caught fire and the building burned.

In Gloucester, New Jersey a misdirected fireworks rocket injured 40 spectators.

The village of Fishkill, New York, continued its 92-year-old tradition of reading the [Declaration of Independence](#) out loud in public.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1995



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: Dunbarton, New Hampshire welcomed five presidential hopefuls: Bob Dole of Kansas, Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, Patrick Buchanan, Bob Dornan of Orange County, California, and Alan Keyes.

Atlantis and *Mir* decoupled.

Israel and the Palestine Authority agreed that Israel would withdraw from Palestinian population centers, and that elections would shortly thereafter take place.

In Oklahoma City, Oklahoma all flags were raised to full staff at precisely 9:02AM — that having been when the Federal Building there had been blasted by [Timothy McVeigh](#)'s fertilizer bomb on April 19th.

In Indianapolis, Indiana this was the final Independence Day flag raising at Fort Benjamin Harrison — due to the ongoing downsizing of the US Army. Meanwhile, in [Hanoi](#) at the former site of the American Consulate, 500 Americans were staging the only 4th-of-July celebration to occur there since our retreat at the end of the [Vietnam](#) War.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1996



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: The astronauts in earth orbit aboard the shuttle *Columbia* did their usual 4th-of-July thingie, sending “greetings from space” to the planet Earth.

Near the Patauxent River in Maryland, honored guest [William Jefferson Clinton](#) hung around and watched as an eagle named “Freedom” was being released. At [Monticello](#) –which is about as appropriate a locale as any other for becoming free– 66 persons originating from 33 different countries were administered the Immigration and Naturalization Service’s oath of naturalization.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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1997



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: The US Pathfinder spacecraft landed on Mars in the region of Ares Vallis and [President William Jefferson Clinton](#) commented that “On this important day, the American people celebrate another exciting milestone in our nation’s long heritage of progress, discovery, and exploration.” The lander deployed a robotic vehicle to explore the planet.

The Boston Pops observed the centennial of John Philip Sousa’s immortal “Stars and Stripes Forever.”

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1998



Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: Florida had been experiencing its worst wildfire season in half a century. Under the circumstances, many towns across Florida, and also Disney World, found it prudent to cancel their scheduled firework displays.

For the 136th time the Battle of Gettysburg was enacted (for the 135th time using black powder but not lead).

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as had become traditional, some progeny of signers of the [Declaration of Independence](#) were allowed to tap gently a total of 13 times on the [Liberty Bell](#) (this tradition began 'way back in 1963).

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[Japan](#) launched "Planet-B," an unmanned space probe, from Kagoshima on the island of Kyushu, intended to go into orbit around Mars.

[China](#) and Kazakhstan agreed on their common border.

In Hamburg, Alfred Schnittke suffered a 5th stroke.



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1999



Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Kodak co-sponsored a “Photo of the Century” ceremony in which a large number of people “born on the Fourth of July” (neither Nathaniel Hawthorne nor Rube Goldberg showed up for this photo-op) were bunched up in front of Independence Hall to have their collective picture taken. Kodak film was, of course, the film of choice.³⁰³

At Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, “President McKinley” and “Theodore Roosevelt” delivered holiday orations more or less like orations that had occurred a century before, on July 4, 1899.

In Rockford, [Illinois](#), a granite war memorial was dedicated in Veterans Park.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



303. [Digital cameras](#), invented by [Steven J. Sasson](#) of Eastman Kodak in 1975, had been on the market for a decade, but at this point 1,000,000,000 rolls of 35mm film were being retailed per year, not quite yet having fallen off the cliff to a mere 20,000,000 rolls or less producing a very predictable (by hindsight) stock market disaster for that corporation.



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2000



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: In the harbor of New York, the largest assemblage of ships ever at one event took place as “Operation Sail 2000.” This included some 150 tall sailing ships from more than 20 nations and an 11-mile line of warships with more than two dozen naval ships from around the world as the sixth “International Naval Review.” Among the honored guests were [President William Jefferson Clinton](#) and Secretary of Defense William Cohen.

In Washington DC, there was a “National Independence Day Parade,” plus an annual “Capitol Fourth” concert at the Capitol. The [Declaration of Independence](#) was read aloud in front of the National Archives. A Revolutionary battle re-enactment followed a brief speech by Archivist of the United States John W. Carlin.

In Orlando, Florida at Disney World, a ton-and-a-half 24 foot by 13 foot cherry cobbler that resembled our Star-Spangled Banner was gobbled by all, although of course no disrespect was intended.

At Monticello, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright spoke at a 38th annual Independence Day Celebration and Naturalization Ceremony as more than 80 persons representing 27 countries took the Immigration and Naturalization Service’s oath.

In Atlanta and in Stone Mountain, Georgia, respectively, the “Salute 2 America” and the “Famous Americans: Past, Present and Future” parades took place. Due to concerns over terrorism, however, a couple of overseas celebrations, one at the US Embassy in Amman, Jordan and the other at a street fair in Brussels, Belgium, needed to be canceled.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, James D. Watson and Francis H.C. Crick were awarded medals.

At the Richard Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, [California](#), a replica of the “Betsy Ross” flag was raised and the battles of Lexington and [Concord](#) were re-enacted amid clouds of black gunpowder smoke (this version did not include a militiaman hacking at a wounded soldier with a hatchet).

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2001



 Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: There were various public readings of the [Declaration of Independence](#) throughout the nation, such as one at the National Archives in [Washington DC](#), one at the Art Museum in Philadelphia, and one at the Old State House in Boston. In [Washington](#), the Charters of Freedom display ([Declaration of Independence](#), Constitution, and Bill of Rights) was taken from the Rotunda (the first such removal in nearly 50 years) for preservation improvements (not to be on display again until 2003). Hundreds of persons signed a facsimile edition of the Declaration that would be added to the Archives for posterity.

In Lititz, Pennsylvania a re-enactment of a Revolutionary War encampment of a German regiment took place and there was a "Lighting Freedom's Flame" celebration.

At Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania the 13th Liberty Medal was awarded to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who had not yet fallen under suspicion in the UN's Iraq food-for-oil scam.

Tampa, Florida staged an "Aquafest" celebration.

Beavercreek, Ohio staged a "2001: A Space Odyssey" celebration.

New York City staged a "Voices of Liberty" celebration.

Old Salem, [North Carolina](#) staged a "Frolick on the Fourth" celebration.

Boston's Chinatown staged its first-ever formal celebration of the US Independence Day.

Aboard the *Constitution* in Charlestown's navy yard, 19 immigrants were made into naturalized citizens.

At Monticello, home to President Thomas Jefferson and his sex slave Sally Hemings, 71 immigrants were made into naturalized citizens.

In Barnstable, Massachusetts a statue of Mercy Otis Warren was dedicated.

In Atlanta, Georgia the pilot of the spy plane that had collided with a Chinese fighter jet in April, Navy Lieutenant Shane Osborn, served as Grand Marshal of the parade.

Aboard the International Space Station in orbit, the astronauts were not at a loss for sentiments: "We give thanks to our ancestors. To all Americans, Happy Independence Day."

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2005

September: According to Simon Schama's *ROUGH CROSSINGS: BRITAIN, THE SLAVES AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (BBC), our Southern colonies such as Virginia, the Carolinas, etc. engaged in the American Revolution during 1775-1778 "first and foremost to protect [slavery](#)" from the winds of the [abolitionist](#) movement in England. Damn them, they were trying to free the slaves of our Land of Liberty!

Boy oh boy, has this Brit, Simon Schama, ever gotten it wrong! He must be one of those America-haters we've been hearing so much about. All we have to do to reassure ourselves that this was not the way it went down is go see the latest Hollywood movie about the Revolutionary War in the southern Colonies, entitled *The Patriot*. [Mel Gibson](#) doesn't own the blacks on his plantation: they confess that they are working for him, actually, because he is such a swell guy. A black employee named Occam fights alongside him for freedom. The movie shows us how a white boy explained to Occam that he needed to enlist in the effort to drive away the British, so that these southern Colonies could create a "new world" in which all men were to be created equal. All he needs to do, he is informed, is serve the revolution for one year, and he will be legally a free man. In the movie the black character, told this, nods sagely. Hey, pictures don't lie!

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2012



4th of July, Wednesday: On this national birthday Google offered us a memory of [Woodie Guthrie's "This Land"](#) and requested support for an open and free internet:



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: December 2, 2016



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.

Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.