

Flintlock & Powderhorn

MAGAZINE OF THE SONS OF THE REVOLUTION

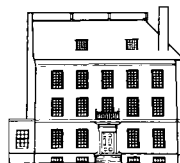


Outfitting the Revolution

The Great Work of Ephraim Blaine



VOLUME 19, NUMBER 2
FALL 2001





Flintlock & Powderhorn

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The next issue of *Flintlock & Powderhorn* will be published
March 15, 2002. Deadline for article submission: January 15.

COVER: An American soldier of the Revolution as depicted by Felix O.C. Darley (1822-1888), the most celebrated book and magazine illustrator of the 19th century.

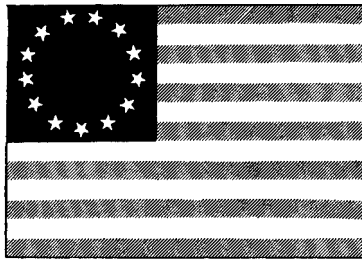
Message from General President Lunney



During the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas a political protester engaged in a “die-in” to protest nuclear weapons. He shouted out various slogans, including “Ronald Reagan, killer of the hour, perfect example of U.S. power” and “Red, white and blue, we spit on you, you stand for plunder, you will go under.” For none of these acts was he prosecuted. Only when he proceeded to douse a stolen American flag in kerosene and set it on fire was he arrested and convicted for desecrating the flag.

For more than 100 years legislation had legally protected the American flag. Indeed, 48 states and the District of Columbia banned desecration of the flag. However, in 1989, in reversing the conviction of the Dallas protester, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned five previous courts and invalidated those laws. The majority opinion called physical acts of flag desecration legal expressions of free speech protected by the First Amendment.

Chief Justice Rehnquist, in his strong dissent, stated, “At the time of the American Revolution the flag served to unify



the 13 colonies at home, while obtaining recognition of national sovereignty abroad. . . . By June 14, 1777. . . the Continental Congress resolved “that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.” Rehnquist also explained, “For more than 200 years the American flag has occupied a unique position as the symbol of our nation, a uniqueness that justifies a governmental prohibition against flag-burning.”

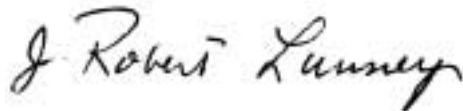
Congress, voicing “profound disappointment” and “concern” over the court’s majority decision, responded by passing the Flag Protection Act of 1989. This too was struck down, leaving

a constitutional amendment as the only flag-protection recourse. Each high court ruling was by a 5-4 decision. Prior to 1989, the Supreme Court had ruled that flag-protection laws were compatible with constitutionally protected free speech.

At our Triennial Meeting in New Orleans in September 2000, the Sons of the Revolution approved a resolution supporting congressional action to pass a proposed constitutional amendment to protect the flag. The resolution stated, in part, that “The flag of the United States is the symbol of our great nation, whose very colors represent the blood shed by the first defenders of our country to ensure continued freedom for their descendants. . . .” By this resolution the Sons joined 142 other organizations representing more than 20 million Americans. Five Gallup surveys over ten years show that nearly 80 percent of Americans favor flag protection. Forty-nine states have passed resolutions petitioning Congress to send such an amendment to the states for ratification.

In July 2001, by an overwhelming 298-125 vote, well more than the two-thirds majority needed, the House of Representatives passed H.J. Res. 36, the Cunningham-Murtha flag protection amendment. This amendment, which now goes to the Senate, states simply, “The Congress shall have the power to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States.” S.J. Res. 7, a measure identical to the House amendment, was introduced in the Senate in March by Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and Max Cleland (D-GA). So far, it has the support of 64 senators. At present there is no timetable for a Senate vote, which observers believe could be delayed well into 2002. Passage there would send the proposed amendment to the states. Three-fourths (38 states) would then need to ratify the proposed amendment to make it the 28th Amendment to the Constitution.

Since it first rallied patriots more than 200 years ago, the American flag has come to be the visible symbol embodying our nation and its ideals. Its desecration should be prohibited.



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Outfitting the Revolution

The Great Work of Ephraim Blaine

by **Belford Christy Blaine, Jr.**



The author, a descendent of Ephraim Blaine, has been a member of the Georgia Society for 25 years. He writes, "Many years have passed since I requested information on articles in Flintlock & Powderhorn concerning Ephraim Blaine. Following your kind response that there were none, I endeavored to research and construct a history to confirm family stories that have been recounted from one generation to the next."

Christy Blaine is the owner of an educational supply firm in Savannah. He recently retired from the non-compensated post of chairman of the Selective Service System in Chatham County after a quarter-century of service. Mr. Blaine reports that his parents come from the Cumberland area of Pennsylvania.

As commissary general of the Continental Army, Ephraim Blaine struggled with nightmares of logistics, finance and pressure that military commanders and CEOs of today would deem the ultimate nightmare. But he and men like him believed in the final words of the Declaration of Independence, ". . .with a firm reliance on Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Ephraim (1741-1804) was the son of James (1715-1792) and Isabella Blaine, who in 1745 journeyed from their home in the Parish of Raphoe, County of Donegal, Ireland, to the port of Londonderry, and subsequently to the New World. They were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who had been persecuted in Ireland for their beliefs ever since the restoration of the Catholic Stuarts in 1660.

James and Isabella made Philadelphia and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, temporary homes; but they eventually settled in the Toboyne frontier township. James claimed a large tract of land on the south side of the Blue Juniata Creek in the Cumberland Valley district, the breadbasket of the state. The Blaines quickly became conspicuous in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, enjoying both prosperity and social rank. The Blaine house was 45 x 55 feet, with five rooms on each of the two floors; there was a full basement. All walls were plastered and the rooms were elegantly furnished. Jonathan Lenz, a principal officer of a nearby

village, said, "The Blaines were liberal livers, fond of good horses and hunting; men of the best class of those days."

Ephraim was the eldest of James' nine children, four boys and five girls, and shared his father's disposition and political sentiments. Young Ephraim was tutored, upon the recommendation of Benjamin Franklin, by a fellow Irishman from Donegal, Dr. Allison, who had been awarded a Doctorate of Divinity degree from the University of Glasgow. Dr. Allison enjoyed a reputation in Pennsylvania as a classical scholar. He located his residence in Toboyne Township, neighboring the Blaines'. A fellow pupil was John Dickinson, who was to publish the *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer*, inflammatory essays fueling resistance to British domination. The message was familiar to the disposition of James Blaine from the days in Ireland under British tyranny. Ephraim, John Dickinson, and Dr. Allison would play significant roles in the American Revolution.

While completing his studies, Ephraim Blaine was appointed as commander of Fort Ligonier, Pennsylvania and served in this position with distinction and honor from 1759 until 1763. In 1763, now 22, he joined the Second British Provincial Regiment and received an appointment as commissary sergeant. He traveled the wilderness road from Carlisle to Fort Pitt through the bloody Indian Cumberland County battles of Chief Pontiac's Indian Nation alliance. In his travels and through the execution of his duties, he became acquainted with a young Virginia officer, Lieutenant Colonel George Washington, who had surveyed regions of the Ohio Territory for Virginia Governor Dinwiddie. Both men had been trained by the British, were familiar with the geography of the region and were experienced in the tactics of Indian warfare.

In May 1763 Blaine was engaged with the Bouquet expedition during the savage "Pontiac War" to liberate and to provide much-needed supplies to Fort Pitt, which had been under siege day and night for four days. En route, the troops were attacked by an overwhelming force of Delaware and Shawnee Indians. In the desperate battle of Bushy Run, the Pennsylvania militia was able to throw the Indians into tactical mayhem which led to their defeat. In May 1765 a peace treaty was signed by Governor Penn that lifted restrictions on Indian trade in the western territory.

Blaine settled in Carlisle, and a month later was wedded to Rebecca Gillespie of Celtic decent and of Catholic faith. She was, according to family accounts, a lady of great wealth, profound education, stunning beauty and congenial charm. During the years before conflict with England, their home maintained a reputation as a gathering point of hospitality, "where the feast of reason was not infrequently followed by a banquet of more substantial quality." Blaine acquired several tracts of land consisting of thousands of acres around Pittsburgh along the Monongahela River, rich in coal and iron. But at the time the

land was valued for timber, and once cleared, was some of the choicest agricultural land in the state. His reputation for integrity earned him an appointment as the Justice of Common Pleas and Sheriff of Cumberland County in October 1771. He acquired land, built a mill and, with his father's assistance, erected a stone Presbyterian church on the square in Carlisle which he faithfully attended and supported throughout his life.

Tension between the colonists and England over taxation and other matters escalated in the late 1760s and early 1770s, especially in New England. In 1772 Samuel Adams, a Massachusetts leader of the Sons of Liberty, encouraged all the colonies to organize against the British.

On July 12, 1774, Ephraim Blaine joined with Dr. Allison, John Armstrong, Robert Callender, Jonathan Hoge and others in forming a committee "to correspond with the committees of this province or of the other provinces upon the great subjects of the public attention, and to cooperate in every measure conducing to general welfare of British America." Blaine was able to raise at once a battalion of able-bodied men of substance. He was commissioned by the Pennsylvania Council of Safety as lieutenant colonel of the First Battalion of the Cumberland County Militia. Before the end of hostilities, there would be eight more battalions raised from the pioneer settlers of the Cumberland Territory. With the seat of liberty located in Philadelphia about 105 miles east and the garrison on the frontier of the western territory 200 miles west at Fort Pitt, Cumberland County was the vast agricultural region that would eventually supply most of the troops and provisions for the Continental Army and the Pennsylvania State Militia.

Because he owned vast estates of rich agricultural land and from his history in the British commissary, Blaine was assigned the duty of special purchasing agent for quartermaster's supplies by the Continental Congress on April 19, 1776. His rise in this special area of competence was meteoric. In October he was given the commission to supply the battalion of Col. Mackay. Noting his competence and diligent performance of duty, Congress further commissioned him as commissary of supplies for the entire Cumberland County region. By August 6, 1777, Congress commissioned him as deputy commissary general of the Continental Army. The knowledge and experience he had gained in service to the British in the Commissary Department during the Bouquet expeditions would be more valuable to the defense of the united colonies than service in the field. Potential officers seeking glory and fame were easily enlisted. Often there were more officers available than soldiers to command. Many Europeans of the nobility clamored for a field position in our domestic conflict, thinking it to be great sport.

But up to that time Congress had failed to appoint experienced military officers to supervise the Quartermaster and Commissary departments, and both were sorely mismanaged. In

“Ephraim Blaine’s life was now consumed in providing every bullet, boot and bite of biscuit until the various state militias and Continental armies disbanded.”

November 1777, Quartermaster General Thomas Mifflin resigned.

Blaine was offered a commission as commissary general of purchases of the Continental Army. He found the position challenging, for this was the season when the Continental Army wintered at Valley Forge. Blaine himself spent that winter at Valley Forge. He exerted a colossal effort to move supplies to Valley Forge in spite of broken and quagmired roads and bad weather. Ephraim Blaine’s life was now consumed in providing every bullet, boot and bite of biscuit until the various state militias and Continental armies disbanded.

That Blaine was a close friend of Washington was significant to his role in the Revolution. In the words of Willis Fletcher Johnson, a late 19th century biographer of Ephraim Blaine’s famous descendant James G. Blaine, Washington “was not given to making a public assembly room of his heart. He guarded the approaches to it with jealous care,” scowling at presumptuous informality. Johnson reports that Washington surrounded himself with “men of moral and mental worth,” and that Ephraim Blaine “was not only a friend to Washington, he was his comrade-in-arms.” Both were members in a Freemason’s organization of which Washington would become the master of his lodge following his tenure as president. Through this fraternal connection, Washington knew that he could depend on Ephraim to do all within his power to accomplish the impossible. On more than one occasion, when the Continental treasury was empty, he advanced large sums of money for the purpose of supplies for the troops, thus averting discontent and disaster.

Commissary General Blaine’s charge was not an easy one. His major problems could be listed as: (1) the disunity of the colonies; (2) the inability of Congress to raise funds to support the war; (3) the lack of manufacturing capacity in the colonies; and (4) the absence of an American navy.

Not all colonies and colonists subscribed to the causes of independence from Great Britain or the idea of colonial unity. In the Southern states, for instance, loyalists outnumbered patriots, thinking the conflict in the Northern states none of their business. In spite of the friendly British occupation of the “King Cotton” ports of Charleston and Savannah, the style of life and pace of commerce could not have been better.

Once the second- and third-largest continental ports of

Boston and Philadelphia were opened and evacuated by the British, the states of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania considered the war finished and no longer felt compelled to support the effort. No American national cohesion existed. The colonies were far from accepting a united effort to remove the British from America's shores. Each colony still considered itself sovereign. Virginia and Pennsylvania had quarreled over Fort Pitt. New York and New Hampshire clashed over the ownership of the Green Mountains. Connecticut claimed parts of the Wyoming Valley along the Susquehanna River.

From his headquarters at White Marsh, Washington wrote to Ephraim Blaine on November 21, 1777, "Whereas large supplies of Wheat and Flour are wanted for the use of the Army under my command. You are to repair immediately to the State of Jersey and to use every prudent possible exertion to procure such quantities, as may be necessary for the purpose above men-

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE,
GENERAL and COMMANDER in CHIEF of the FORCES
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY Virtue of the Power and Direction to Me especially given, I hereby enjoin and require all Persons residing within seventy Miles of my Head Quarters to thresh one Half of their Grain by the 1st Day of February, and the other Half by the 1st Day of March next ensuing, on Pain, in Case of Failure of having all that shall remain in Sheaves after the Period above mentioned, seized by the Commissaries and Quarter-Masters of the Army, and paid for as Straw

*GIVEN under my Hand, at Head Quarters, near
the Valley Forge, in Philadelphia County, this 20th
Day of December, 1777.*

G. WASHINGTON.

By His Excellency's Command,
ROBERT H. HARRISON, Sec'y.

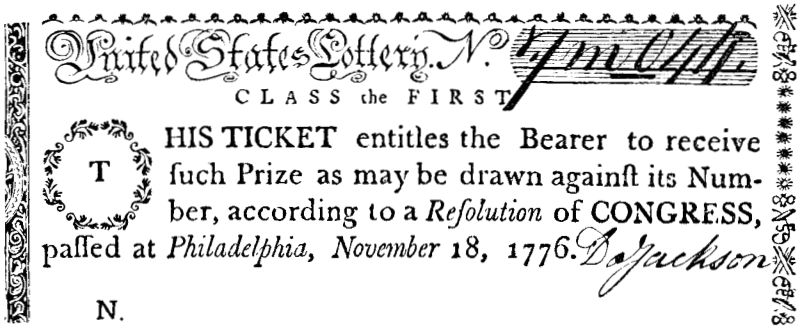
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tioned, offering and paying for the same a just and generous price. It is hoped and expected, that you will find no difficulty in the execution of this business. However, if there should be any holders of these Articles, who for base and sordid principles, demand an exorbitant and unwarrantable price for the same, you are authorized, in case you cannot agree, to take them, giving Certificates for the Quantities you receive, to be paid for, agreeable to the prices and regulations that may be fixed on by the Assembly of the said state.”

On February 1, 1778, Washington wrote, “Mr. Blaine informs me, in the most decisive terms, that he had not the least prospect of answering the demands of the Army. . . . We have every reason to apprehend the most ruinous consequences. The spirit of desertion among Soldiery, never before rose to such a threatening height, as at the present time. The murmurs on account of Provisions are become universal, and what may ensue, if a better prospect does not speedily open, I dread to conjecture.”

Washington reported to the Continental Congress War Board, on May 27, 1780, from his headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey, “On Thursday night however Two Regiments Mutinied, but after expostulations and exertions by the Officers of their line and some Others who come to their assistance they returned to their Huts. . . . Such a constant series of distresses cannot but have the most pernicious consequences. I request the favor of the Board to forward the inclosed to Colo. Blaine, by which he is urged to push on every possible relief of Cattle in his power to procure.” Most farmers sold their produce and stock to the British for coin of the realm rather than accept the paper scrip promises of the Continental Congress’s Department of Finance.

A second dilemma faced by Col. Blaine was the inability of Congress to raise funds necessary to field armies on all fronts. Congress did not have the authority to levy tax to raise capital; this authority was held by the sovereignty of the individual states. Congress estimated the cost of an army and divided the anticipated costs and supply lists among the participating states. In a May 31, 1780, letter to Joseph Jones, the Virginia delegate to the Congress, Washington wrote, “One state will comply with a requisition of congress, another neglects to do it, a third executes it by halves, and all differ, either in the manner; the matter; or so much in point of time, that we are always working up Hill and ever shall be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage.” As a consequence, Washington’s strategic offensive plan was restricted to short engagements, routing out the British in isolated pockets of light resistance using rank-and-file volunteers and donated supplies for short-term results. To achieve a major victory, the commander-in-chief needed immense supplies. To obtain the necessary provisions, on the other hand, the Continental Congress had to have a decisive victory to convince the states that victory in the war for independence was obtainable, and an alliance with France was possible.



A 1776 lottery ticket, a failed attempt by Congress to raise money for the war effort.

The Continental Congress had allocated a war budget of two million dollars to support an army of 20,000 troops. The states were expected to raise the necessary funds for various offensive actions. However, with losses at Brandywine, New York and Germantown, many were skeptical of pledging allegiance to a lost cause and were fearful of British reprisal if independence was unobtainable. Consequently, only \$20,000 was raised by the states and only 6000 troops were assembled. Congress was bankrupt. Neither the purchase of needed supplies with which to wage war, nor the mule teams to haul provisions to the army, could be contracted. Recognizing the failure of the states to expeditiously provide funding, Congress authorized a lottery to raise five million dollars. This also failed. By 1779, Congress requested 15 million dollars from the states and an additional six million dollars for 18 years to pay off accumulated debts.

General Washington shared Blaine's frustration in a report to the Continental Congress. "From July to December, 1777," Washington reported, "we had no assistance from the quartermaster-general; and to want of assistance from this department, the commissary-general charges great part of his deficiency. We have, by field return this day made, no less than two thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-eight men now in camp unfit for duty, because they are barefoot, and otherwise naked."

Col. Blaine crisscrossed the country from Carlisle to the Carolinas to Valley Forge urging, pleading, and begging friends, farmers, and traders for assistance. He pleaded with every miller whom he could influence to make donations to feed the soldiers. By 1780, Blaine had given \$1,750,000 from his savings, pledged assets and promised obligations to his cherished friend, Washington, for the cause of relief to the distressed army. To Washington he wrote, "Please your Excellency, it had not been in my power to obtain a single shilling of money from the Treasury Board: My people are so much indebted that their credit is quite exhausted with the Country. . . . The Treasury being exhausted, my agents greatly involved, the delay of our public finances and the general change in the system of the Quartermaster and the Commissary-General Departments had made my office one of the most disagreeable man ever experienced. Indeed nothing would

“. . . My office [is] one of the most disagreeable man ever experienced. Indeed nothing would induce me to continue. . . but the duty I owe my country and respect to your Excellency”
– Ephraim Blaine to George Washington

induce me to continue under present appearances but the duty I owe my country and respect to your Excellency, which ever shall be motives to command my best services and surmount every other difficulty.”

In 1780 Congress “resolved him a salary at the rate of \$40,000 by the year until the further order of Congress, also six rations a day, and forage for four horses.” The salary was never paid.

Col. Blaine’s former classmate, John Dickinson, succinctly described a third dilemma facing the commissary general in his *Letters From a Farmer II*. “This continent is a country of planters, farmers, and fishermen; not of manufacturers. The difficulty of establishing particular manufactures in such a country, is almost insuperable. . . . Great-Britain has prohibited the manufacturing [of] iron and steel in these colonies [and has] prohibit[ed] them from getting [them] anywhere but from her.” Additional prohibitions of home industries and trade restrictions applied to commodities such as paper, glass, ink, paint, lead, cloth and tea. Not only did the colonies not have the finances to wage war, but they also lacked the internal resources to independently support themselves. The colonies could not supply rifle, shot or powder without foreign trade alliances.

The conflict front was from Savannah, Georgia, to Quebec, Canada, an astounding defensive line of more than 1500 miles. Each state raised its own armies of infantry. Each state granted commissions of appointment and individually promoted state officers. Consequently, there were dozens of scattered armies, whose commanding officers kept their troops constantly on the move. The cavalry and artillery units were under the control of the Continental Congress. Their officers received certificates of appointment and promotions from this body. Keeping track of who, what and where was a nightmare of logistics. Nonetheless, each was under the jurisdiction of the commander-in-chief, George Washington, and required the placement of stashes of provisions, stores of supplies and magazines. In the correspondence of October 31, 1781, Washington placed the burden of tracking troop movement upon Col. Blaine. “By applying to Major Generals St. Clair and Lincoln, you will know the destination of the American Continental Troop, and make your provision for

them accordingly. . . . After the wants of our own Troop are sufficiently attended to. . . you may with the residue of the Provisions pay the debt we owe the French Army.”

Washington kept in constant communication with his trusted friend, advising him of the anticipated deployment of troops as they became known to him, and the locations of various bivouacked components of the Continental Army that required supplies.

As an example of just one logistics assignment, on May 17, 1778 Washington wrote to Blaine, “Sir: Very frequently [sic] and recent intelligence from the City of Philadelphia induces me to think that the Enemy mean to evacuate that place, such a step must consequently make it necessary for this Army to move, and as this will be a sudden affair, I now give you notice that everything in your Department may be in perfect readiness for the event. I have written to the Quarter Master to take every step in his power to procure Wagons, and to him you will apply for them, giving every aid in your power to effect that business, you will, as far as it may be in your power, lay in magazines of provision between this and the North River on or convenient to the Road leading over Coryells Ferry to Morris Town &ca. and thro’ Boundbrook, Westfield &ca. to feed Troop on their march should it be found necessary to take that course. No time is to be lost.”

To accomplish this task required a series of events to transpire. First, a safe and secure location for a magazine had to be established, placed under contract and guarded with a detachment of honest and loyal men. Next, the individual components of the provisions had to be itemized. Then the list had to be quantified into units of measure—sacks of flour, loaves of bread, sides of pork and beef, hogsheads of rum, pairs of boots, shirts, breeches, kegs of salt, grosses of candles and so forth. Next, contracts had to be negotiated with a willing seller at a fair and reasonable price. Lastly, the requests had to be made to the Quartermaster Department to move the provisions to their destinations. The process was accomplished by agents on horseback. Washington wrote to General Sullivan on September 3, 1779, “I immediately desire the Commissary General to form a Magazine for your future supply at some safe place and convenient place in your Rear.” Further instructions for magazine placement were sent on August 12, 1780 to Col. Blaine, “In answer to that part of your letter of the 19th:July, in which you desire to be informed of the most proper places to establish Magazines of Salt Provisions I am of opinion that you should make Albany upon the North River, Easton upon the Delaware, and Pitts Town or that neighborhood the principle places of deposit.”

The final dilemma that faced Col. Blaine was the fact that the United States did not have a navy. All the ports were controlled by Great Britain and her blockades were an effective tool in forcing submission of the inhabitants and in restricting supplies destined for the Continental Army from being received or moved. Fortunately, Congress licensed 2000 pri-

vateers to board and seize merchant vessels of hostile nations. By the end of hostilities, privateers were credited with the capture of 600 British merchant vessels, many filled with supplies very useful to an army at war. The most extraordinary prize was the British merchant vessel *Nancy*, taken early in the war in September 1775. Her cargo consisted of 2000 sets of muskets, bayonets, cartridge boxes and slings; 100,000 flints; 31 tons of musket shot; 1200 pounds of buckshot; 3200 rounds of shot for 24-inchers; 3000 for 12-inchers; 4000 for 6-inchers; and 8440 fuses. There was field equipment for 2000 regular field soldiers, including wagons, camp kettles and fry pans. The privateers were granted a percentage share of the cargo as booty; the balance was property of the Continental Congress. Commissary General Blaine quickly disbursed such captured provisions to strategic locations.

Customarily, all armies retired to winter quarters from late fall until early spring. This respite was required to heal wounds, repair equipment, train recruits, establish fortifications, plan strategies and remain sequestered from the harsh elements of nature. Furloughs were granted so that soldiers could visit families and tend to personal matters. Due to the natural agricultural cycle, provisions were always scarce during the interlude between fall harvests and spring planting.

From December 19, 1777 until June 19, 1778, Washington took winter quarters at Valley Forge on the western side of the Schuylkill River. Approximately 2500 of his troops would die from exposure and starvation, some as young as 12. While most soldiers were white, the army did include some Negroes and Indians. Rations amounting to 34,577 pounds of meat and 168 barrels of flour were needed per day to feed the army. However, because of poor organization in the Quartermaster Department, shortages of wagons and wagonmasters, lack of forage for the horses, the devaluation of the Continental currency, spoilage and the capture of supplies by the British, many supplies never arrived at Valley Forge. After Nathanael Greene accepted the duties of quartermaster general, supplies began to move into the winter camp. Log huts were built to hold 12 men, but as the winter confinement continued, the men complained of continual acrid smoke, putrid fever, the itch, diarrhea, dysentery, rheumatism and "No meat, no meat."

In early February 1778 Washington wrote to Henry Champion, "Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland are now entirely exhausted. All the Beef and Pork already collected in them or than can be collected, will not by any means support the Army one Month Longer. I have desired Colo. Blaine to give a just state of our situation and to send an active man in his Department to you. . . . Mr. Blaine will inform you of the quantity of Cattle we require for an instant supply, to be at Camp by the latter end of this month."

Winter quarters in 1779-80 were established at Morristown, New Jersey, not distant from Philadelphia. Washington pleaded to the governors of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and



Felix O.C. Darley's 19th century depiction of the construction of log huts at Valley Forge.

Delaware, "The situation of the Army with respect to supplies is beyond description alarming. It had been five or six weeks past on half allowances: and we have not more than three days of bread at a thirds allowance on hand, nor any where within reach. When this is exhausted, we must depend on the precarious gleanings of the neighboring country. Our magazines are absolutely empty every where and our commissaries entirely destitute of Money or Credit to replenish them. We have never experienced a like extremity at any point of the war. . . . Unless some extraordinary and immediate exertions be made by the States, from which we draw our supplies, there is every appearance that the Army will infallibly disband in a fortnight."

As the war for independence entered the final stages, shortages became profound. By August 27, 1780, Washington wrote the Governors of the New England and Atlantic states, "The Army is again reduced to an extremity of distress for want of provisions. . . it may be foreseen that this army cannot possibly remain much longer together, unless very vigorous and immediate measures are taken by the states to comply with the requisitions made upon them. The Commissary General had neither the means nor the power of procuring supplies."

In late January 1781, Washington directed Blaine to buy or impress meat of any kind for use by the artillery and troops at his headquarters at New Windsor. On February 20, 1781, Washington wrote to Blaine, "Troops at Albany and Schenectady were obligated to be billeted upon the Inhabitants for want of meat, and that, that part of the Country was entirely exhausted of Meat, that it could not be purchased, even were the Agents furnished with Money." On the same subject Washington suggested that the situation was so critical, "We may possibly, with the greatest difficulty, subsist for a very short time upon this almost totally exhausted Country, but we ought not, nor must not depend upon it for any thing more. If we do, it must be by depriving the inhabitants of what barely remains sufficient for

their own support.” Because of the shortages of provisions, Washington directed his officers to allow troops to desert in order to lessen the demand on the meager rations.

Cattle were available in the Southern states. However, a cattle drive to northern camps was impossible. There was neither forage en route nor grain to spare. Most grain intended for the upkeep of animals had already been ground into meal for the troops. The cattle had to be killed on site, field-dressed, salted and stored in barrels for transport by wagons.

The desertion rates of state infantry became so alarming that by May 1783 Washington had officers swear an oath of allegiance as a declaration of confidence in Congress and the United States. Being unable to pay the rank and file, Congress quelled the mutineers by promising each soldier a musket and a note to take back to his state for three months wages following the expiration of his enlistment.

Following the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain on September 3, 1783, Ephraim Blaine resigned his commission and returned to civilian duties and his home at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. After the war, the friendship of Washington and Blaine continued. The first president, together with Hamilton, Knox and others, enjoyed the hospitality of the Blaine mansion at Middlesex, near Carlisle.

Post-revolutionary life was not completely tranquil for Ephraim Blaine. In 1794 a federal tax on whiskey production caused the unrest among Pennsylvania farmers that became known as the “Whiskey Rebellion.” Ephraim Blaine made it known that he sided with the federal government and its leader, President George Washington.

In September 1794 a Carlisle newspaper reported that “a respectable citizen [Ephraim Blaine] was attacked in the streets by armed men.” The report continued, “On Thursday evening as Col. Blaine was conducting his sister, Mrs. Lyon, out of town, three of those desperadoes fired their guns at him and pursued him two miles, firing several shots at him as they ran. Happily, no injury was done, except the lady’s being very much frightened.”

The undaunted Ephraim Blaine was to arrange accommodations for President Washington and his officers in several homes on the square at Carlisle the next month, as they organized an army to put down the Whiskey Rebellion. Ephraim and his son, James, even accompanied the victorious federal march to western Pennsylvania that followed.

Ephraim Blaine died in 1804, four years after his commander-in-chief and a year after the Louisiana Purchase had doubled the size of his beloved United States.

The Blaine name was to rise to national prominence again. Ephraim’s great-grandson, James Gillespie Blaine, became a five-term congressman, speaker of the House of Representatives, twice secretary of state, and Republican nominee for the American presidency in 1884. ★

The Valley Forge Of the South

by James A.G. Beales III



James A.G. Beales III is editor of the South Carolina Society's newsletter, The Crescent Moon. A retired investment advisor, Mr. Beales resides in Cheraw, near the "Camp of Repose" that is the subject of this article. He is active in efforts to draw attention to the site's historical significance.

F all arrives in all its glory at Valley Forge National Park, near Philadelphia. Joggers, bikers, and hikers travel the paved paths that crisscross this hallowed land, but most are oblivious to the deprivation and near-starvation suffered by the remnants of Washington's army during the bleak winter of 1777-1778. Maintained by the United States Park Service, its majestic and rolling hills are poor reminders of the hardships suffered there.

Valley Forge is remembered as a low point in the Revolutionary War. From its depths sprang an invigorated force. It is a fact of history that the war had been going badly for the Americans. Almost everywhere, the British held the day. For three years they had moved in force to battle the Americans. A few isolated victories such as Saratoga were all that the patriots could boast.

The British strategy was to bottle up the North, continue the stalemate, then move on the South. A victory there would split the colonies, would end the insurrection, and the war would be over. It was a logical plan.

Two years after Valley Forge, in 1780, the British tactics seemed to be working. They took Savannah and, after a short battle, forced Charleston to surrender. Lord Cornwallis appeared to be master of the field. To halt the advance northward, the Continental Congress, without consulting General Washington, appointed General Horatio Gates, the "hero of Saratoga," to stop Cornwallis. Gates, in a blunderbuss effort, with troops half sick with dysentery, commenced the Battle of Camden. Soon over, it was described as "the most disastrous defeat ever inflicted on an American army." Sickly, undernourished and often ill-equipped troops, commanded by a general who vacillated between indecisiveness and inane decisions, were a recipe for disaster. It was Gates' personal

retreat to ignominy. What is worse, it left the South open to a sweep by Cornwallis farther north from Camden.

Congress belatedly realized its error in picking generals. It had picked Robert Howe, who lost Savannah, picked Benjamin Lincoln, who lost Charleston, and then picked Gates, who lost all the rest of the South—and his army as well. It now



General Nathanael Greene, in an engraving after a portrait by John Trumbull. He rested his battered army at the Camp of Repose before launching a successful campaign of attrition against Cornwallis.

decided to entrust the selection of Gates' successor to Washington, who promptly picked the able General Nathanael Greene.

With the tattered remains of his force, Greene knew he needed to rebuild and refit his troops. The "army" was decimated, demoralized and lacked strong leadership. Greene knew that he had a major job on his hands. He sent General Tadeusz Kosciuszko, a Pole, to search out a proper site for a camp of repose, away from the Camden-Charlotte axis. The location chosen was on the "Pee Dee River, near Cheraw Hill." There Greene's army rested, regained strength and again became an effective fighting force. At the camp Greene developed strate-



Congress awarded this medal to General Greene after the Battle of Eutaw Springs in 1781.

gy, implored governors of several states to send much-needed troops, and provisioned and clothed his men.

Consider the comparison to Valley Forge: a defeated, rag-tag army, short of numbers, of arms, ammunition, food, clothing. Not much stood in the way of total British victory. Further, Greene had earlier, and against all military logic, split his small force, sending half under Daniel Morgan to harass Cornwallis' flank. After the encampment near Cheraw Hill, Greene's army moved forward. Under his capable leadership, successive battles of attrition so weakened Cornwallis that the end, at Yorktown, was pre-ordained.

Fortunately for history, many letters of General Greene were preserved. Records indicate that more than 700 letters were written by Greene from the Camp of Repose. Those letters pleading with various states for reinforcements and supplies consistently showed his disdain for militia. Also interesting, these letters point out that Greene was not too confident of winning. But his brilliant strategy of splitting his force brought about the stunning victory by Morgan over Colonel Banastre Tarleton in January 1781 at Cowpens.

Just as Valley Forge was a place to rebuild, so was the Camp of Repose. It was, truly, the Southern Valley Forge. Unlike its northern counterpart, however, the site of this glorious resurrection lies ignored and known but to a few. An historical marker near the site says "Greene's Encampment—During December 1780 General Nathanael Greene, commander of the Southern Army, brought a number of troops to a 'camp of repose' near this spot. He hoped for abundant food, and improvement of strength, discipline, and spirit of his men. Greene departed camp on January 28, 1781 to resume active campaigning against the British." But the site lies covered with vines and underbrush, forgotten and ignored.

Should we not remember?

★

Tell King George Charles We'll Pay No Taxes *The First American Revolution*

by **Saul M. Montes-Bradley**

Saul Montes-Bradley is vice president of the Florida Society and has also taken on the presidency of the fledgling Sam Adams Chapter of that Society in the Miami-Ft. Lauderdale area. He offered the Common Sense Chapter in Daytona Beach a presentation based on this extensive research—for which he can cite 21 separate sources—at its December 14, 2000 luncheon. Mr. Montes-Bradley was born in Argentina, where his forefathers had removed after the War of 1812. In addition to numerous ancestors who fought in the American Revolution, he can also identify two that were prominent in the events of the “first American Revolution” in Ipswich, Massachusetts in the 17th century, a story he tells well in the pages that follow. He is a financial advisor with Prudential Securities and resides in Hallandale Beach.

*Rally, Mohawks! bring your axes,
And tell King George we'll pay no taxes!
-Boston Revolutionary street cry*

A few years ago, driving through Ipswich, Massachusetts, seeing one of those historical markers that so abound in the Northeast and, having an interest in the town, I naturally stopped to read it. Placed a few years ago near the Choate bridge, the sign read: “23 August 1689. Citizens of Ipswich led by Rev. John Wise denounced the levy of taxes by the arbitrary government of Sir Edmund Andros and from their protest sprung the American Revolution of 1689.” The sign appeared to explain why the town billed itself as “The birthplace of the American Revolution.”

Surely there was a mistake. For, as we all know, no event of particular importance took place in Ipswich during the Revolutionary War.

Lexington has a firm claim on the first shot fired in the Revolution, thanks to H.W. Longfellow; and Salem may well have a claim to first blood.¹ Boston has the martyrs of the Boston Massacre, the committees of correspondence, John Hancock, the Adamses, the tea party, and a score of events leading to and through the Revolution. Philadelphia, Trenton, Yorktown, New York, Brooklyn, Valley Forge and a list of places long enough to fill a good-sized book have their own claims to advance.

But, Ipswich? What could Ipswich possibly claim in connec-

tion to the Revolution other than the participation of her militiamen, beginning with the British march on Lexington in April 1775?

The Revolution, as we have studied it, has sufficient precedents going back to the French and Indian War, the protests over the Stamp Act, Benjamin Franklin passing the contents of Governor Hutchinson's letters to Sam Adams and he doing what he did best, publishing them and raising a ruckus over their content, etc. However, the subject of the sign was pretty clear: "The American Revolution of 1689." Add the concomitant assertion that the town was the "birthplace" of the American Revolution. How can this be? That was the time of Governor Andros, not Hutchinson; the time just a few years before the Salem witch trials, long before most of our Revolutionary patriots were even born; and yet, it sounded eerily familiar.

And it turned out to be a familiar struggle, for the issue at hand, just as it would be 80 years later, was taxes levied without consent of the taxed. I soon learned that the events in Ipswich played an important part in a continuous struggle over the attainment and preservation of the same liberties that Jefferson so aptly described in the Declaration of Independence—and that this struggle started in East Anglia, on the northeast coast of England, in the late 16th century, and was to lead, inexorably, to American independence.

Every schoolboy in America knows that our ancestors left England in fear of persecution and came to America in search of religious freedom. While that may have been true for some isolated individuals, I daresay that every schoolboy in America is wrong.

While earlier settlements, starting in the first years of the 17th century, had been established, particularly in Virginia and what is now North Carolina, it is the arrival of the Pilgrims and the Puritans that is more often associated with the settling of America.² Never mind that by 1620 the Pilgrims were coming to an existing colony on the Chesapeake Bay (or, perhaps, New York), and only due to some poor navigation and impending lack of beer did they land in Plymouth Bay. Never mind that their reason for leaving the Dutch city of Leyden had nothing to do with any search for religious freedom but because ". . . of all sorrows most heavily to be borne, was that many of the child-

“Every schoolboy in America knows that our ancestors left England in fear of persecution and came to America in search of religious freedom. . . . I daresay that every schoolboy in America is wrong.”

ren. . . [as a result of] the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reign [sic] off their necks and departing from their parents.”³ In other words, the kids were having a ball in Holland, the diverse attractions of which lead many into temptation to this very day, they were growing too independent, and they were not paying much attention to their old man’s counsel.

However, it is also a fact that the Massachusetts Bay Company would bring tens of thousands of new immigrants into a rapidly expanding population in what was the greatest mass migration over the Atlantic until the 19th century, coupled with the greatest high-birthrate-engendered population explosion ever recorded. The sheer numbers and industry of the settlers soon obscured the earlier settlements to the point that we associate the northern arrival with the beginnings of colonization in English America.

What possessed these many people to cross the Atlantic? Why would they leave the safety of familiar places and venture a perilous journey to an unknown land? A case could be made that some fled persecution. Contrary to present-day fairytales, however, religious persecution was not generally visited upon the general public. Dissenting ministers, in particular, were removed from their parishes and forfeited revenues if preaching did not conform to the established church policy. In other words, the state was simply not willing to provide for the sustenance of dissenting clergy and, being apparently unable to engage in any other trade, these fellows were left with migration or starvation as their sole options. But in 1642, the New Model Army ended the reign of Charles I. A Puritan Parliament placed a Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector of the realm, proceeded to cut off the deposed king’s head and sent every opposing faction into hiding or exile. Yet the Puritans kept on coming to Massachusetts. Thus, we are led to believe that our ancestors successfully waged a civil war, destroyed the established polity, engaged in regicide and the bloody persecution of every opponent, and then merrily jumped on ships to brave the crossing of the Atlantic—fearing persecution from *themselves*. I think not.

I fancy that their motives lay elsewhere, and that what caused them to embark on their perilous journey was not what England was doing to them, but what they could not do to England. Brownists, Independentists and nonconformists of every color, our ancestors were disgusted with the way things had turned out in England and were determined to start from scratch building a “New” England at home or, for that matter, anywhere else. Their notion of universal voting rights extending to every freeman in the kingdom; of the illegitimacy of any taxes levied without representation of the taxed; of the common property of grazing lands, and of government by elected representatives of the freemen; of the separation of Church and State and the independence of local parishes led by pastors answerable only to the flock—these were surely as alien and sounded just as dangerous to Cromwell as they did to Charles I.

Most of the Puritans were yeomen, and most came from East Anglia. They were but one generation removed from serfdom, and after having acquired a measure of property and liberty, both physical and spiritual, during the Reformation, were seeing their rights disappear due to Charles I's extreme views on royal prerogative. The extravagance of the king's court and his imposition of taxes without Parliament's authority led to sometime violent reactions from all classes. Large and small holders were victims of illegal taxation imposed on their holdings, and the small ones could well see their return to life as tenants of the nobility or landed gentry. As Church and State were the same, conformist priests were busy preaching resignation, while non-conformist priests were busy condemning—covertly and overtly—the king's policies. A spirit of opposition to the Established Church began to take shape. In no section of England was this spirit of hostility to the Established Church more prevalent than in East Anglia, and the region became an early nursery of dissenters and a consistent supporter of clandestine congregations.

And so came our ancestors to America: a territory without the surrounding "corruption" that so alarmed the Pilgrims and so impeded the progress of the Puritans. Here they would build a "New" England, and constitute their church into a "New Jerusalem."

They started energetically. As soon as they landed, the Pilgrims established their own Compact, constituting themselves into a "civil body politick" without so much as a courtesy reference to the king. So did the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay, establishing what has been called the first democratic system of government in the Americas. In the process, they very early set some precedents that to this day make the fabric of our nation and that help define the American concept of liberty: ". . .the other kind of liberty I call civil or federal [sic]. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for with the hazard (not only of your goods but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority but a distemper thereof."⁴ It might well be said that the concept took root in these shores!

From that moment on, the story of the Puritans in America is that of a permanent tug-of-war between royal prerogative and the colony's freedoms. While nominally under the king's jurisdiction, the colonists in fact thumbed their noses at any attempt to impose royal authority this side of the Atlantic. And the example spread:

- ◆ In 1631, barely one year after the landing of the Winthrop fleet, the residents of Watertown, near Boston, refused to pay their part in a tax assessed to build a palisade inland from the Charles River because they were not represented in the body that imposed the tax.
- ◆ In 1653, residents of New Amsterdam refused to pay taxes arbitrarily levied by Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor.

- ◆ In 1667, after the English took possession of the Dutch colonies, Governor Lovelace imposed a tax for the common defense. Eight villages remonstrated. Southold, Southampton and Easthampton on the eastern end of Long Island consented, provided that they would in future enjoy the privileges of New England towns. The town of Huntington complained, "We do not have the rights of English-men." Jamaica declared it a "disenfranchisement, contrary to the laws of the English Nation."
- ◆ In 1676, in Virginia, conflict between the prerogative and popular rights lead to the Great Rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon. English troops (regulars) were introduced to quell the rebellion, and 22 people were hanged.
- ◆ In 1678, Massachusetts denied the authority of Parliament, the colony "not being represented in Parliament."
- ◆ Between 1678 and 1680, Quakers in western New Jersey refused to pay taxes enacted by the Duke of York on vessels ascending the Delaware, because "by this we are assessed without law and excluded from our right of consent to taxes."
- ◆ In 1684, in Exeter, New Hampshire, after the council ordered a tax, the farmers drove off the sheriff with clubs while their wives stood by with buckets of scalding water to prevent any attachment of property. At Hampton, the sheriff was beaten, his sword stolen, and he was then seated on a horse with a rope around his head and driven out of town. No wonder New Hampshire license plates boast the state's motto, "Live Free or Die!"



British tax collectors were sometimes hung in effigy during the American Revolution.

It is then with plenty of precedent that we arrive at the end of the 17th century. Massachusetts Governor Leverett, a former captain of horse under Cromwell, had an ill-disguised dislike of royalty, and he seems to have represented the feelings of the colony well. The sturdy independence of the colony was taking shape as ships were built, goods were sent to many foreign ports—and the Navigation Acts routinely ignored. In 1666, the General Court simply "neglected" to reply to a letter from the king. It should come as no surprise, then, that king and court would equally resent their unruly subjects across the Atlantic,

and that they should favor policies with the purpose of undermining their independence.

A perfect occasion presented itself in the form of the claim of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Maine. This claim was based on a charter granted to his grandfather of the same name in 1639. The elder Ferdinando had sponsored some settlements there, but Massachusetts annexed these between 1652 and 1658, by the settlements' choice. In 1675, the attorney general of England determined that Gorges had a good title to the province, and also confirmed the claim of Robert Mason to New Hampshire.

In June 1676 Edward Randolph, a special envoy from the king, arrived in Massachusetts with a letter from Charles II acquainting the magistrates of Massachusetts with the claims of Gorges and Mason. The fact that Randolph was a relative of Robert Mason must have sent a clear message to the colony. The letter listed the "wrongs and usurpations" of Massachusetts, and demanded that agents be sent over to London to answer the charges.

Randolph was not well received. In a report he later published of his experiences in New England, he wrote: "Among the magistrates some are good men and well affected to his majesty, and would be well satisfied to have his majesty's authority in a better manner established; but the major part are of different principles, having been in the government from the time they established themselves into a Commonwealth."

In a pattern that would become familiar, Randolph's efforts to enforce tax collection met with resistance and no small measure of personal abuse. He wrote to the king of the disloyal sentiments prevalent in Massachusetts, recommended a writ of *quo warranto* (a writ against a defendant, whether an individual or a corporation, who lays claim to something he has no right to) against the charter, and left for England within two years of his arrival. Once in England, he bitterly attacked the colonists and expressed his view that a governor general ought to be appointed by the king. He then returned to Boston with enlarged powers, bringing a letter from the king upbraiding the colonists for their "many misdeeds." In it, Charles II recalled the independent spirit manifest in the colony from its beginnings and blamed them, among other things, for the shelter afforded the regicide judges, their evasion of the Navigation Laws and, of course, of hindering his own efforts. He then declared his intention to proceed to annul the charter at an early date.

Meanwhile, Mason had presented a letter to the General Court, and the court then ordained that a copy be sent to the magistrates of Essex County, and that all landholders there convene at Ipswich or Newbury as soon as possible. The meeting took place in Ipswich on the second Wednesday in February, 1681. Not surprisingly, the landholders declared that they had held their lands for 50 years, and had lately defended it against the Indians at the cost of 12 lives and several hundred pounds. They also pointed out that Robert Mason had never spent a penny, and pleaded that the claim be vented in a Massachusetts court

and not in England. Perhaps more interestingly, the "Inhabitants of Gloucester, alias Cape Ann, and other places adjacent" presented a letter to the General Court where they claimed rightful title to their lands upon grant of the General Court, under the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and their purchase from the natives. There were signers from Gloucester, Rowley, Newbury, Ipswich and other towns.

The matter was no joke. Should Robert Mason's claim be accepted, every man's title to his land would be in question and all would be at the mercy of a new landlord, paying rent for the field they and their fathers had cleared and for the houses they had built and defended at great cost. At this point, Thomas Lovell, one of the selectmen, had a personal meeting with Mason, after which Lovell recommended that Mason's demands be recognized. There was an immediate call to a town meeting, from the records of which we read that: "The town generally voted to lay the sd. Thomas Lovell asyd & exclud him from being a Selectman and Capt. John Appleton was chosen to be a Selectman. . .for the rest of the year."

Given the feelings of the town, it should then come as no surprise that while there are some records that preparations were made to present the claims of Mason to a county court in Essex County, no positive record exists that the case was ever called for trial.

Meanwhile, in Boston, Randolph was drawing articles of high misdemeanor against "Thomas Danforth, Daniel Gookin, Mr. Saltonstall, Samuel Novell, Mr. Richards, Mr. Davy, Mr. Gidney, Mr. Appleton, magistrates, and against John Fisher," and 14 other deputies. The charges were to refuse to admit the royal letters patent erecting the office of elector, refusal to repeal laws contrary to the laws of England, continuing to coin money, etc. In this case, Randolph specified eight magistrates, including the deputy governor, and 15 deputies, as factious and seditious.

Finally, a decree of the Court of Chancery dated June 21, 1684 ended the arguments by vacating the Charter of Massachusetts. The institutions of the colony, civil and religious, erected upon that charter were no more. As far as English law was concerned, those territories were what they had been before James I's grant: a property of the king of England by virtue of their discovery by the Cabots.

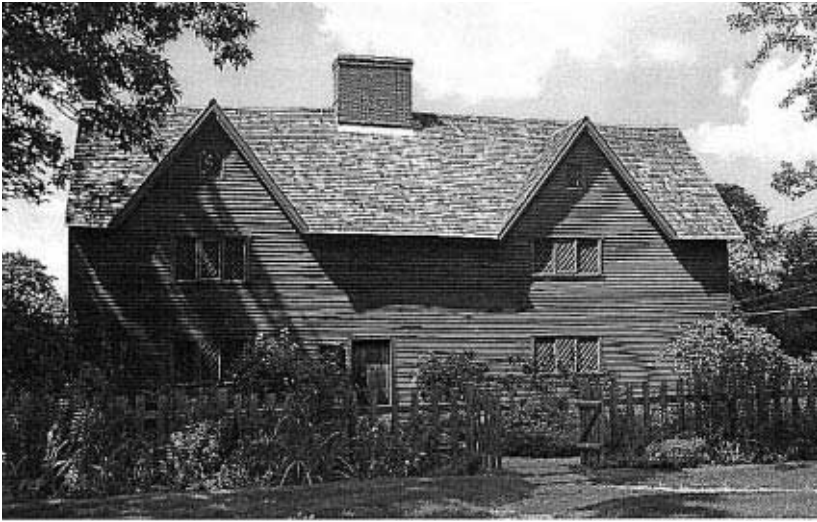
When news reached the colony the General Court decreed the 12th of March as a day of solemn humiliation throughout the colony, and a request was sent to the colonists to express their minds as to giving up the charter. The record of the meeting in Ipswich speaks for itself; "1685: Feb. 11th. . .It was also voted that all those that are desirous to retaine the privileges granted in the charter & confemed by his Royall Majesty now reigning should manifest the same by holding up their hands, which vote was unanimous in the affirmative. None when tried appeared in the Negative." Other towns voted along the same lines.

Many years before, in 1664, an appeal to arms had been proposed when the charter seemed endangered. But the colonies were not now in good shape. The recent Indian war had left a depleted treasury and fresh memories of loss. And they could expect no help from England, where the Constitutional Party was on the run and Charles II was submitting the towns to his pleasure. They then took a different course of action and voted upon sending the king "an humble petition" to secure an abatement of some of his measures. Charles II died before reaching any decision on the fate of the colonies. He was succeeded on February 6, 1685 by his brother, James II. On July 24 a new petition was adopted, in which the colonists implored pardon for their faults and a gracious continuance of their liberties according to the charter. James was no more accommodating than Charles had been and, nothing being thereby accomplished, the General Court was dissolved and members were appointed to the Council of Eighteen that replaced it. Gov. Simon Bradstreet, Nathaniel Saltonstall, and Dudley Bradstreet declined membership in the new body. There was soon evidence of popular discontent. The charges vary from "refusing to observe the publique fast appointed by the President of the Councill" to "speaking treasonable words." The communities of Topsfield, Rowley and Ipswich were soon recognized as hostile to the new government, as they went from non-observance of fast days to refusing to pay taxes, in the levying of which they had no voice.

On December 12, 1686, the new appointed governor, Sir Edmund Andros, arrived in Boston, accompanied by a detachment of 60 redcoats to ensure his safety. Almost immediately, he ordered a tax of a penny on a pound. In March, the council abrogated the old method by which the towns had decided the local rates on taxes levied by the General Court. The reaction was what we must by now expect from our forebears. In Taunton, the town clerk was bound to answer for a "scandalous, factious and seditious writing" sent from the town to the treasurer in answer to the tax warrant. Justice Thomas Leonard was suspended for being present and not preventing the actions of the town meeting, and the constables were bound over for not obeying the treasurer's warrant.

In Ipswich, the town meeting took place on August 23, 1687. However, the night before there was a meeting of the selectmen, John Andrews, Thomas Burnam, John Whipple, Thomas Kinsman, Thomas Harte, John Appleton, Jr. and Nathaniel Treadwell, and other leading citizens in Appleton's house, where they discussed what action to take at the town meeting. After Constable Thomas French read the warrant, they all agreed that this "warrant-act" for raising a revenue abridged their rights as Englishmen, and "did Discourse & Conclude yt it was not ye town's Dutie any wayes to Assist yt ill Methode of Raising mony wtout a Generall Assembly, wch was apparently intended by above said Sr Edmund Andros & his Councill."

It must be noted that the vocabulary through these two centuries shows both the consistency of our ancestors and the utter



Courtesy the Whipple Website

The Ipswich, Massachusetts house of John Whipple, who was a selectman in the town during the tax revolt of 1687. The house was begun before 1650 and considerably enlarged by the Whipple family during the 17th century. It is owned and maintained by the Ipswich Historical Society. The John Whipple House was home to the first six generations of the Whipple family, and is considered one of the finest examples of First-Period Architecture (1625-1725). Most of its original timber frame, fashioned of oak, chestnut and pine, has well survived the test of time. The museum interiors contain many furnishings and decorative arts from the period of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

lack of imagination of the king's scribes, for "factious and seditious" are the two charges hurled at the former from the times of the tax uprisings in East Anglia to the likes of Adams, Hancock, Franklin, Washington, etc.

The next day the town meeting was held and, after much discourse against the warrant, the town refused to choose a commissioner. To add insult to injury, delegates from Ipswich were sent to meetings in neighboring towns to promote opposition to the act. This last action seems to have been the most obnoxious to the council. Formal proceedings began against the refractory towns, and warrants of arrest were issued against the constable, moderator and clerk of Ipswich, though not against the other "Disaffected & evil Desposed persons within ye sd town as yet unknown who. . .met and assembled together att Ipswich aforesaid Did in a most factious & Seditious & Contemptuous manner then & there vote & agree that they were not willing nor would Choose a Commissioner as by a Warrant from Jno. Usher Esq. His Majesties Treasurer. . .the sd Jno. Appleton as Clerk of ye said Town put into writing and published Contrary to and in high Contempt of his majesties Laws & Government here established. . ."

The following day, a warrant for the arrest of Rev. John Wise and of William Hewlett was issued because they "Did particularly Excite and Stir up his Majesties Subjects to Refractoryness and Disobedience."

The special grievance against Ipswich was not the simple act of refusing to elect a tax commissioner, but the drawing of the results of that meeting into a document that was then published and used as an incentive to similar action in other towns. This is especially made clear in the council documents related to the arraignment of the Ipswich men, which states that they were “committed for refusing to pay their rates. . .and making and publishing factious and seditious votes and writings.” From later depositions, we gather that many of these men did not quietly submit to pressure and had complaints of their own. John Wise declared, “Mr. West, the Deputy Secretary declared to some of us that we were a factious People & had no Privilege left us. The Govrnr Sr Ed Andros said to some of us By way of Ridicule, Whether we thought if Jack & Tom should tell the king wt moneyes he must have for ye use of his Govmt Implying that ye People of the Countree were but a parcell of Ignorant Jack & Toms.” Rev. Wise replied to these officials with a familiar claim to Revolutionary War historians: that, as Englishmen, the colonists had privileges according to the Magna Charta. This claim would form part of nearly every petition forwarded to the courts by imprisoned town officers and leading men of the towns of Essex County. Particularly harsh treatment was reserved for Maj. Samuel Appleton, whose refusal to admit any wrongdoing earned him a long stay at the stone jail of Boston. In dark and damp quarters, treated as a common felon, the old veteran of King Philip’s War suffered every indignity for conscience’s sake, and made his protests against the usurpation. By October of 1687, Connecticut had yielded her charter, and Plymouth had surrendered as well. All seemed lost.

However, on April 4, 1689, a ship arrived in Boston bringing news of William of Orange’s landing in England. Two weeks later the citizens of Boston were summoned by the drum’s beat. The mob seized Governor Andros and Randolph and hauled them to the same jail they had used to house opponents of their rule. The militia marched up King’s Street escorting former Governor Bradstreet and Deputy Governor Danforth, who had been replaced in their positions under the old charter. This done, a dec-

“The Govrnr Sr Ed Andros said to some of us By way of Ridicule, Whether we thought if Jack & Tom should tell the king wt moneyes he must have for ye use of his Govt implying that ye People of the Countree were but a parcell of Ignorant Jack & Toms.”

— Complaint of Rev. John Wise from Ipswich

“As we hail the men who fought for and secured American independence, we must not forget their grandparents—who planted those ideas in their young minds.”

laration believed to have been composed by Cotton Mather was read. This “Declaration of Gentlemen, Merchants and Inhabitants of Boston and the Country Adjacent” charged Governor Andros with malicious oppression of the people, with extortionate fees for probate and “what laws they made it was as impossible for us to know, as dangerous for us to break; but we shall leave the men of Ipswich and Plimouth (among others) to tell the story of the kindness which has been shown them on this account.” The declaration continued, “Accordingly, we have been treated with multiplied contradictions to Magna Charta, the rights of which we laid claims unto. Persons who did but peacefully object against the raising of Taxes without an Assembly have for it been fined, some twenty, some thirty, and others fifty pounds.”

Before night, exactly 86 years before the Lexington Alarm, the revolution had succeeded and the Andros government was no longer. Articles of impeachment were immediately drawn against Andros, Dudley and Randolph.

That this was indeed a revolution seems to have been clear in the minds of its contemporaries. Within months of the uprising, in June of 1689, Nathaniel Byfield published “An Account of the Late Revolution in New England, together with the Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Country Adjacent, April 18: 1689.”

It is important to note that these events took place after news of the arrival of William of Orange in England, but before his victory there. Had the Prince of Orange failed at his attempt to wrestle the crown from James II, New England would have, in fact, seceded from England. Faced with a *fait accompli*, and lacking either the will or the resources to re-establish the crown’s stranglehold in New England, William of Orange accepted the restoration of the charter and left the colonists pretty much to themselves in exchange for a nominal recognition of his suzerainty.

A brief period of relative calm in these issues ensued, a period marked by the Salem witch trials and the Indian wars spanning from 1690 to 1745. But as soon as calm was restored to the colony, attempts were made to reassert the king’s right to taxation, and the grandchildren of our heroes rose up with equal determination and finished their forebears’ work. So as we hail

the men who fought for and secured American independence, we must not forget their grandparents—who planted those ideas in their young minds.

As Rufus Choate put it in his oration on the 200th anniversary of the town of Ipswich in 1834, “These men. . .may justly claim a distinguished rank among the patriots of America. You, their townsmen, their children, may well be proud of them. Prouder still, but more grateful than proud, that a full town-meeting of the freemen of Ipswich adopted, unanimously, that declaration of right, and refused to collect or pay the tax, which would have made them slaves.” ★

NOTES

- 1 In February of 1775, after a similar attempt had failed in Portsmouth, Gen. Gage sent the 64th Regiment under Colonel Leslie to Salem to seize stores. They landed on Marblehead as the people were in church. This time, they did not wait for the closing hymn and, as the redcoats landed, Marbleheaders went to Salem with word that the “regulars were out.” As Col. Leslie reached the bridge over the North River, he found it up. Demanding that the king’s highway be cleared, he received the reply that the bridge was the property of the inhabitants. Meanwhile, drums and mounted expresses carried word, and militia from Salem and as far as Amesbury began to gather. The arguments grew hotter and longer until the colonel proposed that if the bridge were lowered, he would cross with his men and promptly turn around back to Marblehead and embark. As this was going on, a woman named Sarah Tarrant leaned out of her window and cried, “Go home and tell your master he sent you on a fool’s errand and has broken the peace of our Sabbath. What! Do you think we were born in the woods to be frightened by owls?” During these events, a British bayonet pricked one man, Joseph Whicher. His may be said to be the first blood shed in the Revolution.
- 2 For purposes of identification, I am making a distinction between Pilgrims and Puritans though, in effect, the Pilgrims were but a group of Puritans known as Separatists. The main difference between the separatists and other Puritan groups such as the Independentists, Brownists, etc., was that while most Puritans believed that the Church of England could be reformed, the Separatists (Pilgrims) believed that there was no hope in such venture and the whole might just as well be given up for good. The Pilgrims eventually merged their Plymouth Colony into Massachusetts.
- 3 William Bradford, *On Plymouth Plantation*.
- 4 John Winthrop, *Liberty Is the Proper and Just Object of Authority*, 1645.

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