This book is written by and for Florida Society, Sons of the American Revolution Conpatriots. It contains Genealogical Case studies, interesting historical information on our flags, Revolutionary War battles, habits and other facts.
Articles published in this book are the exploits and experiences of Compa-
triot members of the Florida Society, Sons of the American Revolution. Ar-
ticles will be accepted for publication from our society members. Submis-
sions will be reviewed for acceptability by the Editor of The Florida Patriot
and the Editorial Staff established for this e-book. The article should be de-
scribing a single exploit or experience or a summary of the compatriot’s war
time experiences. Acceptable language should always be used. Efforts will
be made to maintain within reason the style, punctuation, and language of
the compatriot.

Submit articles to:
The Florida Patriot Editor, Steven Williams, at swilliams16@cfl.rr.com
Dedicated to

All Florida compatriots who have worked to bring historical and genealogical education to our Compatriots and our children.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Section Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genealogical Research</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Research into Patriotic service for previously approved SAR/DAR ancestors</td>
<td>GR-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Indicator of Jonathan Fuller in the American Revolution</td>
<td>GR-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seaman Michael Smiths</td>
<td>GR-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hegira of Abraham Smith to Canada</td>
<td>GR-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christian Hornish &amp; Christian Harnish: A Genealogical Analysis</td>
<td>GR-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Artifacts in History</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Grand Union Flag</td>
<td>AH-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hopkins Flag</td>
<td>AH-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Bedford Flag</td>
<td>AH-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Taunton Flag</td>
<td>AH-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stamp Act Flag / Sons Of Liberty Flag / Rebelious Stripes Flag</td>
<td>AH-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The French Infantry Musket Model of 1763</td>
<td>AH-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>People &amp; Events in History</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George Washington and Medical Experimentation</td>
<td>PH-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marinus Willett</td>
<td>PH-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan Trumbell, Sr</td>
<td>PH-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archbishop John Carroll</td>
<td>PH-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Who Was the Real Benedict Arnold</td>
<td>PH-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isacc Shelly</td>
<td>PH-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Joseph Warren: The American Revolution’s First Martyred Patriot</td>
<td>PH-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriot, British Warships Clash in 1783</td>
<td>PH-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Battle of Savannah, October 9, 1779</td>
<td>PH-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. John Witherspoon: The Academic as a Founding Father</td>
<td>PH-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Lemmon, Soldier and Patriot</td>
<td>PH-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Remembering Lexington and Concord</td>
<td>PH-17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Genealogical Research

This chapter contains article submissions dealing with genealogical case studies discussing research problems and solutions, discussions of particular family lineages and the issues involved in compiling accurate information, or other similar articles.
Research into patriotic service for previously approved SAR/DAR ancestors

Ronald E. Benson, Jr., Ph.D.

Many times prospective members of SAR are under the impression that prior approval of genealogy and patriotic service for an ancestor as contained in SAR and DAR membership applications is sufficient documentation when filling out a membership application today. This is simply not the case. In the event that the previously approved application was thoroughly documented then there may be no need to collect and submit copies of the proof documents referenced in the original application. But, if the previously approved application does not include source citations for proof of genealogical statements or patriotic service which meet today’s standards, then this research must be performed and documents submitted along with the new application. This article provides a case study regarding two brothers whose descendants have been previously approved for membership in SAR/DAR and offers an example of why further investigation is often necessary.

In 1912, the Mary Talmadge Chapter of DAR put together a compilation of the names of the men from Litchfield County, Connecticut who served during the Revolutionary War and included the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kilbourn, Jehiel</td>
<td>Kilbourn Gen.</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilbourn, Joseph</td>
<td>Kilbourn Gen.</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They cited the genealogy which was published by Payne Kenyon Kilbourne in 1856 as their source. This book on the Kilbourn family identified that two brothers named Jehiel Kilbourn and Joseph Kilbourn had served during the Revolutionary War and had been prisoners of war during 1778.

JEHEIL, b. in Litchfield… was a soldier in Col. Bradley’s regiment in the Revolution, and in June 1778, was a prisoner of war.

JOSEPH, b. in Litchfield… was a soldier of the revolution, and in June, 1778, he was a prisoner.

In February 1915, the following was published in the DAR Magazine regarding a query about Jehiel Kilbourn.

In the Genealogy of the Kilbourn Family by Payne Kenyon Kilbourn, written in 1856, it is stated that Jehiel, b. Litchfield, m. Amy Vaill, of that town, and had nine ch… He was a soldier in Col. Bradley’s regiment, and in 1778 was taken prisoner. I cannot find any reference to this service in the State Books, but as the genealogy was written so early, it seems as if the information must be authentic.—Miss Carmelia B. Smith, Registrar, Mary Floyd Tallmadge Chapter, D.A.R., Litchfield, Conn. The Gen. Ed. would add that record of service, given only in a genealogy is not accepted by the Registrar General as sufficient evidence that the man performed the service claimed...

A review of records using the online DAR Genealogical Research System identifies that, over the years, there have been fifteen DAR members who have used Jehiel Kilbourn as their patriot ancestor. The earliest application was DAR #73102 and most recent was DAR #696210. A review of the Record Copy of the application for DAR #696210 [an application submitted in 1985] provides the following regarding her ancestor’s patriotic service.

The said Jehiel Kilbourn, who resided during the American Revolution at Litchfield, Litchfield, Conn. assisted in establishing American Independence, while acting in the capacity of a member of the second regiment, Light Dragoons, Continental Troops of the Revolutionary War. His name appears on an undated list of orders for the years 1782-1783. He was in Col. Bradley’s regiment in Conn. line and was a prisoner of war.

The information provided as the reference for the above stated patriotic service was simply reference to two previously approved membership papers.

Frances Lindley Loomis Nat’l #215848
Jennie Preston Bunn Nat’l #148566

The application for Frances Lindley Loomis [DAR #215848] was processed in 1925 and identifies her source regarding her ancestor’s patriotic service as being membership applications DAR #73102 and DAR #196551.

The application for Lizzie Manley Lindley [DAR #73102], mother of Frances Lindley Loomis, provides the following statement regarding her ancestor’s patriotic service.

It is shown by the records of the War department, that one Jehiel Kilbourn, rank not stated, served as a member of the 2d Regiment, Light Dragoons Continental Troop, Revolutionary War. His name appears only in an undated list of orders for the years 1782 and 1783, which affords no further information relative to him. Nothing has been found of record to show that any other person of that name served in the war mentioned. My ancestor was in Col. Bradley’s regiment, in Conn. Line and was a prisoner of war in 1778.

Ms. Lindley’s application provided that “service verified by certificate from War Dept.”

The portion of the statements claiming the service provided by Jehiel Kilbourn which involved having been a prisoner of war during 1778 seems consistent with that provided in the Kilbourn genealogy (1856) as well as that discussed in the DAR magazine (1915). It appears possible that someone had found a document, sometime after 1915, which identified that Jehiel Kilbourn was in the 2nd Regiment of Light Dragoons during an unknown period during the war. Locating a copy of the source document which was cited in the Lizzie Manley Lindley application would be helpful in further investigating whether it would be considered acceptable by today’s standards.

Wayne Randall Klinefelter [SAR #48400] made application on 15 January 1931 to join SAR with Jehiel Kilbourn as his Patriot ancestor. The statement regarding Jehiel Kilbourn’s service during the Revolutionary War was as follows:

*It is shown by the records of the War Department of Connecticut that one Jehiel Kilbourn, rank not stated, served as a member of the second Regt Light Dragoons, Continental Troops, Revolutionary War. His name appears only in an undated list of orders for the years 1782-1783 which affords no further particulars relative to him. He was in Col. Bradleys regiment in Conn. Line and was a prisoner of war.*

Refer to D.A.R. No. 258916, Florence Tollefson, sister of applicant.

As can be seen by this statement, the information used on the SAR application appears to have come from an earlier DAR membership application of the applicant’s sister who likely took it from one of the earlier DAR applications.

The *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution* (1889) provides some details of the men who served in Colonel Elisha Sheldon’s 2nd Regiment of Light Dragoons between 1777 and 1783.4 There were two Kilborn/Kilburn men who were members of this regiment.

*Jno. Kilborn/Private/enlisted 20 Jan 1781/for war/N. Hartford/Farmer/5’8”/dark hair*
*Roswel Kilburn/Private/enlisted 15 Jan 1781/for war/Litchfield/Joiner/5’5/light hair*

Neither of these men was named Jehiel Kilbourn, so that is probably why the Litchfield DAR Registrar had stated regarding Jehiel Kilbourn that “I cannot find any reference to this service in the State Books.” John Kilborn was from North Hartford so it is highly unlikely that this entry may have been an error with the name actually having been that of Jehiel Kilbourn. Roswel Kilburn was from Litchfield, but it seems unlikely to confuse the name “Roswel” with the name “Jehiel.” In addition, there was a Roswell Kilbourn, son of Roswell and Irene Kilbourn, who was born 7 April 1763 at Litchfield and he likely was the man who served in the 2nd Regiment, Light Dragoons.5 We know that it would not have been his father, also named Roswell, as he died on 8 February 1777.6 Therefore, it appears that the claim that Jehiel Kilbourn served in the 2nd Regiment, Light Dragoons was likely a case of mistaken identity.

Archibald McMillan [SAR 78888], a descendant of Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield, joined the SAR using Joseph Kilbourn as his Patriot ancestor. The following is the statement from his application for the patriotic service performed by his ancestor.

*He served in the Lexington Alarm list from the town of Colchester and was 21 days in service, under Eliphalet Buckley, Captain. Also in 4th Battalion, Wadsworth’s Brigade, under Col. Selden in 1776. He was taken prisoner in June, 1778. ["(Did not find)" was hand written at the end of the typed entry.]*

The Registrar General approved his application on 25 April 1955, apparently based on proof of patriotic service being page 7 of *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution* which identified that a Joseph Kilburn marched on the Lexington Alarm from Colchester, Connecticut and served 21 days. This obviously leads to the question as to whether this would have been the Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield or another man named Joseph Kilbourn. The vital records for Colchester suggest that “Joseph, s. [Hezekiah, Jr. & Mary], b. Mar. 2, 1758” is more likely the man who marched on the Alarm from Colchester than Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield as Colchester is approximately sixty miles from Litchfield. The Kilbourn genealogy by Payne Kenyon Kilbourne [page 129] provides a biographical sketch for Hezekiah Kilbourn, Jr. of Colchester which includes mention that he had a son named Joseph. Kilbourne’s book also identifies that Hezekiah Kilbourn, Jr. of Colchester was a second cousin of Joseph and Jehiel Kilbourn of Litchfield. Therefore, it appears that the SAR membership application, approved in 1955 for Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield, was likely approved based on a case of mistaken identity. A review of *Connecticut Men in the...*

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War of the Revolution identifies that Col. Selden’s Fourth Battalion of Wadsworth’s Brigade in 1776 included as 2nd Lieutenant a man named Jonathan Kilbourn whose name is marked with a footnote which states “These officers do not appear to have served.” This appears to be a second case of mistaken identity, involving Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield, when looking up names of soldiers in the Connecticut State rolls. The subject membership application also included the claim that Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield had been “taken prisoner in June, 1778” and cited “History of the Kilburn Family” as his source. It is unlikely that the SAR Registrar General was relying upon this for proof of patriotic service as “Conn Men p 7” is hand written at the end of the section for sources and a check mark was hand written next to the Colchester service, plus the hand written notation “did not find” written immediately after the claim that Joseph Kilbourn had been taken prisoner in June 1778.

Possibility that Joseph and Jehiel Kilbourn had been prisoners of war

As a direct lineal descendant of Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield, I was performing research regarding my ancestor for a possible SAR supplemental application with him as my Patriot ancestor. In particular, I was attempting to determine the accuracy of the claim for service which was attributed to Payne Kenyon Kilbourne as well as locate a source document which today would be acceptable to SAR. While attempting to learn more about potential resources to use in this research, I read a paper written by Bruce B. Stark [formerly Assistant State Archivist with the Connecticut State Library] about little known sources of information regarding Connecticut soldiers during the Revolutionary War. Stark’s paper mentioned, by way of an example, the name of Jehiel Kilbourn having been found in a Pay Table Journal as having been paid for prisoner’s wages.8

Many subjects can be studied by using Pay Table Journals… To give a few examples, a single page for May 29, 1778 has the names of thirty officers, soldiers, and civilians, the nature of the expenses for which reimbursement is sought, and the amounts sought… A second Pay Table Journal entry for June 1, 1778 has another twenty five names, including those to Mercy Bissell to pay for the hospital expenses of Enos Batt, Daniel Marvin for a horse, Jehiel Kilbourn for prisoner’s wages, and to Colonel Increase Mosley for the Fairfield Alarm payroll.

Upon reading this helpful reference, I wondered whether or not the name of Joseph Kilbourn might be on the same list and ordered a roll of microfilm which contained an image of the original Pay Table Journal for 1 June 1778.9 Upon looking through the Pay Table Journal, I found just what I was looking for. Not only was there the name of Jehiel Kilbourn, but a few lines down there was also the name of Joseph Kilbourn. One can just imagine the excitement which I had over finding the names of these two brothers on an original document showing they both had been paid for prisoner’s wages on 1 June 1778. This appeared to be the source document which contained the information as suggested by Payne Kenyon Kilbourne in his book published in 1856. The next steps were to fully transcribe the entries from the Pay Table Journal and then to perform further research in order to determine the circumstances under which these two brothers had been taken prisoner.

A scanned image of the page from the Pay Table Journal is provided as Exhibit 1 and a transcription is provided in Exhibit 2. There were a considerable number of ditto marks used on this page and they must all be carefully sorted out in order to properly transcribe the subject entries. Note that Stark had identified that one payment had been made to “Mercy Bissell to pay for the hospital expenses of Enos Batt,” but upon careful review of all of the entries on this page this should have been identified as Mercy Bissell being reimbursed for hospital expenses attributed to the Enos Battalion in 1777. This becomes clear when noting that “Batt” was not the last name of someone named “Enos” and instead was the abbreviation for Battalion and then was referred to using ditto marks on down the page for Swifts Battalion 1777, C. Webbs Battalion 1776, Sages Battalion 1776, and Bradley Battalion 1776. Therefore, in the transcribed version we have replaced all of the ditto marks with the text which it appears was being repeated down the column as suggested by each ditto mark. The first thing which becomes apparent when studying this Pay Table Journal is that the individuals who received pay lived in different places. Connecticut Men in the Revolution provides a list of the men who served under Col. Philip Burr Bradley during 1776.10 One of the companies in Col. Bradley’s battalion was commanded by Capt. Bezaleel Beebe of Litchfield. The list of names of the men who served under Capt. Beebe is noted as having been lost, but a partial reconstructed list is provided. This suggested that further research be conducted in Litchfield source materials in order to see if a more complete listing of the names of the men in Capt. Beebe’s company from Litchfield in 1776 might be found, and more particularly whether the names of Jehiel and Joseph Kilbourn would be in the list.

Payne Kenyon Kilbourne is again the author of the information which was consulted about Capt. Beebe’s men from Litchfield.11 Kilbourne provided a detailed account of the enlistment of a company of 36 men from Litchfield, their participation in the battle at Fort Washington near New York City in November 1776, their surrender to the British, the terrible

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9. Connecticut Archives, Revolutionary War, Series 2, Pay Table Journal, Vol. 20, p. 636. [FHL Film #3575]

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conditions of their captivity in New York City, and the eventual death of 30 of the 36 men. A diary and notes made by Capt. Beebe were cited as the basis for identifying the dates and conditions of the death of each of these men along with the names of the few survivors. Neither the name of Joseph Kilbourn, nor that of Jehiel Kilbourn, was on the list of the men who served from Litchfield under Captain Beebe and Col. Bradley in 1776 and were taken prisoner. This leads to the question as to why their names were on the 1 June 1778 Pay Table Journal associated with Col. Bradley in 1776.

The discovery of two lists which appear to be associated with persons from Litchfield who were somehow associated with Col. Bradley in 1776 suggested comparing the names from the two lists, alphabetically by surname. This comparison is provided in Table 1. The first thing which becomes apparent is that there is one name on the list of individuals having received prisoner’s wages who was extremely unlikely to have been a prisoner and that is Chloe Beach. We can find the marriage of Chloe Palmer of Branford to Barnias Beach recorded at Litchfield on the last day of May 1759. This seems to lead to an obvious conclusion that widow Chloe (Palmer) Beach was being paid for the prisoner’s wages otherwise due to her deceased husband as his surviving next of kin. This further suggested that we look at other combinations of names on this list to see if a similar explanation might make sense.

Another useful source of information on the families of Litchfield is the Genealogical Register of the Inhabitants of the Town of Litchfield, Connecticut. Looking up the Parmelee family yields that Amos and Sarah (Kilborn) Parmelee had a son “John, b. May 15, 1757; d. in Revolutionary Army.” This would certainly suggest the likelihood that Amos Parmelee was paid the prisoner’s wages otherwise due to his deceased son [who would have been age 19] as his next of kin. Caleb Gibbs, who was paid approximately double the amount of others, was the brother of Gershom Gibbs and uncle of Isaac Gibbs [son of Gershom Gibbs] and was possibly receiving payment as representative of his brother’s family. Alexander and Deborah (Phelps) McNeil were the parents of a son Alexander McNeil who was “b. , d. in Revolutionary War.” This would suggest that the Alexander McNeil who was paid prisoner’s wages was receiving the payment as next of kin of his son who died while a prisoner. Aaron Stoddard who “d. Jan 12, 1777, in captivity in New York” had a brother John Stoddard who possibly was paid the prisoner’s wages due to his brother’s family as their representative.

This leads us back to the Kilbourn family. Payne Kenyon Kilbourne provides the necessary information from which to identify the likely reason why Joseph Kilbourn was on the Pay Table Journal. Joseph Kilbourn “was married to Elizabeth Marsh, daughter of Timothy Marsh, Nov. 30, 1765... Elizabeth, his wife, died Oct. 15, 1777; and he subsequently married Mary [sic] Coe, widow of Timothy Marsh, Jr., (a brother of his first wife).” The Genealogical Register of Litchfield provides that Timothy Marsh, Jr. [son of Timothy Marsh] married Sarah (____) and had children Sarah [born in 1774] and Timothy [born in 1776]. The genealogy of the Coe family identifies that Sarah Coe [daughter of Thomas and Abigail (Leaming) Coe] was the wife of both Timothy Marsh and Joseph Kilbourn.

Joseph Kilbourn died in January 1777 on his way home from having been held as a prisoner of war. His brother-in-law, Joseph Kilbourn, lost his wife in October 1777 at which time Joseph would have had four minor children and Sarah (Coe) Marsh would have had two minor children. It is likely that the two families were merged with the marriage of Joseph Kilbourn and Sarah (Coe) Marsh prior to the 1 June 1778 date of the Pay Table Journal. This would certainly suggest the possibility that Joseph Kilbourn’s name was entered in the Pay Table Journal as having received payment of the prisoner’s wages otherwise due to Timothy Marsh as the representative of the widow and children of Timothy Marsh.

The above discussion seems to identify the likelihood that the list of names in the Pay Table Journal, dated at Hartford on 1 June 1778, are a list of names of those persons who received the payments as being, or on behalf of, the next of kin for a group of the men from Litchfield, who had died in late December 1776 or early January 1777, having served under Captain Bezaleel Beebe in Colonel Philip Burr Bradley’s Battalion. The family relationships which support these conclusions have been found in various books published on the history of Litchfield families, although an exhaustive search was not conducted in an attempt to make identification of all of the names on the Pay Table Journal.

It appears that neither Joseph nor Jehiel Kilbourn had been held as prisoners of war as suggested by Payne Kenyon Kilbourne in 1856, and instead their names had been found on a Pay Table Journal as more likely being the family representative who received payment due the next of kin of a man who had been a prisoner.

Summary and Conclusions

It appears that Jehiel Kilbourn of Litchfield was credited with service in Col. Sheldon’s 2nd Regiment in error and that instead John Kilbourn of North Hartford and Roswell Kilburn of Litchfield served in that regiment. It appears that Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield was credited with serving with the men of Colchester during the Lexington Alarm and instead his cousin Joseph Kilbourn of Colchester had marched on the alarm. Another error involves that Joseph Kilbourn of Litchfield

15. Ibid, p. 137.
17. It appears that Payne Kenyon Kilbourne made a Scribner’s error when mentioning that Joseph Kilbourn’s second wife was “Mary” who was the widow of Timothy Marsh Jr. Later on the same page, PKK mentions the death of “Sarah” as the widow of Joseph Kilbourn.
18. The History and Antiquities of the Name and Family of Kilbourn, p. 107.
20. J. Gardner Bartlett, Robert Coe, Puritan: His Ancestors and Descendants, (Boston, 1911), pp. 125-126
was credited with serving in Col. Seldon’s 4th Battalion in 1776 when actually Lt. Jonathan Kilbourn had been a member of Seldon’s Battalion.

A likely source of confusion regarding Joseph and Jehiel Kilbourn being credited with having been prisoners of war during June 1778 [and being in Col. Bradley’s Battalion] appears to be the presence of their names on the Connecticut Pay Table Journal dated Hartford on 1 June 1778. An investigation into the names on this Pay Table Journal suggests that the individuals whose names appear were being paid money as the family representatives of men who had been in Col. Bradley’s Battalion in 1776, were taken prisoner, and who died prior to reaching home.

The findings from this investigation appear to be an example of a reason why the DAR Magazine from February 1915 identified “that record of service, given only in a genealogy is not accepted by the Registrar General as sufficient evidence that the man performed the service claimed.” It is concluded that it is unlikely that any evidence, meeting today’s SAR/DAR standards, exists which could be used to support future use of Joseph or Jehiel Kilbourn of Litchfield as a patriotic ancestor.

**Author Information**

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**Table 1 - Comparison of names of Litchfield men who served under Capt. Beebe (1776) to names on the Pay Table Journal associated with Col. Bradley (1776)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Litchfield men under Capt. Beebe</th>
<th>Names from Pay Table Journal</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Allen (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enos Austin (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnias Beach (died on way home)</td>
<td>Chloé Beach (prisoner wages £3.14.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah Beach (reached home)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Benedict (reached home)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zebulon Bissell (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elisha Brownson (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corp Samuel Cole (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gershom Gibbs (died Dec 29)</td>
<td>Caleb Gibbs (prisoner wages £6.18.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Gibbs (died Jan 15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phineas Goodwin (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgt. David Hall (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos Johnson (died)</td>
<td>Jehiel Kilborn (prisoner wages £2.12.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph Kilborn (prisoner wages £3.6.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Little (reached home)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elijah Loomis (died)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Remembrance Loomis (died)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Lyman (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander McNiel (died)</td>
<td>Alexander McNiel (prisoner wages £5.4.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Marsh (died)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Oliver Marshall (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mason (reached home)</td>
<td>Luther Mason (prisoner wages £6.4.0)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sgt Cotton Mather (reached home)</td>
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<td>David Olmsted (died)</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Parmely (died)</td>
<td>Amos Parmelee (prisoner wages £3.9.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Parmely (died)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Smith (died)</td>
<td>John Smith (prisoner wages £3.14.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Spencer (died)</td>
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<td>Timothy Stanley (died)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aaron Stoddard (died)</td>
<td>John Stoddard (prisoner wages £3.17.4)</td>
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<td>Jared Stuart (died)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joel Taylor (died)</td>
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<td>Samuel Vaill (died)</td>
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<td>Jeremiah Weed (died)</td>
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<td>John Whiting (died)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GR-6**
Gideon Wilcoxson (died)
Oliver Woodruff (reached home)

Exhibit 1 – Image from Pay Table Journal, dated at Hartford on 1 June 1778

Exhibit 2 – Transcription of Pay Journal Table, dated at Hartford on 1 June 1778

Hartford June 1st 1778

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 79 | To Ordr on Treas p Lt. Hanford the amount his pay Roll Militia to Peekskill | £ 3.4.0 |
| 79 | To Ordr Mercey Bissell…hospl Exp | 5.12.0 |
| 79 | To Ordr James Benedict…hospl Exp | 23.4.0 |
| 47 | To Ordr Isaac Emmonds…hospl Exp 9/6 Loss 92/ | £ 5.1.6 |
| 48 | To Ordr John Hallam…..Loss | £ 3.4.0 |
| 83 | To Ordr Danl Marvin…..Loss 36/..horse for Exp 18/8 | £ 2.14.8 |
| 83 | To Ordr John Smith………Prisoners Wages | £ 3.14.8 |
| 83 | To Ordr Caleb Gibbs……Prisoners Wages | £ 6.18.8 |
| 83 | To Ordr Amos Parmelee…..Prisoners Wages | £ 3.9.4 |
| 83 | To Ordr Jehiel Kilborn…..Prisoners Wages | £ 2.12.0 |
| 83 | To Ordr Alexr McNeil……….Prisoners Wages | £ 5.4.0 |
| 83 | To Ordr John Stoddard…..Prisoners Wages | £ 3.17.4 |
| 83 | To Ordr Luther Mason…..Prisoners Wages 6.4 Hospl Exp 6.16……Bradley Batt | £ 13.0.0 |
| 83 | To Ordr Chloe Beach……….Prisoners Wages 3.14.8 Hospl Exp 4.8…..Bradley Batt | £ 8.2.8 |
| 83 | To Ordr Jos Kilborn………Prisoners Wages 3.6.8 Hospl Exp 10.8.3…Bradley Batt | £ 13.14.11 |
| 83 | To Ordr Danl Cheney……….Hospl Expenses | £ 9.5.11 |
| 83 | To Ordr Ichabod Perry…..Hospl Expenses | £ 18.15.6 |
The Indicator of Jonathan Fuller (the Wantage, New Jersey Connection)

by Alan J. Clark, M.D.

Jonathan Fuller came to Canada and settled in Oxford, Oxford County, Ontario, Canada in 1804.(10) Little if anything is known of his wanderings in the United States. Jonathan, the son of Matthew and Elizabeth Broughton, of Mansfield, Conn.,(5) is of the line of Robert Fuller of Salem and Rehoboth, Massachusetts,(2) was born in 1712 in Mansfield, Connecticut. He married there Elizabeth Dexter in 1738 of the line of Reverend Gregory Dexter, original Baptist preacher of Rhode Island.(25) Through this marriage by influence of his wife or earlier family conversion in Rehoboth, Jonathan Fuller became a Baptist.(26)

The Baptist Congregations were taxed and forced to support the dominant Protestant (Congregationalist) churches by many New England communities.(27)(28) The Baptists moved to find solitute in their religion, but kept close ties to each Baptist community oasis, as if of the same tribe on islands in the Pacific Ocean. They moved as a close knit family bound by a common interest, religious freedom.

Elkanah Fuller, Baptist preacher, also of Mansfield, Connecticut married there three times once while a minister elsewhere.(5,29) He and brother Rudolphus (Rhodolphus) were sons of Samuel Fuller of Edward Fuller line of Mayflower fame. Both appeared on the first records of Wantage Baptist Church now Newton, Sussex County, New Jersey in 1749.(10)

Elkanah and Rudolphus appear to have families in the 1730-40s in Mansfield, Connecticut along with Jonathan and other Robert Fuller descendants.(5) Elkanah even returned from Newton, N. J. to Mansfield to marry Lydia Hooker in 1767. This implies ready exchange between the enclaves of Mansfield, Conn. and Newton, N. J.

Jonathan Fuller had two children, Abigail, born 1March1738-9, and Elizabeth, born 25 August1740, recorded in Mansfield.(40) There are no other records of his children born thereafter, especially Sarah, born 1763, later to marry Peter of Stratford, Connecticut Fairchilds.(30) The Baptist Church does not record births, but does record baptisms. If Elizabeth Dexter converted Jonathan to her faith after the birth of their second child, then no further births would be recorded.

By 1745 the Separate Congregationalists later to become Baptists in Mansfield, Connecticut and a strong Baptist presence in New York and New Jersey may indicate locations for Jonathan Fuller family.(27) Did they move before their third child’s birth? To where? I propose to Fishkill, Dutchess County, New York in the 1740s, and then after 1749 to Wantage, New Jersey for a short time! These are locations for early Baptist Churches in each state. Jonathan Fuller appears on the tax rolls of Dutchess County in Beekman’s Patent in 1741 and in 1760-1(13) where we can infer daughter Sarah was born about 1763, to marry Peter Fairchild of the Oblong, Dutchess County by 1782.(28)

Although no records support this theory another indication leads to a study of Elkanah Fuller. He appears in the tax records of Crum Elbow, of Nine Partners Patent, Dutchess County in 1759-60 where also a Matthew Fuller appears (1760-62) and in Amenia (1762-71). Could this Matthew be the father of Jonathan? Did Jonathan live with his putative father in Crum Elbow, Dutchess County, New York?(2) In support of this, Amos Fuller of the Robert Fuller line likewise appears in Crum Elbow tax records (1765-72) and later with Jonathan in 1773 census of Vermont (however, in Charlotte County, now Washington County, New York). Another Baptist, Fenner Palmer, of Killingsworth, Connecticut appears at Dover, Dutchess County, New York in 1757, and in 1758 is listed member of the Baptist Church in Beekman’s Patent, Pawling Precinct in Dutchess County, and in Hoosick, New York during the Revolutionary War and then Cambridge, New York in 1790 census. All these locations parallel those of Jonathan Fuller.

In a letter written by Henry Beekman to Henry Livingston on 31 August 1749 concerning troubles with some of his tenants, the following, elicited by Justice James Duncan, reported,” Mr. Duncan and all present could not learn the names of them all, but the chief is Matthew Fouler (sic Fuller), Jonathan and Daniel, his sons, Jonathan Parks, (also a ring leader), etc. All his would indicate the relationship of Jonathan to Matthew Fuller and further reveal a brother, Daniel. (33) The Westminster Jonathan was a rebel whose son Jonathan Jr. was killed in the war.(34) The Baptist Church does not record births, but does record baptisms. If Elizabeth Dexter converted Jonathan to her faith after the birth of their second child, then no further births would be recorded.

Elkanah Fuller, Baptist preacher, also of Mansfield, Connecticut married there three times once while a minister elsewhere.(5,29) He and brother Rudolphus (Rhodolphus) were sons of Samuel Fuller of Edward Fuller line of Mayflower fame. Both appeared on the first records of Wantage Baptist Church now Newton, Sussex County, New Jersey in 1749.(10)

Several Jonathan Fullers appeared in 1770-2 in Cumberland County and Westminster, New York (now eastern Windham, County, Vermont) and in militia records with Daniel and Timothy Fuller in Albany County or alone in Cumberland County. (12) The Westminster Jonathan was a rebel whose son Jonathan Jr. was killed in the war. (33) Cumberland was the area of now southern Vermont and east Rensselaer County, New York. Another Jonathan of Pittstown, born 1755, Bateman’s (sic Beeckman’s) Patent, New York was there seen in 1790 census with Timothy and Daniel, and named in abstracts of Revolutionary War Pensioners. These Fullers of Pittstown are probably the ones seen in the Albany County Militia muster, 14th Regiment. A Jonathan Fuller, Jr., Albany County Militia (Land Bounty Rights), 14th Regiment may be the same as Jonathan Fuller on earlier muster or his son.

In 1772 our Jonathan leased 220 acres in Hoosick Falls, Rensselaer County, New York next to the Vermont border in Rensselaer County, New York of today from Augusta Van Horne of New York City(31) whose land may have been forfeited. In 1777 the battle of Bennington was fought near or on Fuller land. This no doubt forced the Fullers to break their 21 year lease and move to safety (supposedly Wantage, New Jersey). There fellow Baptists felt safe. Later in 1782 Jonathan Fuller appears in the records of the Baptist Church at Greenwich, (Bottenkill), Washington County, New York with possible sons or brothers Thomas and Nathamiel and Sarah Finchchild alone.(14) Thus the Fullers were forced out of New Jersey by 1780 when Washington’s army reoccupied the west bank of the Hudson River.

Sarah Fuller and Peter Finchchild are reported to have moved to New Jersey. They may have met at Newton while Peter was within the British lines as a survivor of the British loss at Saratoga in 1777.(18,19) Or they grew up together, since their childhood homes of Dover and the Oblong overlap in Beekman’s Patent. Peter Finchchild did not follow the Fullers to Greenwich initially, but remained at father Benjamin Finchchild’s home in Oblong, Dutchess County, New York until after the British evacuation in 1783. Then they may have all moved back to Queensbury, Washington County, New York as they are seen in the 1790 census along with Jonathan Fuller.(13) This Jonathan Fuller was most likely the one seen in the roll of Cumberland County Militia, Hatch’s Company of Minute Men most likely early in the Revolutionary War.(13) Peter Finchchild attempted to assault with those in power and enlisted in the local militia as ensign in 1792. (20) Another Peter Finchchild of Whitehall was present there in 1800 census and was a known rebel. He could also be the ensign mentioned above. His father was the half-brother of Benjamin Finchchild, father of the first Peter.(20,26)

By 1795 Peter’s cover was blown and the hatred of the Rebels forced him to flee to Ontario and his property(21) confiscated. (22) Benjamin, perhaps under duress, sold his land in Mountford Patent, Edward Jessup’s Patent, in now
Luzerne, Warren County, New York to a William Cooper on 13 April 1792. Accounts of Benjamin as spy may relate to an unknown David Fairchild from Balston (Saratoga) liberated from prison in 1780. Since no David Fairchild is found in New York records, could David be an alias for Benjamin? Likewise mention in April, 1781 of Tory women north of the Hudson above Jessup’s Patent to be brought south, could include Melissa. This could explain the absence of Melissa on Baptist roll of Greenwich, New York in 1782. The absence of Elizabeth Fuller, wife of Jonathan, on this roll might indicate death prior to 1782.

Wantage (Newton) not by coincidence was the focal point of many Baptist Loyalists. An Abram and Rachel Smith (see other dissertation by this author, Hegira of Abraham Smith (U.E.L.) to Canada) are listed there in 1783 prior to emigration to Ontario in 1787. Their son Jesse married Elizabeth Fairchild, daughter of Reverend Peter (first pastor of First Baptist Church of Boston, Townsend, Norfolk County, Ontario) and Sarah Fuller. Interestingly, Elkanah sold land to Benjamin Carpenter who sold same to John Stewart, who is reported dead by 1770. This land is reported to be in Newborough, Ulster County, New York, but is more likely Newburgh, Orange County, New York. Elkanah bought land in 1773 in Chatham, Middlesex, Connecticut (?) or Columbia County, New York) and is seen there in 1778. Elkanah moved to Freehold, in Greene County or, Balston (Saratoga?) New York in 1793. Are these other stations of service for a Baptist minister, Elkanah? Could we expect to find the presence of other Baptist Loyalists?

Notes and References

3. International Genealogical Index (Church of the Latter Day Saints as of 1990), under Connecticut.
6. Ontario Archives Land Record Index, Ontario, Canada.
8. ibid. p. 12.
13. see ref. 2, p. 65.
16. Tax Records of Amenia, Dutchess County, NY.
17. Year Book, Dutchess County Historical Society, (Dutchess County, N.Y., 1948), vol.33.
23. New York Calendar of Wills 1766-1771, Libet 27, page 368 (New Historical Society Collection, 1898) vol.7, Will of John Stewart, dated 1770, also #1583, microfiche.
28. Minutes of Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies Against the State of New York, 1778-81. LDS film # 1705179, page 161-9, 559-60, 696.
Seamen Michael Smiths of the American Revolution

by Alan J. Clark, M.D

Few names of seamen of the Continental or privateer Revolutionary Navy survive. The Continental and State Navies inconsistently kept rosters of only a handful of ships crew. Of particular interest is a seaman named Michael Smith who died at sea after 1793. He had married Patience Potter Putnam widow of Aaron, a revolutionary soldier, initially a private, as surgeon’s mate, later surgeon in the 1st Massachusetts Regiment from 1 January 1777 to 26 October 1777 who reportedly died on 3 (sic?30) October 1777 of wounds or illness received in the battle of Fort Ticonderoga, 6 July 1777 or later). Aaron was a cousin of General Israel Putnam of the French and Indian Wars and of then General Rufus Putnam. This Patience Potter’s family first appeared in the New World at the time of Anthony in 1648. Some Potters along with the Putnams were residing in North Brookfield during the Revolution. The parents of Patience were Daniel and Abigail Wheelock Potter. How a British seaman would meet a land locked Patriot widow during the Revolution may help to determine which sea man was our Michael Smith, an Englishman.

Widow Patience Putnam with at least two surviving small children in 1777 probably lived with relatives either in North Brookfield where brother Lieutenant John Potter’s family lived or in Essex County where her cousins lived. In Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution a Lt. John Potter is listed from Brookfield from 1777 to early 1779. In particular second cousins once removed, Ephraim and Thomas Potter were seamen born in Ipswich, Massachusetts. This is the area of recent origin of the Potter ancestors. An Aaron Potter, midshipman on ship Vengeance commanded by Captain Thomas Thomas of Newburyport was engaged 27 June 1779, discharged 27 August 1779 in the Penobscot Expedition where a Michael Smith, seaman also served until August 20 on the brigantine Pallas out of Newburyport, Mass. Aaron was third cousin to Patience. He was born in 1762 at Ipswich, Massachusetts to Moses and Sarah Fellows Potter. The fiasco of the Penobscot Expedition in Maine against the British may have influenced Ephraim Potter to retire from the sea in 1779 to a farm in Concord, New Hampshire. Perhaps Ephraim Potter served on a privateer which took the British vessel Michael Smith crewed on and not only convinced him to switch sides as Continental Congress had allowed, but introduced him to his widowed cousin Patience Potter. Michael Smith married Patience immediately after that expedition on 30 September 1779.

It is possible one of the prize vessels, Diligent and Active, that participated in the Expedition was one that Michael Smith had served on from England. Did not perhaps Ephraim serve on one of the twelve privateers on this expedition? The brig Active was taken by the Massachusetts brig Hazard off St. Thomas on 16 March 1779, commanded by Captain John F. Williams with boy Abraham Putnam (man), of Charlestown aboard. Abraham Putnam was a relative of Aaron Putnam, first husband of Patience Potter. Thomas Potter served as marine on frigate Providence with John Paul Jones as captain in 1777, though may not be the same as seaman from Ipswich on brigantine Defence in 1781 and Continental frigate Deane in 1782. He was also listed as marine on Ship Alfred among men entitled to prize shares in the ship Mellish and brig Active (year not given) 25 Oct–15 Dec 1776). The more recent prize brig Active, in possession of Massachusetts state navy was used in the Penobscot Expedition. Two prize ships of the Continental frigate Deane were at Boston harbor by May, 1779. The American sloop Providence captured by Hoysteed Hacker captured the English Brig Diligent out of New York off Sandy Hook on 7 May 1779, which entered Boston on 10 June and was later used in the Penobscot Expedition.

Thus any number of contacts of the Potter family with Michael Smith may have been established, one, through Thomas Potter who was a seaman on the Deane, commanded by Captain Samuel Nicholson, although he was recorded engaged in 1782 and not as early as 1779. Thomas was possibly aboard the sloop Providence when it captured the Diligent. Another Thomas Potter joined the continental sloop Providence commanded by John Paul Jones, as a marine from the Rhode Island Regiment in 1776 and transferred to the brig Alfred in 1777. He may have been from the Potter family of Rhode Island and not Ipswich. Another contact was Aaron Potter serving in the Vengeance among the fleet at Penobscot. A Lieutenant John Potter of Georgetown, Lincoln Co., Maine (not likely the same from Brookfield, Worcester Co. Mass.) who served at Penobscot in the Regiment of Massachusetts militia was probably not the brother of Patience. A Sergeant Ephraim Potter of Brookfield, Mass. was a member of Col. Paul Revere’s Artillery regiment at Penobscot. Any of these Potters including Abigail Wheelock Potter could have induced Michael Smith to meet Patience after the long march from Penobscot (at Castine) Bay back to Boston. (However, in conflict the Pallas is said to have left before the British arrived and was not lost).

Thomas Thompson of Boston was commissioned on 29 April 1777 by the Marine Committee of Naval Affairs of the Continental Congress as Captain of the Brig Raleigh to sail to the European seas and send all prizes to the States and “make it a point to encourage seamen to enter your service wherever you meet with them.” Likewise Benjamin Franklin in France was apprised of these orders. Captain Thompson was again sent to France in September 1777. He was later involved in the marine inquiry after 5 May 1778 held in Boston concerning some incidents concerning the prize Alfred lost(?) and replaced by Captain John Barry on 30 May 1779(sic?7). A recent prize Diligence (?) was acquired in May, 1779 at Boston and assigned to Captain Sulston for use in the Penobscot Expedition. The Continental sloop Providence and the recent prize the brig Diligent and the Massachusetts state ship Hazard and its recent prize brig Active all participated in the Penobscot Expedition. All of these facts point to the possibility that Michael Smith was captured on an English merchantman or Man-Of-War in European or Colonial waters by a Continental line frigate or Massachusetts privateer on which a Potter relative of future wife of Michael served. Michael defected to the American cause and participated in the Penobscot Expedition on the brig Pallas in which some of his captors probably also served and where he likewise may have met any number of other Potter relatives who may even in concert have encouraged him to meet Patience.

Several Michael Smiths were born in Newbury and Newburyport, Massachusetts. One Michael Smith born in 1747 at Newbury, married on 5 May 1772 Elizabeth Pettingill of a prominent shipowner family and who may have died in December, 1784 at Newbury. He may then have married 26 July 1785 at Newburyport, Susannah Treadwell, widow of Joseph, a mariner, of Newbury, died 9 July 1785. He had a brother Joseph who married Elizabeth and had son Michael born 1769 at Newburyport who also had a son Michael born 1792, dying the following year. This Michael could have been master of the brig Peace, built at Amesbury, and registered in 1799 at Newburyport to Edward Toppan, a relative of his mother.

Another Michael Smith owned the schooner Union, registered 18 January 1804 at Newburyport built at Freeport, Maine. This Michael Smith of Newbury lived at Pejepscot (Brunswick and Harpswell, Maine), at his death in April, 1809. On 9
January 1809 the schooner Mary Ann was registered at Newburyport to Michael Smith who married Sarah George in 1785 and/or Elizabeth Edwards in 1791. A Captain Michael Smith died at sea in 1828.

One of these Captain Michael Smiths was captured by the Algerine Barbary Pirates in October, 1793 on board the Brig Polly owned by Samuel Bailey of Newburyport with a load of flour enroute from Baltimore to Cadiz. Mr. Bayley was a selectman of Newburyport in 1792 and unlikely to be the captain as alleged in some accounts.

Michael Smith was released in 12 July 1796 to captain the Ship Fortune crewed by released American prisoner seamen. They were promptly taken by British ships the Blanche and Inconstant commanded by Captain Fremantle off Marseilles, France. No further mention is found as to the fate of these men.

None of these Michael Smiths fit the status of ordinary seaman since they were either born into or married into families of shipbuilders, owners, shippers, and sea captains. It is unlikely that these families would have included an ordinary seaman in the Penobscot Expedition. Any of these Michael Smiths more likely would have served as officer or captain. Only one was of the right age, born in 1747, whereas the Michael Smith of North Brookfield was reportedly born about 1748.

Another Michael Smith was born 19 June 1741 at Middletown, Connecticut who had a son Michael, Jr. as seen in the 1790 Connecticut census. His family descended from Richard Smith of Wethersfield, Connecticut. He lived on the Connecticut River and could have been a seaman, but no proof can be found. There were no Michael Smiths born in Rhode Island or elsewhere in Massachusetts in the 1740s. Since Wethersfield was a recruitment area, he may have been the Michael Smith from Providence who sailed in the early Continental vessel Andrew Doria.

A seaman, Michael Smith, on the Continental Congress Brig Andrew Doria came from Providence, Rhode Island on the Fly. He did not appear on the original roster in January, 1776 on the maiden voyage from Philadelphia shipyard. In February he was aboard the Andrew Doria after the fleet was supplied by seamen from Providence, Rhode Island by the Sloop Fly. He was among the sick at New London, Connecticut in April, 1776 and was reported killed in action on July, 1777 while on duty in the blockading fleet on the Delaware River below Philadelphia. He was presumed lost when the British fired the gunboat Musquetor. In reality he was not the same Michael taken prisoner, as a gunner, with the mate on board the Musquetor by H.M.S. Pearl captained by John Linzel? Both he and the mate turned up in England at the Forten Prison on 8 August 1777, whence he was released on 31 May 1779 through the efforts of Captain John Paul Jones. Michael then was reported by John Paul Jones as deserving of bounty among seamen aboard the Frigate Pallas which accompanied the Bon Homme Richard on its raid around the British Isles from July to 10 October 1779 ending in Holland. This seaman, Michael Smith, could not physically have been on two vessels of the same name at opposite sides of the Atlantic in the same summer months of 1779 and likewise marry Patience Potter Putnam all by 30 September 1779.

The Englishman, Michael Smith, reportedly born about 1748, may well be the one who served between 1774 and 1779 on vessels from Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland, or South Shields, Durham County, England. A Michael Smith, born 17 November 1749 at Barnard Castle, Durham, England to William and Ann(?) Smith had the birthdate closest to 1748. This Smith family lacks birth, marriage and will records at Barnard Castle after the 1750s. A possible brother Thomas was born 16 June 1754, Sunderland, Durham. This Michael probably had a sister Ann born 24 May 1756. This name corresponds with Nancy(s a nickname for Ann), Michael and Patience Potter Smith’s fourth child. The name, Betty(Betsey), of the first daughter, born 23 March 1780 at Brookfield, Massachusetts, may derive from either the Potter family or commemorate Michael’s grandmother, Elizabeth. Twin sons Michael and Daniel born 3 February 1782 at Brookfield repeat the name of the father and Patience’s father. Four younger children derived their names from biblical, Achsah, Harriet, and Melinda and Greek names, Ulysses, most likely reflecting the influence of Patience’s brother, John, a lay minister.

Seaman Michael Smith was listed as crew on Little Will from Liverpool 20 November 1774 to 11 July 1775, no age given, served eleven months under Henry Evans, Master. Another Michael Smith, aged 21, from Arundelle(qu. Allen)dale, Durham, Sussex County, served between 29 October 1774 and 22 February 1776 aboard the Desire of 160 tons. The crew of nine had their current home as South Shields. Among them Thomas Smith, aged 18, (was in 1772 aged 16), born perhaps 26 September 1755 at St. Peter, Mancroft Norwich, Barney, Norfolk County to William and Elizabeth and married Mary Pepper and Mary Donkin in South Shields, Durham. Another possible brother, William aged 20 served on the Desire in 1773. He was born perhaps Mundham, or Wells, Norfolk, christened 30 May 1757 Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland Co. then of South Shields. These young Smiths shipped with possible father William Smith, aged 40 of Barney, born 3 May 1732 Newcastle to a Thomas Smithe, born 21 September 1714, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland Co. and married 16 October 1753 to Elizabeth Nichols at Caister on Sea or 20 March 1753 Chedgrave, or 26 March 1753 at St. Stephen, Norwich, Norfolk County to Elizabeth Sparhawk. All of these marriages of William are too late for our Michael to be born in 1748-9, if true. An Elizabeth might be a stepmother of Michael, as Ann is the supposed name of his mother.

A Michael, born and living South Shields, aged 20, was employed at different times 17 February 1778 through 16 March 1779 on the Ward and Isabella, 300 tons, 15 men. This latter Michael Smith may have been born 1755 at Newcastle upon Tyne to Michael likewise born 29 July 1717 to Michael and Ann Atkinson married 26 December 1717. Michael had a wife born 1759 at Newcastle upon Tyne. This Michael seems too young for our man.

Another seaman, Michael Smith was seen on the Jesmont, 200 tons with crew of 13 men, 16 November 1775 through 24 January 1777 from South Shields. A Michael Smith on Cumberland(#220), 250 tons, crewed by 12 men from Newcastle, was himself living at Newcastle, signed on 25 February 1778, disembarked 8 March 1778 at London, where he could have been impressed into the British Navy, perhaps on the Brigs Diligent or Active. One of these seamen, Michael Smith, of South Shields, Durham County, England in the 1770s is the one in 1778-9 who may have been aboard the brig Active taken by a Massachusetts privateer Brig Hazard manned by Abraham Putnam and possibly Ephraim Potter, or on a merchantman from London by Continental Frigate Deane with seaman Thomas Potter aboard, or on the brig Diligent by Continental Sloop Providence with Thomas Potter, a marine. He likely was born at Barnard Castle, Durham and moved to a coastal port eventually stationed at South Shields, Durham County or Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland County. His father and brother were William; another possible brother was Thomas; a sister and possibly mother were named Ann; and a grandmother or stepmother was named Elizabeth.

GR-11
A curious irony of history places Anthony Potter of Ipswich, ancestor of Patience Potter, wife of Michael Smith, from Brookfield, Massachusetts, in Newcastle upon Tyne, January 1620 at birth. While that Anthony of Ipswich is claimed to have been from Coventry, County Warwick, no parish register there confirms such an origin.

**Children of Aaron and Patience Potter Putnam**, m. 6 June 1770, born in Brookfield,

- Sally, b. 26 June 1771, m. John Cannon of Oakham;
- Calvin, b. 5 February 1773, m. Nabby Davidson; children, Sarah m. Anson Nichols;
- Hannah;
- Abigail;
- Samuel, one son Samuel W. Putnam.
- Luther, b. 23 November 1775, d. young.
- Franklin, b. 17 November 1776, d. young.

**Children of Michael and Patience Potter Putnam Smith**, m. 30 September 1779, born in Brookfield, Massachusetts.

- Betsey, b. 23 March 1780, m. Capt. Joseph Wilder of Templeton;
- Michael, b. 6 February 1782, m. Betsey Chubb of Templeton; children Harriet and Cheney;
- Daniel, b. 6 February 1782, lived in New York State;
- Nancy, b. 7 July 1785, d. Daniel Read of Western, d. 11 November 1848, (had Nancy, b. 2 May 1804, m.

Thomas Read of Cambridge, Vt. removed to Kankakee, Ill.;

- Cheney, b. 1 May 1806, m. Sarah Munroe of Worcester, d. Chicago, 3 August 1857;
- Marion, b. 23 June 1808, m. in Chicago;
- Elizabeth, b. 4 September 1810, m. Calvin Shaw of Middleboro, and lived in Illinois;
- Alden, b. 6 May 1813, d. Columbus, Ohio, 13 September 1850;
- Alanson, b. 13 November 1814, m. Hannah Read of Vermont, lived Chicago;
- Charlotte Ann, b. 5 July 1818, lived Templeton;
- Daniel, b. 16 June 1820, d. Chilicothe, Ohio, 1 March 1848;
- Mary, b. 24 October 1821, m. 18 October 1852, John M. Hayden of Hopkinton, lived West Brookfield;
- Reuben, b. 10 August 1823, m. Elizabeth Sherburne of Toronto, Canada, d. Fon Du Lac, Wis., 14 March 1878);

- Achsah, m. Isaac Skinner;
- Harriet, b. 1791, m. Isaac Skinner;
- Ulysses, d. 1833;
- Melinda, d. young.

5. International Genealogical Index, (Salt Lake, Utah, Church of the Latter Day Saints, 1990).
6. ibid note 2, 708.
7. ibid note 2, 715-16.
9. ibid note 7, 25.
11. ibid note 7, 25.
21. ibid note 3, p 614-5?
22. ibid note 3, p 628-9.
23. ibid note 14, p. 207.
25. ibid 15 , M332 roll #6, page 220.
In the sparse accounts of the flight of Abraham Smith myths have tended to blend with facts. For instance, there is a statement that he reached Ontario (then styled Upper Canada) by way of New Brunswick, suggesting the maritime province of that name where (in Fredericton, N.B.) he had landed in 1785-6. But it seems that he fled to upper Canada from the area of New Brunswick, N. J. via Wantage (Newton), Sussex (now Warren) County, N.J., in company with some two hundred other families, exiled in 1787 by the new government of New Jersey because of alleged loyalist leanings during the Revolutionary War.

Their escape route was probably through Orange and Ulster Counties in New York, north to Albany, then west along the Mohawk River to Niagara, where on 10 July 1787 the Smith family crossed to Fort Erie, now in Ontario, having received permission from the governor of Upper Canada. But no record exists as to Abraham`s movements prior to 1785.

By using both statements and supporting documents made to the King`s representatives about his treatment by the Rebels, one can begin to piece together the story of movement in southern New York and northern New Jersey, through more than just the Revolutionary War.

Abraham made two claims to the British government as to losses to the Rebels. The first claim was made in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia on 6 April 1786. It was later recorded at Fredericton, New Brunswick. Elijah Smith (who was from Westchester County, N.Y.) witnessed this first claim:

To the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for inquiring into the losses and Services of the American Loyalists

The Memorial of Absalom Smith Humbly Sheweth

That your Memorialist formerly lived in North Castle, County of West Chester and Province of New York, moved in within the British Lines being distressed by the Rebels on account of assisting and harboring the Loyalists; and this Deponent further saith that he suffered the following losses on account of his Loyalty and attachment to the British Government. Vvzt.

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<tr>
<td>To 70 Bushels of Oats</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Horse Saddle and Bridle and three fat Cattle</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 Horse Saddle and Bridle &amp; L 78 Cash</td>
<td>40</td>
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To Household Furniture and Provisions 30
New York Currency L 162
Witnes Elijah Smith Sworn,
Claimant was always called a Friend to Government, protected and harboured the Loyalists.
He lived between the lines, was plundered at different times.
Plundered by the Rebels of Furniture, and an Horse taken on the Road and Money.
St John 1st November 1786.
Evidence on the Claim of Absalom Smith late of New York.
Claimant Sworn.
Saith he left New York in Summer 1783, sent his claim to Colonel Delancey.
He is a native of America, lived in West Chester County. He always declared himself a Friend to British Government, went within the British Lines about three years before the Evacuation,(i.e. 1780).
He went within the Lines because he was plundered for harbouring Refugees.
He lived 8 or 9 Miles beyond the White plains between the Lines. was plundered of Ten Tons of Hay and Seventy Bushels Oats by Rebels.
A Horse and three Cattle taken by the British Troops.
Was robbed of L 18 Cash and Horse by two Scouts, Claimant was attacked on the Road.
Household Furniture plundered at different times by the Rebels.
Never signed any Rebel associations and was always ready to assist the Loyalists.”
Claim of L 90, allowed 30.

The second petition follows:

“Petition of Abraham Smith and Family
16June1795 John Graves Simcoe, Esquire, Com. in Chief of the Province of Upper Canada.
The petition of Abraham Smith Humbly Shewith that after being imprisioned and all property confiscated came to this province with wife and ten children in 1786 since which time has never been permanently settled owning to the lands on which he has improved not being surveyed. He has improved on Young’s Creek about six miles north of Turkey Point, when he praying your Excellency will give him a grant of lands to accommodate himself and Family.
Your petitioner was long confined in the American War his estate in lands and property to amount of 1,113 acres was confiscated and all his movable property taken from him and when he came to this province in 1786 as above recited had only seven shillings left.
Your petition prays your Excellency will take the premises into consideration and grant such relief as through your wisdom may summit and your petitioner will ever pray-
16thJune1795 Abm Smith”
6 February 1797 His Honor Peter Russell, Esquire, Administering the Government of His Majesty’s Province of Canada.

In Council
The Humble Petition of Abraham Smith of the Township of Charlotteville and County of Norfolk Most Humbly sheweth that Your Petitioner being a native of the Province of New York in North America and having always been most Strongly attached to the Crown and Government of Great Britain Suffered much and lost by an Act of Confiscation on account of his loyalty a valuable Landed property in the said Province of New York Containing Eleven hundred and thirteen acres with a Saw Mill and other valuable Improvements thereon.
That your Petitioner in the time of the late American Rebellion was taken up and Confined in the American Provost Guard for three weeks and thirteen days of which time Your Petitioner was loaded with heavy irons and at another time, though before the last mentioned your Petitioner was imprisoned for the space of three months, part of which time your Petitioner was Confined on board of a Prison Ship in the North River.
That the next charge exhibited against your Petitioner and for which he Suffered as aforesaid was Concealing and assisting Loyalists to proceed to Niagara.
That you Petitioner arrived in the Province in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty six, and brought with him a wife, and nine children vizt. Five sons and four Daughters and since the arrival of your Petitioner in this Province, it has pleased Divine Providence to favour him with one Son and one Daughter more.
Your Petitioner therefore most Humbly Prayeth That your Honor and Honourable Council will be pleased to take his Case into Consideration and grant to your Petitioner such a quantity of lands for himself and Family within the County.
Abraham Smith 7 February1797 56(sic) years of age- Millwright
“I do certify that on the seventh Day of February 1797 Abraham Smith 56 years of age Born in New York State Professing the Christian Religion My Trade a Mill wright Personally Came and Appeared Before me Samuel Ryerse one of his Majestys Justicis(sic) of the Peace in and for the Western District of the Province of Upper Canada and Took the Oath of Allegiance and Signed the Declaration. Sworn Before Saml. Ryerse J. P.”
Elijah and Abraham were both seen in 1760 on the tax roll of South Precinct in Dutchess County. In 1770, Elijah appears without Abraham in Amenia and Southern Precinct. If this is our Abraham, did he leave Orange County in 1760 because of the two law suits against him in 1760? Abraham returned to Orange County by 1765 to marry his first wife
Hannah Finn who died at Goshen in 1767, and where Abraham defended his mother’s land in Minisink against New York in 1771. Did this early neighborly association between Elijah and Abraham facilitate their later association in 1780-3 in Westchester County, behind British lines, and lead to the appearance of Elijah on the claim of 1786 for Abraham? Elijah later settled in Queens County, New Brunswick, Canada having been a United Empire Loyalist, and had a son Absalom. Abraham made this trip to New Brunswick province in 1785 by ship, perhaps alone and not by land as there was no useful road through Maine at that time. He must have hoped to send for his family if he could obtain land in the Maritime Provinces. The claim, made to Col. James De Lancey (formerly sheriff of Westchester County, N.Y.) was denied on 1 November 1786 with the words: “not to be allowed anything strictly.” This denial may be due to lack of proof, or untimeliness in submission.

Abraham did not mention imprisonment in this claim as he did later in 1795, apparently because he was imprisoned by the British as well as by the Rebels. Neither was loss of land claimed, for it may have been lost before the war. We can conclude that this was our Abraham, as he is listed among New Brunswick loyalists from New Jersey, who subsequently settled in Upper Canada (now Ontario). He appears as Absalom, alternately Abraham, also in the index to this claim thus establishing an alias which he may have used in Westchester County during his stay there from 1780 to 1783.

Abraham stated he arrived in this province in 1786 when we know he arrived at Niagara in July, 1787. This contradiction in fact supports the supposition that the first claim by Absalom Smith in New Brunswick, Canada was made by Abraham using an alias.

From New Brunswick, Canada Abraham returned to New Jersey to pick up his family at which time he was found out and nearly arrested (9) in 1787. In March 1787, he joined the migration of New Jersey families to Niagara, arriving in July. He must have returned to Orange County, New York in 1788 when he made a power of attorney to Joshua Howell in the presence of William Johnson. He may have then returned to Ontario with eldest daughter (by his first wife Hannah Finn), Abigail who had by then married John Gustin, John’s uncle or father, Jeremiah, married Bethany Fuller, daughter of first Baptist minister of Wantage Baptist Church at Newton, Sussex, New Jersey, Elkanah and Naomi Fuller. Both Benagey (sic, Benajah) and wife Ann and presumed widow Dethaney (sic Bethany) Gustin are listed on earliest roll of members in 1783. Also, Abram (Abraham) and Rachel Smith (second wife) appeared on the same list with Abraham’s first wife, Hannah’s brother, James Finn, Baptist minister there in 1783-5, and his wife Hannah. This all occurred while son William was exploring the Charlotteville area of Ontario for settlement by the rest of the family.

These same New Brunswick listings of Loyalists raise a question as to whether Abraham was a member of the third New Jersey Volunteers and/or Connecticut Loyal American Legion. This may explain the Abraham found listed as Cornet, a member of the Rebel not British military as a Provost Guard would have jurisdiction over its own soldiers not usually prisoners of war. He likewise may be mentioned as being subjected to a forced loan of window lead for the rebel cause. One Peter De Lancey also appears on the list. No American vessel was used as a prison ship except at Esopus (Kingston), Ulster County, N.Y. (and New London, Conn., and Boston, Massachusetts).

The North River was that part of the Hudson River below the southern part of Orange County between New Jersey and New York City, which was in British hands between 1776 and 1783. Indeed the rebels had plenty of dry land on which more safely to detain prisoners. There is a list of prisoners aboard the British Old Ship Jersey wherein Abraham is mentioned. This was originally a 60 gun ship in 1776-7 outfitted as a hospital ship in March of 1776. It most probably was eventually sued for the wounded and then converted to a prison ship in the winter of 1779-80. It was stationed at the Wallabout (now Brooklyn Ship Yard) on the East River in some accounts. Abraham’s reference to the North River was perhaps due to his lack of familiarity with his surroundings during the time of his confinement or the ship may have been moved. He probably was able to talk his way out of jail when he could obtain confirmation of his loyalist leanings. Perhaps thereafter he joined the British side in earnest. That he was in the prison ship may mean he had served on the Rebel side as a wagon master when caught crossing the lines. This could suggest that he was a double agent or a spy. This would explain why he was imprisoned by both sides and why his first claim was denied. This first claim also lists Abraham as Absalom. If this was an alias, it may have served him in his various movements between the lines. An Abraham Smith was returned from Mamaroneck, NY, in 1780 to New York City. This supports the supposition that he wandered between the lines. The Connecticut reference may suggest that his kinsman, Nehemiah Smith of Bridgeport, Conn. harbored him.

Abraham stated he lost 1113 acres in New York in his second claim to John Simcoe in Upper Canada in 1795-7. This seems to have been accepted without proof. Where was this land? The following power of attorney dated 1788 and recorded 1790, after his flight to Canada, transfers Abraham’s rights to property in Orange County, New York to one Joshua Howell. "Know all men by these presents; that Whereas Solomon Smith of the precinct of Goshen in the County of Orange and State of New York, by his last will and Testament, did, give and bequeath, to Abraham Smith of the Township of Fort Erie in the Province of Quebec, a part of his Real and Personal Estate; And Whereas the said Solomon Smith is since dead: Now know ye, that the said Abraham Smith doth by these presents constitute authorise and impower Joshua Howell of the said precinct of Goshen, County of Orange and State of New York, to sell, grant or convey all such land or tenements, so given and bequeathed to me the said..."
Abraham Smith, by the said Solomon Smith his will as aforesaid, in fee simple, for such price or sum of money, and to such person or persons, as he shall think convenient, and also for him the said Abraham Smith, and in his name to seal execute and Deliver, such deeds and conveyances, bargains and sales, for the absolute sale and disposal thereof, or of any part thereof, with such clauses, covenants or agreements therein to be contained, as he the said Joshua Howell shall think fit and expedient, hereby ratifying and confirming all such deeds, bargains sales and conveyances which shall at anytime hereafter be made seales executes and delivered by him the said Joshua Howell, touching (sic) or concerning the premises And also I the said Abraham Smith have made ordained constituted and appointed, and by these presents do make ordain constitute and appoint, the said Joshua Howell my true and lawful attorney for me and in my name, and for my use to ask demand, suefor, recover or receive of and from Samuel Smith or John Smith, Executors of the said last will and Testament of the said Solomon Smith deceased, all such legacy so given and bequeathed to me the said Abraham Smith by the said Solomon Smith his will or aforesaid; and upon receipt thereof to give such release and discharge for the same or shall be sufficient, And Attorneys one or more under him for the purposes aforesaid to make and at his pleasure to revoke, Ratifying and allowing all and whatsoever my said Attorney shall lawfully do in the premises by virtue of these presents. In witness whereof the party to these presents hath hereunto set his hand and Seal, this tenth Day of October one thousand seven hundred and Eighty eight.---

Sealed and Delivered

in the presence of----

Abraham Smith   L.S. “

Wm W. Thompson

Walter Bayles, Orange County Ss. Be it remembered that on this 18th Day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty nine. Personally appeared before me William Thompson Esquire first Judge of the court of common pleas for the County of Orange aforesaid William Thompson one of the subscribing witnesses to the aforegoing power of Attorney and being by me duly sworn saith that he saw Abraham Smith therein mentioned execute the same by sealing and delivering the same as his voluntary act and deed and purposes therein mentioned and at the same time saw Walter Bayles the other witness subscribe his name as a witness thereto, and I having inspected the same and found no material Razures(sic) or intuberations(sic) therein do therefore allow the same to be recorded.

(True record entered at the request of Abraham Smith)  Thos. Moffat Esk. W.Thompson

(the 11th Day of February Anno Domini 1790----)

This authorized Howell to sue for any property (willed to Abraham by one Solomon Smith)[78] against executors Samuel and John Smith. Can they have expropriated it in Abraham’s absence and disfavor? One Joshua Howell (born 1722 at Southampton, Long Island to Daniel, son of David and Mary Herrick, daughter of James and Martha Topping Herrick, grandson of Richard and Elizabeth Halsey Howell, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Wheeler Halsey, great-grandson of Edward and Frances Paxton Howell)[78], was a rebel and given bounty land for his service and buried in Delaware County, N.Y. next to Ulster County. Alternatively one Joshua Howell is mentioned as son of James in will dated June 7, 1771[27]. He was perhaps a brother of Abraham’s supposed aunt, Elizabeth Howell, born 1709, wife of John Smith, married 1736, son of John and Ruth Ludlam or son of Caleb and Phebe Ludlam.[26]

The following will of Solomon Smith of Goshen made in 1775 did not mention Abraham by name, but the latter was perhaps implied in the phrase “sons of brothers wait, Joshua, Samuel, William, and Oliver”[30].

“In the Name of God, Amen, I Solomon Smith of Goshen in the County of Orange & province of New York being weak in body but of sound mind, & memory do make this my last Will & Testament first I recommend (sic) my soul to God, that gave it in all humble hopes of its future happiness and my body to buried in a Christian, like and, decent mannor (sic) into the discretion of my executors hereinafter mentioned, and as touching such, worldly substance wherewith it has been, pleased, God, to bless me in this world. I do give & dispose of the same in manner following first I do give unto my beloved, Wife all my household (sic), goods of all kinds, whatsoever for her use and service during her natural life or whilst she remains my Widow at either of which periods I do give the same to be divided, between her sisters children, as follows to her sister Anna Wisnors decd. children one third, part thereof equally divided between them to her sister Ruth Oldfields decd. children on (sic) third equally(sic) divided between them and the remaining third between her sister Charity’s children in manner aforesaid. I also give unto my sd. Wife the use of the one third, of the farm whereon I now live during her natural life or whilst she remains my Widow I do also order that if it should please God that Ruth Carpenter should die of her present sickness my executors shall take care of her part to be equally divided between her children when proper I do also give unto my sister Charity Thompson, twenty pounds I do also give unto the girl that now lives with me (Anne Rieve) twenty pounds to be paid unto her when of age or marriage I do also give all my wearing apparel to be equally divided between my Brothers Wait and Samuel and my cousons Amos, John, Jonathan,& William Smith and, all the remainder of my Estate in, lands & otherwise I do give the same unto my Brother`s sons Namely the sons of Wait, Oliver, William, Joshua, and Samuel Smith to be equally divided, between sd. children, their heirs & assigns for ever or so many of them as shall be living at my decease I do lastly make & ordain, my sd. brothers Samuel Smith & my couson, John Smith executors of this my last Will & Testament in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and seal this twenty first day of June 1775.

Signed Sealed Pronounced & declared by the Testator as and for his last Will & Testament in presence of us Jeremiah Smith, Temprance( herX mark) Decker, Wm Dunn

Solomon Smith   L.S.”

Since Abraham’s power of attorney[10] claims land and tenements were left him in Solomon’s will, one wonders if Abraham was related to Wait or Samuel who were named as brothers receiving both in this will. Abraham named a son, Samuel (2nd). Ruth Carpenter and her children are also mentioned. She may have been widow of John Ludlam in 1775 and mother of Ruth Ludlam who was wife of John Smith, father of William, perhaps Abraham’s father.[28] Or was she not wife of Joseph Carpenter who died in 1775 whose first wife was Charity Smith, sister of Wait?[28] One Hannah Smith witnessed Joseph Carpenter’s will and may have been the first wife of Abraham Smith.[29] Ruth later married James Smith,[28] another brother of Solomon, not mentioned because he had no sons.[31] In James’ will, 1782, he men-
tioned wife Ruth and stepson Daniel Carpenter, sons of Joshua and William, his brothers, and John, a nephew. Were this John and another John Jr. grandfather and uncle of Abraham? Abraham, as persona non grata, would hardly have had access to the will or the court house where it was probated. Therefore he may not have known if he was a legatee, except by rumor. But he may have assumed so, because he may have been in Solomon’s good graces earlier. The will was made at the beginning of the war when Abraham’s status as Loyalist was still fuzzy. Abraham was perhaps a member of the Orange County 4th Regiment Militia in 1775 along with putative grandfather and uncle Samuel Seely Sr. and Jr.

Many future Loyalists were early war Rebel militia members. To wit a noted Tory, Elijah Smith, witness to Abraham’s first claim was a member of the First Line of New York and likewise switched sides as implied by his not re-enlisting in the Second Line in 1776. Therefore was not Abraham guessing when he enlisted Joshua Howell’s help in resolving his possible claim? The fact that Joshua Howell did not file suit with other Smiths in Orange County records nor were deeds recorded for land exchanges between them, support this theory. Since John Smith was executor and beneficiary of tenements (although not land), led Abraham to assume land was also involved. The fact that he was willing to sue the executors for his share may not eliminate John or Samuel as his relatives since they probably had a falling-out with Abraham long before because of differing political views. Abraham may have been somewhat a rogue as a young man, as two suits were filed and won against him in Orange County civil court by two separate men in about 1760-1. The reasons were not given in the index.

The power of attorney to Joshua Howell was not recorded until 1790, two years after being made and the death of Solomon perhaps because attempts to resolve this issue during this time were fruitless. Another reason for the power of attorney by Abraham to Joshua Howell may have been to substantiate another planned claim to London for compensation for losses during the Revolution, since a power of attorney was mentioned in the directions for filing compensation in 1783. Interestingly, the signature of Abraham Smith appears not to be original, and witnessed later in the presence of William Thompson, a judge and neighbor of Michael Jackson of Goshen, Orange County, New York in 1789. This may mean Abraham paid a visit to Orange County in 1788, one year after leaving and at the time of his first daughter’s marriage to John Gustin in New Jersey. Where did Abigail stay before she was married (between 1787 and 1788)? Likely with uncle Reverend James Finn, second pastor of Wantage Baptist Church, Newton, Sussex, New Jersey. Abraham’s first wife was Hannah Finn. Her father, William, bought Abraham’s father’s land just before Abraham’s birth and his father’s death. William Finn was the father of Hannah and James. James Finn was pastor at Wantage during the same years, 1783-5, Abram and Rachel, his second wife, were listed on the church membership roll along with Benjamin and Ann Justin (Gustin) presumed relatives or parents of John Gustin, husband of Abraham’s first daughter Abigail by first wife, Hannah Finn.

James Finn was a rebel veteran serving in Connecticut as Pastor (”Patriotic Service”). He moved from Sussex County in 1785, the same time Abraham left New Jersey for New Brunswick, Canada, perhaps because of association with him. In 1790 census a James Finn is located in Philipstown, Dutchess County, New York. James would have offered cover or protection for Abraham and his family. Abraham probably brought his daughter and son-in-law back with him to Canada, because a John Gustin appears in the 1799 militia roll of Charlotteville, Ontario.

No receipt of lands by deed was recorded for Abraham in Orange County. Therefore, one can infer property rights by descent, will or marriage. This makes sense when one delves further. One thousand acres is a princely parcel of land. Most later deeds record hundreds of acres at most. The earliest patentees held rights to 1000 or more acre parcels. This suggests a link between Abraham and original settler families of Orange County, New York. In 1771 an Abraham Smith, Charles Seely, and James Cooley petitioned the colony of New York at Albany for a claim to land homesteaded in Minisink Patent, lot 32, which had been recently annexed to New York from New Jersey after seventy years of border dispute. Thus the confusion as to where Abraham was born, New Jersey or New York. He was born in then New Jersey, in an area that New York later acquired. His children were born after 1771 in New York, except Abigail, born before 1767. In the claim they stated they had put much time and resources (inferring sawmill and other improvements) and wished to retain rights to what had not already been granted to others by New York. The New York Government did not recognize the original patents granted in Minisink by New Jersey authority. This puts Abraham’s land in what was earlier New Jersey’s Minisink area and next that of Charles Seely and James Cooley. If that petition was not granted, it suggests that he lost land to New York before 1775, because of a border dispute and not because of the later war with England. The title, “Indorsed Land Papers”, suggests the petition was granted. But perhaps it was moot if their land had already been granted to others!

Secondary patents had been granted to Wait Smith and Samuel Seely, by Samuel Clowes in 1724, and also by John Everett in 1724, both of whom obtained theirs from Benjamin Aske Jr. in 1706 and he from Ann Bridges and Elias Boudinot in 1706. Also Daniel Cooley obtained his grant from John Everett in 1720. These can be traced to large tracts in now Orange County, New York, formerly in Minisink, New Jersey.

Did Abraham have a family link to any of these original patent holders? The will of William Smith in January, 1733 named wife, now Mary Jackson, widow of William as of probate, 7 June 1733, no issue named, and witnessed by Samuel Seely Sr. and Jr. and John Smith. The age at death in 1809, of Abraham, 82 (Vittoria Baptist Cemetery), gravestone states age 72, or 73 (Owen), places his birth around 1727-35. In either record Rachel, his second wife, is 21 years younger than Abraham. She was 21 in 1733.

1. Samuel Seely (Seeley) of Stratford, Fairfield Co. Conn. and an Abraham Smith of Kent, Conn. were present at the Battle of Lake George, 8 September 1755. Other relatives of the author Solomon Keyes died at the ambush and son Solomon died of wounds at the same location, son Danforth, direct relative survived along with Benjamin Fairchild of Stratford and Joshua Hall of Redding, Conn. John Wheeler of Canterbury, Conn. and Samuel Seeley were later at Ft. William Henry in 1757.
than Abraham. (13) Ages at death are often notoriously inaccurate. Further, the claim in 7February1797 stated that Abraham was age 56, thus born circa 1740. (14) Could Abraham have been the posthumous son of William Smith born in 1733-4? This seems possible as no mention occurs of siblings or parents of Abraham anywhere. Also an early son and daughter of Abraham were William and Mary. If the second child of Abraham, Charity, born in 1770 was Rachel’s first at as early an age as 16, then Abraham 21 years older would be born in 1733. Or could Abraham have been really a Jackson, but if alienated did he take the surname Smith? William Smith died a very young man. This will links the Seelys with the Smiths. (47) Mary was daughter of Samuel Seely of Stratford, Fairfield County. (50) Connecticut, born 1716(29) and sister of Samuel Jr., born 1710(19)(50). Charles Seely possibly the petitioner was son of Samuel Sr., born 1720 and thus brother of Mary, putative mother of Abraham. (52) He was a prosperous land holder in Warwick township west of now Sugar Loaf village on the New Jersey border. (97) The will of Wait Smith probated 1750 mentions sons Samuel, Solomon, and William, and daughter Charity. (52) Note these names along with Mary became names of Abraham’s children. Was this will written before 1733? We can only surmise. Or, is this William of another Smith branch, perhaps son of John, cousin of Wait? If William was father of Abraham, he may have been son of John, son of Caleb, brother of Wait and not son of Wait. (20) This John (who died October, 1782, Goshen) was probably the witness to William’s will. Or was he son of John born 1685, son of John, grandson of William of Jamaica? This ties all the names on that will together in one family. (20) However, one report has this William dying in 1762. Although these families were closely intertwined, no definitive pedigree has appeared. Other Smith families of Orange County such as Cornelius and Lambert had an Abraham at an earlier time, 1724. (17) The most noted Tories, Joshua Hett Smith (53)(78) and William Smith (1728-1793) (in 1763 Chief Justice of New York, who left in 1783) do not appear to have been allied with Abraham Smith. Abraham did not obtain their substantiation to his claim, which would have carried much weight, as the said William was in 1786-93, Chief Justice of Canada. (54)

The wills of William Jackson in 1746, the second husband of Mary Seely Smith and his son’s, William (1767) and father or brother, James (1740), do not mention Abraham Smith or Jackson. (55) The first two mention Michael Jackson as son and brother, respectively. This establishes Michael Jackson as half brother to Abraham, if Mary Seely was his mother. James and later Michael Jackson were county judges in Goshen (56), as was an earlier Michael Jackson in 1730s. (86) The significance of this should not go unnoticed. We know the Jackson family harbored no loyalty to the King. Michael Jackson, perhaps half brother of Abraham, was Adjutant in the Rebel Goshen Militia. (57), and later a lieutenant in charge of prisoners at Fishkill, New York, where Abraham may have been incarcerated at one time during the war. The Jacksons may have been alienated from Abraham’s own Tory views which would have tainted them by association. (18) Yet we may assume Michael helped Abraham at Fishkill, perhaps in exchange for not returning to Orange County. This Abraham did by living in Westchester County from 1780-3 and Newton, New Jersey from 1783-7.

Where did Abraham get his leanings? Perhaps the fact he lost his claim to his mother’s land in Orange County, New York prior to the war embittered him toward the rebels. William Smith deeded his land (38) to William Finn in 1732, perhaps, because he was too ill to farm it. As insurance for his young wife’s well-being; (having no issue) he may have disposed of his land before his death. This land may not have been his wife’s family land but truly Smith land. Charles Seely, brother of Mary, may have shared his family land with nephew Abraham Smith. William Finn, married to Mary Carpenter, born 1719(59), was a surrogate of Orange County and close associate of Michael Jackson. (59) His will of 7July1759 mentions sons James who was born about 1742, Goshen, and mentioned above as brother of Abraham’s first wife, Hannah Finn , married between 1759 and 1766. Hannah died in 1767 according to the First Presbyterian Church records of Goshen. (61) Mary Carpenter was related to cousin John Carpenter who married Hannah Smith, daughter of William Smith, the first, of Jamaica, Long Island, New York. Likewise, Judith Smith, daughter of John Smith and Elizabeth Mills, perhaps great-grandparents of Abraham was wife of Henry Ludlam, son of John Ludlam and Ruth Carpenter, John and Hannah Carpenter’s daughter. (20)(62)

Abraham’s second wife was Rachel Decker, born about 1754, perhaps unrecorded first daughter of Johannes Hendrick Decker and first wife, Margaret Gumaer. John descended from Jan Gerretson (a Dutch name changed to Decker as of 1680). (63)(64) Johannes had a sister Rachel. Margaret’s mother was Charity De Witt. Charity was the name of the first child of Abraham and Rachel. Eve Buchstader was the wife of another relative Jacob Decker. Eve was the name of Abraham Smith Jr.’s daughter. Abraham and Rachel had a daughter Mary Decker baptized in 1774 at the First Presbyterian Church of Goshen, Orange County, New York. (64) That is the year of birth of Mary Smith who married Oliver Mabee of Elgin County, Ontario, Canada. (26) John Decker and his relatives, William Cooley (Cole) and Peter Gumaer, were original land holders in Minisink Patent. (65)(75) No transfer of land is recorded by deed out of the Decker family in the 1700s. The middle initial of Abraham’s younger son, William was G. perhaps for Gumaer, Rachel’s mother’s maiden name. Hannah came from maternal grandmother Hannah Van Inwegen. Rachel was the name of her mother’s aunt, Rachel (Ragel) De Witt. (89)

Major John Decker was a famous Revolutionary War Rebel veteran who along with the Jacksons and other Smiths would have repudiated both loyalist Rachel and Abraham Smith. Temperance Decker who witnessed Solomon Smith’s will was perhaps Temperance Helme who married a Decker. This will ties the Deckers to the Smiths.

Alternately, a Rachel (Rymerich) was born after 1751 in Minisink to Hendrickus Schoonehoven and Johanna Decker daughter of Hermanus Decker married to Rachel De la Montagne in 1695, daughter of William (High Sheriff of Ulster County) and Eleonor de Hooges and married second Anje Kapant. He bought land in Morris County, West New Jersey now Sussex County in 1722. (86) She could have been Abraham’s second wife.

What of the statement in the first claim, 1786, that Abraham never signed the petition of Committee of Safety circulated in 1774-5 to determine the loyalties of colonists (67) Of the many Abraham Smiths of Orange County, New York
signing, only one did not.66(67) This occurred at Orange City, now in Rockland County, New York, in the southern tip of Orange County in 1774. An Abraham Smith had two, two hundred acre parcels there, uncertain date, near a Jackson tract.2(68) This first claim also uses the name Absalom instead of Abraham.2(64) Could this be his alias? A hunted man in New Jersey at the end of the war, he surfaces in records of Wantage (Newton) Baptist Church in Sussex County, New Jersey in 1783.46 This is the same year he claimed to have left New York and Westchester County. In New Jersey he used the name Abram perhaps an innocent shortening of Abraham. He also mentioned loss of horses and goods in Westchester County to the Rebels and the British.8 Was he a man jailed for spirited Loyalists to Canada or through the lines? By what means? By wagon! An Uncle Noah Smith (26) of Jamaica, Long Island was known as a wheelwright 68(69), and was perhaps a source of wagons. One can suppose that Abraham was caught with Loyalists hidden in his wagon crossing the lines. But by what authority did he pass between the lines freely? By the fact that he was employed by the Rebel Army! Abram, Abraham, and Absalom were wagoners in New Jersey war records2(21), and another Absalom in White Plains in 1781 was attached to French General Rochambeau’s hospital corps using a wagon owned by head wagonmaster, Joseph Broadhart,7(6) at the same time our Abraham claimed to be at White Plains in his claim of 1786 and then used alias Absalom.83 Another Abraham in Connecticut and the Abram wagoneer of New Jersey were true rebels.77 The latter married Elizabeth Teeter and was granted a pension after the war.74

An Abraham Smith is mentioned in the Loyalist Press of New York (Rivington’s), in 1780 as returning from Mamaronack, New York on Long Island Sound with Loyalist refugees.2(25) Perhaps this was when he was released from the prison ship, Old Jersey, and then settled in White Plains, Westchester County, N.Y. for the remaining three years of the war upon property confiscated by the British and given to the Loyalist refugees. Was he confined to a British Prison Ship and American Provost Guard because he was playing both sides? He likely dared not return to Goshen as Washington had his headquarters at Newburgh in 1780-3, near Goshen. Abraham’s second confinement was in chains. Was this in Orange County? But, no confirming record exists there. Was he released through the help of half brother, Michael Jackson, an Adjutant General of the Rebel Militia at Goshen and also a Lieutenant in charge of prisoners at Fishkills, Dutchess, County in 1776?1(80) In any event as Abraham was persona non grata in Orange County his last resort was crossing the lines. But by what authority did he pass between the lines freely? By wagon! An Uncle Noah Smith (26) of Jamaica, Long Island was known as a wheelwright,69, and was perhaps a source of wagons. One can suppose that Abraham was caught with Loyalists hidden in his wagon crossing the lines. But by what authority did he pass between the lines freely? By the fact that he was employed by the Rebel Army! Abram, Abraham, and Absalom were wagoners in New Jersey war records, and another Absalom in White Plains in 1781 was attached to French General Rochambeau’s hospital corps using a wagon owned by head wagonmaster, Joseph Broadhart, at the same time our Abraham claimed to be at White Plains in his claim of 1786 and then used alias Absalom. Another Abraham in Connecticut and the Abram wagoneer of New Jersey were true rebels. The latter married Elizabeth Teeter and was granted a pension after the war.74

Where did Abraham’s name originate? There were no ancestors in the Goshen, New York branch of the William Smith family of Jamaica, Long Island of the name Abraham before 1740. Interestingly, an Abraham Jackson born 1719 may have been brother of William Jackson, second husband of Mary (Prudence) Seely Smith who died in 1815, and stepfather to Abraham, born after the second marriage. Was Abraham named to conceal the fatherhood of William Smith, or in honor of his mother’s savior, William Jackson? Was Abraham’s surname Jackson, later changed to Smith? He may have spent most of his boyhood with his close kinfolk Wait and Caleb Smith and putative grandfather John Smith. This would suggest the alienation of the Jackson family after 1775 and why most of Abraham’s later children’s names mimic other Smiths, except for Jesse, another Jackson name. Abigail, Abraham’s first daughter with Hannah Finn may be named in honor of his step aunt, born in 1718. Likewise a Charity Jackson, born 1702, was a step aunt. Isaac was a stepbrother.39 The latter two may reflect the names of the first two children of Abraham Smith with second wife, Rachel Decker, born before the alienation.

In New Jersey Abraham Smith, a hunted man, (out of sync with his Jackson stepfamily and embittered by losses to the Rebels of New York, and aligned with the old landed families of old New Jersey) evidently sought refuge at the end of the war until 1785 in New Jersey when he left for Nova Scotia to seek a new home for his family. Having returned to New Jersey in 1787 he was caught using an alias or shortened name Abram, advised to leave the country in 60 days, overstayed his welcome and became again a subject of the courts. Using deceit, being their salvation until then, Rachel informed the officer coming to fetch Abraham that he had gone to Somerville, N.J. While he was concealed in a barrel with only milk to drink, the family spirited Abraham to safety in Orange County, New York.96 One doubts that the whole journey was spent in the barrel (a myth). Perhaps Abraham had experience transporting many Loyalist to safety via this means during the war.

Another Abraham Smith of Paramus, Sussex, New Jersey married a Rachel Van Heusen, not to be confused with Rachel Decker, and received a pension for his services to the rebel cause in the New York line. His descendants moved to Rensselaer County, N.Y.2(74)

It is obvious that with so many Abraham Smiths populating nearby locations, one could confuse their records at any point in time. However by using Abraham’s own words and unraveling the myths about him one can conclude that he was a man of resourcefulness, a survivor, and true pioneer. He was a man who had experienced many hardships and in the end gained for his chief reward, his family.

The children of Abraham Smith were:83 (43)
- by first wife Hannah Finn, daughter of William and Mary Carpenter Finn, died 1767, Goshen, New York.
- by second wife, Rachel Decker, born about 1755, Deer Park, Minisink, Orange Co., New York, perhaps daughter of Johannes Hendrick Decker born 1735 and Margaret Gumaer, died 1767 married before 1759.
- Charity, born after 1770 in New York, married Thomas Landon, presumed son of William (born 1704) and Mercy,
married 1726.

- Isaac, born after 1771 in New York seen age 28, 31December1799, Charlottesville County, Ontario, Canada Militia Roll.

- Mary Decker, born 30July1774, Goshen, New York, baptised 11September1774, died February1844, age 69yrs.6mos.5days, buried Vittoria, Ontario, married Oliver Mabee, died 2July1854, age 80yrs.,5mos.22days.

- Samuel, (2nd), 31July1777, New York, age 22 in 1779 Militia Roll, died 5 December1850, age 73yrs,1mo.,5days, buried Vittoria Baptist Cemetery, Ontario, Canada, married Nancy, died 22September1828, age 52.

- William G. (Gumaer or Gerretsen?), born about 1778, or December1779, New York, age 21 on militia roll of 1799 for Charlottesville.

- Jesse, born about 1781, New York, age 18 on Militia Roll in 1799, married Elizabeth Fairchild, 1801/2, Norfolk Co., Ontario, daughter of Rev. Peter and Sarah Fuller Fairchild; (refer; Connecticut Nutmegger,Vol.30p407-9,by author)

- Rachel, born 5April1784, New York, died 30March1857, age 72yrs,11mos.,24days, married Robert Shearer, died 18May1832, age 60yrs,4mos.,9days, married second Oliver Mabee, 4May1844, Norfolk Co., Ontario, Canada.

- Abraham, Jr., born 15May1787, New Jersey during flight to Canada, died 13June1863, age 76yrs.,29days., married first Sarah Baker, died 1 May1837(sic.1826?), age 48yrs.,2mos.,19days, married second Anna Baker, 22October1827, died 8September1860, age 55yrs.,6mos.,28days both buried Vittoria Cemetery, Ontario, Canada.

- Solomon, born about 1788/89 in Lincoln or Norfolk County, Canada, died 1835/36 from tree falling on him.

- Hannah, born 1790, Norfolk County, Ontario, Canada, died 15October1842, age 52 years, buried Vittoria Cemetery, Ontario, Canada.

Notes and References


7. R.W. Hale, Probate Records of New Brunswick (Early), p. 413.


11. ref. no. 4 Owen, above, Charlotteville’s First White Man, sketch no. 6, p. 44.


14. Petitions of Abraham Smith and Family, no. 1616, dated in 1795 to Governor John Simcoe, Commander in Chief of the Province of Upper Canada, and February 6, 1787 to Peter Russell, Esq., administering the government of His Majesty’s Province of Upper Canada (Land Petitions, “S” bundle, Misc., 1783-1818), RG 1 L3 vol. 446(a).


20. Webster’s Gazetteer, under “North” and “East River”.


27. New York in the Revolution, p. 167 listing Abraham Smith along with Samuel Seely Sr. and Jr., and James Smith in 4th Regiment of Orange County.


29. Will of Solomon Smith of Goshen, N.Y., cited in power of attorney referred to in ref. 10, above, was dated in 1775 and proved in 1788 in Orange County.
County, N.Y., wills, Liber A, p. 13.
32. ibid no. 1617, Will of James Smith of Goshen, dated in 1782 and proved 1783.
33. List of Civil Court filings of Orange County, N. Y. 1770 s L. D. S. Microfilm.
34. ref. 26 above, p. 82-3.
36. Correspondence of Lorna Mackenzie of Regina, Saskatchewan, to Alan Clark, M.D. of New Smyrna Beach, Florida.
38. Deed of 1712 from William Smith to William Finn, Orange County, N. Y., liber B p. 357.
39. International Genealogical Index, (Salt Lake City, Utah, Church of the Latter Day Saints, 1990), under New York, names Seely, also under Connecticut.
42. S.N.D. North, director, 1790 Federal Census of Dutchess County, N. Y. (Washington, D.C., Dept. of Commerce and Labos, Bureau of Census, 1908)
43. Heads of Families, naming James Finn.
44. *Roll of Charlottesville Company of Militia, 31December1799* Muster Rolls List of Settlers Assessments, 1798-1816, Pioneers of Charlottesville Township, (Norfolk County, Upper Canada, now Ontario), (Norfolk, Ontario: Norfolk Historical Society, Ontario, Canada) includes name of John Gustin, private no.7.
49. Smith Family Cemetery Records in Vittoria Baptist Cemetery, Concession 4, Lot 21, Charlottesville township, Norfolk County, Ontario.
50. work cited in Ref. 39 above, under surname Seely.
53. work cited in ref. 27, above, Will of Wait Smith of Goshen dated 1750 proved 1753; ref. 26 above also.
56. see ref. in 27 above, entries under these names; James Jackson, no. 922; William Jackson, no. 924 and William Jackson, no. 931 dated 1765, marked “missing.”
57. see ref. 17 above, p. 203 and 614, re Michael Jackson and James Jackson, attorneys.
58. ibid, re Michael Jackson as adjutant of the Goshen militia.
59. see ref. 39, above, re surname Carpenter; also see ref. 27, above, will of Solomon Carpenter, dated 1761, no. 306.
61. see ref. 27, above, Will of William "ffinn" dated 1759, no. 626.
64. Early Settlement of Minisink, p. 117-122, re Decker Family.
66. see ref. 53, above, p. 30.
67. see ref. 17, above, passim, re Abraham Smith.
68. see maps portrayed in work cited in ref. 53 and 17, above, naming several patent holders including Abraham Smith.
71. see ref. 61, above, p. 57, showing that Mary Seely of Chester, Orange County, N. Y., died in 1815.
72. see ref. 39 above, surnames Jackson.
74. Virgin D. White, Genealogical Abstracts of Revolutionary War Pension Files,(Waynesboro, Tenn.: The National Historical Publishing Co., 1990), vol. 3, p. 3169, showing that one Abraham Smith married in 1781 one Rachael Van Hoesen at Paramus N. J.
75. Kenneth Scott, Settlers West of the Highlands, Orange County 1715.
76. see ref. 17 above, p. 201-4, re Deer Park, Minisink, N. J.
77. see ref. 41, p. 623.
80. Minutes of Albany Committee of Correspondence 1775-78, Oct. 1776 p. 587. reference to 45 Tory prisoners to be delivered to Lt. Michael Jackson at Fishkills (Dutchess County, New York).
82. Tax list of Dutchess County, New York, LDS film #0940242,1760 p.464,154; 1770, p. 571,636.
84. Thomas C. Boelling, in Queries, The Connecticut Nutmegger, (Glastonbury, Conn.: Connecticut Society of Genealogy, Inc., December, 1993), vol.26 #3, p. 526. Presumed lineage: John was born 1765, Newry(?, Wantage), New Jersey (age 34 on 31December1799, see note 43, Militia Roll), son of Benajah Gustin, born 3May1731, Hebron, Tolland, Conn. and Ann ?. Less likely the John, born 1771 (too young?) to marry by 1787 and 4-5 years younger than Abigail Smith, born before 1767), Newton, N.J., son of Jeremiah, born 26July1740, Galstonbury, Conn., died 31August1823, who married Bethany Fuller,
Born 12 March 1746, Mansfield, Conn., died 27 February 1829, daughter of Elkanah and Naomi (?) Fuller. Both Benajah and Jeremiah Gustin, sons of John Augustine (Gustin), born 15 January 1691, Lynn, Essex, Mass. and Mary ?, who married in 1713 at Stonington, New London, Conn. He was son of Lerossingnol Jean (John) Augustine and Elizabeth Browne were married on 10 January 1676, Salem, Essex, Massachusetts. I.G.L., (1990), under Conn. and Massachusetts.


87. Donald Melville Barrell, Along the Wawayanda Path From Old Greycourt to Chester to Sugar Loaf, (T. Emmett Henderson Publisher, Middletown, N.Y., 1975) p. 141. Also map inside binding.

88. ibid, p. 136.

Note: ref. 17 p. 580 a Stephen Smith mentioned in error a great grandfather born in England whereas should read America. ref. 26 The American Genealogist, (Westville Station, New Haven, Conn., 1949) vol. 25, #2, April, 1949, p. 75.

89. Peter E. Gumaer, A History of Deerpark in Orange County, N.Y., (Minisink Valley Historical Society, Port Jervis Union Print, 1890) p. 55, 58-9, 62, 82.

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**Christian Hornish & Christian Harnish: A Genealogical Analysis**

by Raymond C. Lantz, Registrar, Florida Society SAR and Joseph W. Dooley, Genealogist General, National Society SAR

This analysis concerns an apparent confusion about two men with a similar name. The men shall be identified in this analysis as (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish and (b) Christian Harnish. Consider these details of their lives:

(a) Christian Hornish/Harnish

b. (possibly) ca. 1764 in Lancaster County, PA
d. June 23, 1846 in Washington County, PA

married to Elizabeth Thompson

(b) Christian Harnish

b. ca. 1764 in Lancaster County, PA
d. May 9, 1839 in Huntingdon County, PA

married to Catherine Newman

(a) Christian Hornish/Harnish has been recognized by the DAR as a Revolutionary War patriot, and has been credited with having rendered military service in the militia for Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The DAR currently cites as proof of the service attributed to (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish two entries found in Pennsylvania Archives, Fifth Series, Vol. VII. In fact, there are three entries in Pennsylvania Archives that list Christian Harnish as having served in the following capacities during the American Revolution:

- In 1781, as a Private in the 5th Class of the 4th Company of the 3rd Battalion of the Lancaster County Militia (see pp. 262-263). On this list, the soldier’s name is recorded as ‘Christle’ Harnish.
- In 1782, as a Private in the 5th Class of the 4th Company of the 3rd Battalion of the Lancaster County Militia (see pp. 294-295).
- In 1783, as a Private in the 5th Class of the 4th Company of the 6th Battalion of the Lancaster County Militia (see pp. 613-614).

Of the four DAR applications that have been approved based on descent from (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish, the first three were sisters: NSDAR No. 256268 (Sarah McClelland Hulsizer), NSDAR No. 258289 (Katherine Ellis McClelland Francis) and NSDAR No. 265658 (Charlotte Ann McClelland). NSDAR No. 491041 (Virginia Francis Brajner Grimm) was the granddaughter of NSDAR No. 258289. Three of these applications list the patriot ancestor’s name as ‘Christian Hornish,’ but then offer ‘Harnish’ as a variation. One of these DAR applications (NSDAR No. 258289) lists only ‘Hornish’ throughout the application.

There is very little documentation in the DAR files, and what is available is not primary evidence. The documentation in the DAR files pertains only to the lineage, not to the military service, and it names the patriot ancestor as ‘Christian Harnish.’

Even so, the DAR Ancestor Database refers to him as ‘Christian Hornish.’

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1. See NSDAR Nos. 256268, 258289, 265658 and 491041.
Harnish: This man's correct name was probably Christian Hornish, and he can be found in the following Federal census schedules, enumerated as 'Hornish,' not 'Harnish':

- 1810 Federal census for Buffalo, Washington, PA, Series M252, Roll 57, p. 5. The age of (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish is checked as being from 26 to 44 years old, suggesting he was born between 1766 and 1784.
- 1830 Federal census for Buffalo, Washington, PA, Series M19, Roll 163, p. 309. (The handwriting makes his first name look like 'Cisley'!)
- 1840 Federal census for Washington, Washington, PA, Series M704, Roll 10, p. 499. (His first name appears to be mis-spelled as 'Cristian'.)

With regard to the previously cited references to Pennsylvania Archives, John Keller is also listed as having served in 1782 in the 4th Company of the 3rd Battalion of the Lancaster County Militia, along with Christian Harnish. John and Christian are listed on p. 295. Pennsylvania Archives lists both Michael and John Keller as having served in 1783 with Christian Harnish in the 4th Company of the Lancaster County Militia. Michael, John and Christian are listed on p. 614.

The fact that the Kellers (who are known from other sources to have been brothers) served with Christian Harnish is relevant and significant to this analysis. Militia companies were commonly composed of men living in the same county, often the same town. As shall be demonstrated, the Keller brothers and (b) Christian Harnish would spend much of their lives near one another. Years after the Revolution, the lives of the Keller brothers and (b) Christian Harnish can still be tracked together in the following Federal census schedules:

- 1810 Federal census for Morris Township, Huntingdon, PA, Series M252, Roll 51. 'M. Keller' and 'C. Harnish' are both listed on p. 20. (The 1810 Federal census does not have line numbers.) The age of 'C. Harnish' (i.e., (b) Christian Harnish) is checked as being 45 years or older, suggesting he was born no later than 1765.
- 1820 Federal census for Morris Township, Huntingdon, PA, Series M33, Roll 104. Christian Harnish, Michael Keller and John Keller are all listed on p. 47. (As with 1810, the 1820 Federal census does not have line numbers.)

The SAR and DAR have both recognized Michael Keller as a Revolutionary War patriot. Michael Keller, John Keller and (b) Christian Harnish are all buried in the Keller Cemetery in Catharine Township in Blair County, Pennsylvania. The SAR and DAR have both recognized Michael Keller as a Revolutionary War patriot. Michael Keller, John Keller and (b) Christian Harnish are all buried in the Keller Cemetery in Catharine Township in Blair County, Pennsylvania. The SAR and DAR have both recognized Michael Keller as a Revolutionary War patriot.

Mis-spellings and unclear handwriting are the bane of genealogists, and yet the names 'Hornish' and 'Harnish' are discernibly different in the Federal census schedules. In addition to the difference in the spelling of their names is the difference in their locations. The DAR asserts that (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish died in Washington County, the same county in which he was enumerated in the Federal census schedules. Washington County is in southwestern Pennsylvania along the Ohio border. (b) Christian Harnish died in Huntingdon County, the same county in which he and the Keller brothers were enumerated in the Federal census schedules. Huntingdon County is in south-central Pennsylvania, to the west of Lancaster County, but much closer to Lancaster County than Washington County.

On the DAR applications that attribute the service in question to (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish, his wife is proved to be Elizabeth Thompson, while the records of Christ Lutheran Church in Berks County, Pennsylvania document that the wife of (b) Christian Harnish was Catherine Newman. Berks County is east of, and adjacent to Lancaster County, from which this analysis contends (b) Christian Harnish served in the militia. Catharine Newman's father, Peter Newman, has been recognized as a Revolutionary War patriot by the SAR. Peter Newman, father-in-law of (b) Christian Harnish, died in Berks County in 1791.

2. The lineages set forth on these DAR applications are probably correct, but are beyond the scope of this analysis, which seeks to consider only which man rendered the military service in question.

3. To trace other movements of Christian Harnish, see The Harnish Friendschaft: The Harnish Family, A Collection of Historical Materials Relating to Descendants of Martin Harnish of Conestoga Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1729-1926, by W.E. Francis for the Harnish Reunion Association. Revised and edited by Mrs. W.E. Harnish and Frederick S. Weiser, © 1955. The compilers of The Harnish Friendschaft are not direct descendants of Christian Harnish, and accordingly, did not research his life and descendants as much as they did those of other people. However, the compilers of The Harnish Friendschaft assert that Christian Harnish moved to York County after the Revolutionary War, and then moved to Huntingdon County. Christian Harnish can be found, listed as 'Christian Harnish,' in York County in the 1800 Federal census. (1800 Federal census for West Manchester Township, York, PA, Series M32. Roll 44, pp. 1304-1305.)

4. See NSSAR No. 166163 (supplemental). See also NSSAR Nos. 413611, 413612, 514613, 547262, 726709, 750697, 750698, 750699. These DAR applications cite Pennsylvania Archives to prove Michael Keller's service in the American Revolution. The last four applications – NSSAR Nos. 726709, 750697, 750698, 750699 – claim descent through Michael's son John Keller. On these four DAR applications from Michael through his son John, the DAR applicants claim that John's wife was Margaret Fox. Margaret Fox was John Keller's second wife. His first wife was Lydia Harnish – the daughter of (b) Christian Harnish. To prove the marriage between John Keller and Lydia Harnish, the SAR has relied on the Will of (b) Christian Harnish, in which Christian named his son-in-law John Keller, and referred to 'my daughter Lydia Harnish (late Lydia Keller) now deceased.' (Lydia Harnish Keller died in 1832, predeceasing her father by seven years.) The John Keller-Lydia Harnish marriage is also mentioned in History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties (J. Simpson Africa, © 1883, p. 323). Other primary sources, not relevant to this analysis, demonstrate that Harnishes and Kellers intermarried in Huntingdon County with some frequency through the better part of the 19th century.

5. Blair County was created from parts of Huntingdon and Bedford Counties on February 26, 1846. Catharine Township is in eastern Blair County, which is that part of the county that was formerly part of Huntingdon County. When the Keller brothers and Christian Harnish died, the Keller Cemetery was in Huntingdon County, although it is now in Blair County.


GR-23
On the DAR applications based on (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish, the applicants assert that he was born in Lancaster County in 1764. This assertion should be re-examined. The primary evidence for this date and place of birth can be found in Pennsylvania Births, Lancaster County, 1723-1777 by John T. Humphrey, © 1997, p. 136. If we accept the ages of (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish and (b) Christian Harnish as set forth on the 1810 Federal census, then a birth year of 1764 would be consistent with the reported age range of (b) Christian Harnish, but not with that of (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish. Other evidence that (b) Christian Harnish was born in 1764 can be found in Records of Egypt Reformed Church, Lehigh County, 1734-1834, which documents that (b) Christian Harnish was baptized as an adult at the age of twenty at the same time as his infant son Abraham on May 1, 1784.

Pennsylvania Births, Lancaster County sets forth Christian's birth as 'circa 1764.' We may venture to speculate that (b) Christian Harnish was actually born in September 1764. An on-line transcription of the engraving on Christian's headstone in the Keller Cemetery states that he "died May 9, 1839, aged 79y 8m." The stone is quite worn, and the transcriber has probably mistaken '74' for '79.' The co-author of this analysis, Raymond C. Lantz, has seen the stone in person. He attests to its weathered condition, and believes the correct age at Christian's death was actually 74 years. While we may assume the on-line transcription is mistaken with regard to the years, there is no reason to question the months. If Christian was 74 years and eight months old when he died in May 1839, we can infer that he was born in September 1764. This would be consistent with Christian being almost twenty years old when his son Abraham was baptized in May 1784. A birth month and year of September 1764 would also be consistent with the age recorded for (b) Christian Harnish on the 1810 Federal census.

Just as the military service rendered by (b) Christian Harnish has been mistakenly attributed to (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish, so the date and place of birth of (b) Christian Harnish have erroneously been attributed to (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish. In fact, Washington County in the far western part of Pennsylvania is the only location for which there is any primary evidence to place (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish. No indisputable evidence has been put forth that (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish was ever in Lancaster County, or eastern or south-central Pennsylvania. For (b) Christian Harnish, on the other hand, if we accept that he was born in Lancaster County, we have primary evidence that he was born, married and died and was buried at various places from southeast to south-central Pennsylvania – his entire life occurs between Berks and Huntingdon Counties.

The evidence makes clear that the lives of the Keller brothers and (b) Christian Harnish unfolded together. They lived near each other; they went to war together; and, finally, they were buried near each other in the same cemetery. Michael Keller and (b) Christian Harnish fathered children who married each other. Given the intimacy of their lives – given the volume of primary evidence documenting the course of the life of (b) Christian Harnish – it is reasonable to conclude that the man who served in the Lancaster County Militia was not the man who has heretofore been credited with such service, i.e., (a) Christian Hornish/Harnish. The man who fought in the Lancaster County Militia was (b) Christian Harnish.

7. See NSSAR No. 166163 (supplemental). The DAR has also approved an application based on descent from a patriot named Peter Newman, but he was a different man who was born in Connecticut in 1749 and died in New York in 1812.
8. Translated by Charles R. Roberts, © 1905, p. 170. The Egypt Reformed Church is presently in Lehigh County, which is adjacent to Berks County, where the Newman family has already been demonstrated to have lived. Lehigh County was not formed as an independent county until 1812.
9. In these church records, the identity of Abraham’s mother, the wife (b) Christian Harnish, is confirmed to be ‘Catharina.’ Also in the records of the Egypt Reformed Church, is evidence that the daughter of (b) Christian Harnish and Catherine Neuman, Maria Catharina, was baptized about fourteen months after her brother Abraham. Maria Catharina’s sponsor was ‘Gorg Neumann’ (George Newman), clearly a relative on Catherine Newman Harnish’s side of the family.
This chapter contains article submissions dealing with information on Revolutionary War and/or Colonial Era items ranging from tools, weapons, clothes, flags, or other such items.
The Grand Union Flag, also known as the Congress flag, the First Navy Ensign, the Cambridge Flag, and the Continental Colors, is without question the first national flag of the United States. It is believed that it was ordered raised by General Washington on, or near, Prospect Hill in Boston on 1 January, 1776 and it was the most widely used flag, both on land and sea, by the patriots.

In addition, on that same date the Continental Army came into formal existence.

To fully understand the history of America's first official flag, The Grand Union Flag, we must go back to the origins of the flags that made up the British Union Jack in the canton. Which had its roots in the Crusades.

During the first Crusade 1096-1099), Pope Urban II decided that knights of different nationalities should be distinguished by different colors of the cross: English crusaders would be distinguished by wearing a white cross on red; French crusaders a red cross on white; and Italian knights allocated a yellow cross on a white background. At some point however, English crusaders began wearing the red cross on white.

Then, in 1188 the French King, Philip II of France, accepted the claim of the English to the red cross on white, and the English and French officially exchanged their respective crosses. But, since both English and French crusaders had long been associated with the red cross on white symbol, it became the standard Crusader emblem for both nations.

This cross, with a red cross on white, was originally the personal flag of another saint and key Christian figure, St. Ambrose. He was adopted by the city of Milan (of which he was Archbishop) at least as early as the ninth century, its use spread over Northern Italy including Genoa. Genoa's patron saint was St. George and through the flag's use by the vast Genoese trading fleet, the association between St. George and the red cross on a white background was carried throughout Europe.

As for St. George himself, the New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia states: Martyr, patron of England, suffered at or near Lydda, also known as Diospolis, in Palestine, probably before the time of Constantine. According to the very careful investigation of the whole question recently instituted by Father Delehaye, the Bollandist, in the light of modern sources of information, the above statement sums up all that can safely be affirmed about St. George, despite his early cultus (Defined as Christian Religious Writings / Theology) and pre-eminent renown both in East and West.

Thus the stories of him slaying a dragon, and his refusal to renounce his Catholic faith as a Roman soldier - which lead to his beheading - can not be substantiated.

So, on with our story of The Grand Union flag.
In 1603, James VI of Scotland inherited the English and Irish thrones (as James I), thereby uniting the crowns of England, Scotland in a personal union (which was to remain separate states). On 12 April 1606, a new flag to represent this regal union between England and Scotland was specified in a royal decree, according to which the flag of England (a red cross on a white background, known as St. George’s Cross), and the flag of Scotland (a white saltire (Defined as an “X” cross) on a blue background, known as the Saltire or St. Andrew’s Cross), would be joined together, forming the flag of Great Britain and its first union flag:

England’s St. George’s Cross Flag       Scotland’s St. Andrew’s Cross Flag

Overlap them and you wind up with this British Union Jack.

Which is found in the canton of the Grand Union Flag

The design of the Grand Union flag is VERY similar to the flag of the British East India Company (BEIC) which began in 1707 as a British joint-stock company formed for pursuing trade with the East Indies in competition with the Dutch merchants. But its biggest and best trade was with China - after the English developed a taste for tea.

For decades the BEIC was not allowed to do business with the colonies. They were forced to auction their tea only on the London market and from there it was shipped to the colonies.

The “Tea Act” of 1773 changed that and the BEIC began selling tea to the colonies.

According to where the BEIC was trading the stripes on their flag ranged from nine to fifteen. Now they created a new flag with thirteen stripes. These stripes represented the colonies, while the canton had the British Union Jack, which symbolized their trade between the two.

In September and October 1773, the first seven ships carrying BEIC tea, and flying their new flag, were sent to the colonies: four were bound for Boston, and one each for New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. In those ships were more than 2,000 chests, containing nearly 600,000 pounds of tea.

Americans learned the details of the “Tea Act” and the new tea tax while the ships were en route, and opposition began to mount.

On December 16, 1773, after officials in Boston refused to return the last three shiploads of taxed tea to Britain, a group of colonists boarded the ships and destroyed the tea by throwing it into Boston Harbor. The incident remains an iconic event of American history, and other political protests often refer to it.

Plus, the BEIC refused to send any more ships to the colonies.

The MILITARY TIMES @ http://www.homeofheroes.com/hallofheroes/1st_floor/flag/1bfa_hist.html

Presents this history of the GRAND UNION FLAG.

AH-3
THE CONGRESS COLORS or THE FIRST NAVY ENSIGN or THE CAMBRIDGE FLAG was authorized by the Second Continental Congress in 1775. In the latter part of that year the delegates to the Congress realized the need for a unique symbol of the unity of the 13 American colonies. A committee was appointed late that year to consider such a symbol of unity in a unique standard, or flag. The committee consisted of Benjamin Franklin (Pennsylvania), Benjamin Harrison (Virginia) and Thomas Lynch (South Carolina). The three men did their homework, consulting with revolutionary leaders like George Washington but not ignoring the many Colonial leaders who were opposed to separation from Great Britain. The resulting Grand Union Flag may have been one of the first examples of compromise in the development of a new United States. Designed by Francis Hopkinson who later was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the Colonies’ new flag incorporated both trains of prevailing political thought:

Thirteen alternating red and white stripes comprised the body of the new flag to symbolize the uniqueness and unity of the 13 American colonies. The development of a whole new flag further symbolized a degree of their attitude towards independence.

The field of blue in the upper corner of the flag included the British Union Jack, consisting of the cross of St. George of England and the cross of St. Andrew of Scotland. By basically including a miniature British flag in the design of the new Colonial Flag, the committee was appealing to the wishes of many colonial leaders to repair and maintain their relationship with Great Britain.

Members of the Second Continental Congress considered this new symbol of the 13 American Colonies to be the CONGRESS COLORS. On January 1, 1776 General George Washington’s troops raised the their new flag on the liberty pole at Prospect Hill near the American General’s headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. For this reason it became known by many as the CAMBRIDGE FLAG. General Washington preferred to call it the GRAND UNION FLAG, a title that quickly caught on among his soldiers and then others throughout the colonies. Actually this first United States Flag was first seen flying from the masts of the Colonial fleet on the Delaware River late in 1775 and before it was raised at Prospect Hill. On December 3, 1775 a young Navy lieutenant named John Paul Jones raised the new Congress Colors aboard Captain Esek Hopkins flagship Alfred. Thus to many, it became the FIRST NAVY ENSIGN. Ironically, this flag was also the flag of the British East India Company. It was the official flag of the 13 American Colonies on July 4, 1776 when they declared independence from England. It was this same flag that represented the free and independent people of the Colonies on September 9, 1776 when Congress gave their new nation a name, the “United States”. The famous “Washington Crossing the Delaware” painting created by Emanuel Leutze in 1851 aside, it was probably this flag that crossed the river with General George Washington and his men. For almost the entire first year of the American Revolution, the Grand Union Flag was the ensign of the struggling new “United States”.

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History of The United States Flags by Quaife.
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New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia @http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06453a.htm

Various other internet sources

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HOPKINS FLAG

By Ben DuBose

In a previous issue of THE PATRIOT, I mentioned this flag in an article about the SONS OF LIBERTY flag. In the fall of 1775, as our first Continental Navy was assembling in the Delaware River, Commodore Esek Hopkins issued a set of fleet signals. Among these signals was an instruction directing his vessels to fly a striped Jack and Ensign at their proper places. The custom of the jack-type flag had originated with the Royal Navy in the 15th century or earlier. This first U.S. Navy Jack has traditionally been shown as consisting of 13 horizontal alternating red and white stripes with a superimposed rattlesnake and the motto “Don’t Tread on Me.” The rattlesnake had long been a symbol of resistance to British repressive acts in Colonial America; its display on the new jack of the fledging Continental Navy fit naturally with the fervor of the times.

But even this is in doubt. According to the U.S. Navy website at: http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq122-1.htm
You’ll find: “The United States Navy originated as the Continental Navy, established early in the American Revolution by the Continental Congress by a resolution on October 13, 1775. There is a widespread belief that ships of the Continental Navy flew a jack consisting of alternating red and white stripes, having the image of a rattlesnake stretched out across it, with the motto “Don’t Tread on Me.” That belief, however, rests on no firm base of historical evidence.”

Strange as it seems, even with this on its website the following order was given on 31 May 2002: (SECNAV INSTRUCTION 10520.6) issued by the Secretary of the Navy, to: All Ships and Stations, Subj: DISPLAY OF THE FIRST NAVY JACK DURING THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM, reads in part: “The first navy Jack was a flag consisting of 13 horizontal alternating red and white stripes bearing diagonally across them a rattlesnake in a moving position with the motto “Don’t Tread On Me.” The temporary substitution of this Jack represents an historic reminder of the nation’s and Navy’s origin and will to persevere and triumph. “The first navy jack will be displayed on board all U. S. Navy ships in lieu of the Union Jack, in accordance with sections 1259 and 1264 of reference (a). The display of the first Navy Jack is an authorized exception to section 1258 of reference (a). Ships and craft of the Navy authorized to fly the first Navy Jack will receive an issue of four flags per ship through a special distribution.”

History of The United States Flags by Quaife,
Flags of American History by Crouthers.
Flags of America, by Hooper
Plus various other references, including talks and newspaper articles by the author in the 1980s were used for this article.

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THE BEDFORD FLAG

By Ben DuBose

The Bedford Flag is the oldest complete military flag known to exist in the United States. It was made for a cavalry troop of the Massachusetts Bay militia early in the colonial struggle for the continent that we now call “the French and Indian Wars (1689-1763).”

It is best known as the flag carried by Bedford Minuteman Nathaniel Page to the Concord Bridge on April 19, 1775 - which marked the beginning of the American Revolution.

The original flag is a piece of crimson silk damask measuring about 27” long by 29” wide. This small square shape clearly proves that it was a cavalry flag. The emblem consists of an armored arm emerging from clouds and grasping a sword. Three cannonballs hang in the air. Encircling the arm is a gold ribbon on which the Latin words “VINCIT AUT MORIET” (CONQUER OR DIE) are painted. On the reverse of the flag, the design is slightly different: the sword extends in front of the ribbon instead of behind; it is held left-handed; and the motto is read from bottom to top instead of top to bottom.

History of The United States Flags by Quaife,
Flags of American History by Crouthers.
Flags of America, by Hooper
Plus various other references, including talks and newspaper articles by the author in the 1980s were used for this article.
Previously published in The Florida Patriot, Fall 2012 issue.

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TAUNTON FLAG

By Ben DuBose

This flag was first flown on October 21, 1774 on a 112-foot Liberty pole in Taunton, Massachusetts. This is the best known example of a modified British Red Ensign evoking the colonists demands to be treated fairly. No one is quite sure what the original looked like and there are versions of this flag with just the word “LIBERTY” - which was quite common in those days.
The original Taunton Flag wasn’t a military color. It was a flag of protest and petition. Prior to the Declaration of Independence most colonists were not looking to separate from the Crown, rather they were looking for EQUAL RIGHTS with their counterparts living in England. In fact the Taunton Flag was one of many proclaiming loyalty to the Crown (by using its Ensign), yet calling for a union of the colonies in their quarrel with Britain. And, It was probably raised with the authority of a resolution of the town meeting.

Some historians have given it the nickname: “The first American flag.” It still flies from Taunton flagpoles today and celebrates its own annual holiday, “Liberty & Union Day,” each October. It was carried as a military flag by various Massachusetts troops for the duration of the war.

STAMP ACT FLAG / SONS OF LIBERTY FLAG / REBELLIOUS STRIPES FLAG

By Ben DuBose

The history of the “Stamp Act Flag” began shortly after the Stamp Act Congress met in New York City’s Federal Hall during October 1765. There were only 9 stripes because each represents a colony that attended that Congress. They were: Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and South Carolina. The four colonies that were not represented were: Georgia, New Hampshire, North Carolina & Virginia.

It was used in various protest movements right up to the Boston Tea Party in 1773. After one protest, held under an Elm tree in Boston, the tree became known as the “Liberty Tree,” and a protest group known as the Sons of Liberty was formed. The Sons of Liberty continued to meet under this tree, so the British cut the tree down, and the Sons replaced it with a Liberty pole. This flag then became known as the “Rebellious Stripes Flag.”

Soon after that the 9 colonies wanting separation grew to 13 and so had the stripes added on this flag.

This is the flag many have mistaken for the “COMMODORE ESEK HOPKINS “DON’T TREAD ON ME” design. This was this flag that went on to become the “ENSIGN” for our Merchant and Naval ships. The only written description of the Continental Navy jack contemporary with the American Revolution appears in Commodore Hopkins’s “Signals for the American Fleet,” January 1776, where it is described as “the strip’d jack.” No document says that the jack had a rattlesnake or motto on it.

As a point of information, the ONLY official military flag in the U.S. with vertical stripes is that of the U.S. Coast Guard.
The French Infantry Musket Model of 1763

By James M. French, Jr., in The April 2013 Central Florida Chapter Newsletter

It is a complete misconception that the American colonists were generally armed with rifles. The musket is properly considered as a military weapon, but in the flintlock era, the “musket” was – as a design precisely the same as the modern “shotgun”. In reading about the Revolution, one will never find the word “shotgun”; rather one finds the term “fowling piece”. If one is primarily a farmer, and guns are expensive, one is much better off with a shotgun. Price wise, the rifle was considerably more expensive to buy then the shotgun. It turns out that the rifle has much less utility for a working farmer, as well.

Consider that a muzzle-loading shotgun can be loaded and fired 3 to 4 times faster than a rifle, who’s ball has been carefully pressed down the length of the barrel engraving on the rifling all the way down. For defense of an isolated farmhouse a fast loading shotgun firing half a dozen buckshot is extremely effective out to 50 or 60 years.

The large pattern meant that women or children who were not skilled could still lay down effective fire. “Buck” or any other smaller size shot cannot be effectively used in a rifle because the smaller bore holds very few shot, and more importantly, the shot “cloud” moving straight up the barrel destroys the rifling.

Then too, smaller size shot – that can only be fired from shotguns – is extremely effective for bringing birds, water-fowl and much more commonly available smaller game, like rabbits, woodchuck, and squirrels, to the table. Finally, it is possible to take larger game like deer with a shotgun using a single large ball (today called slugs), or 2 or 3 size ‘000’ buckshot. Many colonial hunters would load the ball, and then put three to five size ‘1’, ‘0’ or ‘00’ buckshot on top. You simply had to get closer to your target than does the rifleman. This load was the one General George Washington recommended to his soldiers, as well.

The shotgun had the additional advantage in that being smoothbore; it could serve as your required weapon, when called for military duty. The difference between the shotgun and the musket were not those of function.

The two were functionally identical. What transformed the homely shotgun into the military musket was construction and accessories. The typical shotgun as imported into the colonies was cheap and lightly constructed, for easy carrying in the field all day, and weighed 6 to 8 lbs. The musket was much more robustly constructed, weighing anywhere from 10 to 14 lbs.

One reason for this characteristic was the need for rapid handling in combat during the fast and furious loading process. The other reason for strength was the leverage one had to apply when wielding the one pound 14-inch triangular bayonet at the end.

The early fighting in the Revolution was done almost exclusively in and around Boston. Some of the troops were armed with the Brown Bess, but most with fowling pieces and odds and ends. A very few Brown Bess copies, known as “Committee of Safety muskets” were also produced, but the lack of their survival in any numbers to date indicates that they were rare.

As the war continued into late 1776 and early 1777, the French Foreign Minister the Count de Vergennes started to send us arms and munitions (through a dummy French-Spanish Export Company known as “Hortalez et Cie”). These arms were transshipped through warehouses at the neutral Dutch port of St. Eustatius in the Netherlands Antilles onto smuggler’s vessels.

The French sent us their “second line” or reserve infantry weapon – the M1763 “Charleville” musket. The term “Charleville” is a misnomer; the gun is really the “French Infantry Musket Model of 1763”. The French Infantry Musket went through as many as 15 minor evolutions, with the following major model changes during the period up to the end of the American Revolution: the first, M1717, then the M1718, and subsequent, M1746, M1754, M1763, and the M1777. The early M1717 had a pinned barrel, similar to the “Brown Bess”; so the M1728 was the first model with the characteristic three bands on the barrel. Subsequent changes were mostly refinements involving the shape of the stock, the lock mechanism, and on the M1777, the extensive use of bronze fittings. In France there were as many as 5 different armories, including one at Versailles. The M1763 was made by all the armories in
France, among them, Charleville, Maubeuge, and Saint-Etienne.

Interestingly, the very first model produced by the newly opened armory at Charleville was the M1763. If you examine the lock work on any of the French Infantry Muskets, you will notice that the royal acceptance mark is a rather small fleur-de-lis. It is the name of the royal factory that is prominently stamped in a large, bold cursive style. As it happened, so many of the smuggled M1763s imported into the Colonies had the armory name of “Charleville” engraved on the lock mechanism, that the Colonial troops assumed that was the name of the weapon, and thenceforward all M1763s were known by the generic name of “Charleville”.

Following the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga (October 17, 1777), the French came into open conflict with Great Britain with the signing of the “Treaty of Commerce and Alliance” on February 6, 1778. Thereafter, French warships, and convoyed French transports brought in thousands of stands of arms, for the most part, M1763s. Estimates run to as many as 100,000 M1763s being supplied to the Colonists during the course of the War. From late 1779 through to the end of the war, the majority of Colonial Army regiments were armed with the M1763. As for our allies, all the French troops landed in America were armed with new production M1777s.

On the practical level, the Continental trooper preferred the M1763 for several reasons. Firstly, it is lighter; the M1763 like all the French muskets weigh 10 pounds, vs. the Brown Bess’s reported weight of 14 pounds (modern copies weigh closer to 12 pounds). A 30% lighter musket is not only easier to carry; it is easier to manipulate quickly during the loading sequence in battle. Secondly, it is sturdier, being able to take more abuse and “knocking about” than is the Bess. (I feel that the barrel bands may have a lot to do with the greater robustness of the piece.) Thirdly, it is much easier to clean, as the three band system along the barrel allows one to simply depress the spring retaining clips and slide the bands off. Removing two screws then allows one to lift off the entire barrel and cleans under it easily. By contrast, one has to carefully drift out the small pins holding the Brown Bess’s barrel in place, and when done, carefully align everything and drift the pins back in again to reassemble the British piece. Fourthly, the gun is .69 calibers vs. the Bess’s .75 caliber and fires a 474-grain lead ball vs. the Bess’s 610-grain lead ball. For the Continental soldier, this means that in a cartridge box full with 25 cartridges, you are only carrying 1.7 lbs. of lead in those 25 balls of .680 caliber, vs. 2.2 lbs. of lead required for 25 balls of .730 size. Thus the average soldier fully equipped saved another half pound of weight to carry vs. a soldier armed with the Brown Bess. You could also make more ammunition from the amount of lead!
People & Events in History

This Chapter contains article submissions of or about the events and people of the Revolutionary War Era whether they were famous individuals or the common citizen. Articles on *Heroes of the American Revolution* are an example of what can be listed herein.
George Washington and Medical Experimentation

by Oscar Patterson III, Ph.D.

Try to imagine the Father of our Country, George Washington, as the subject of an 18th century physician’s attempt to resurrect the dead. And that the physician who suggested this attempt was not only a Washington family friend, but the architect of the U.S. Capitol. Dr. William Thornton, an authentic polymath or Renaissance man, proposed this most unusual scheme to the Washington family upon the death of our first president in 1799.

The 18th century is often referred to, medically, as “the age of agony” with the 19th century being termed “the age of miracles” (Williams, 1986; Williams 1987). Medical practice of the 18th century was more closely related to that of pre-Christian era Greek and Roman physicians than to modern medicine. The basic principle of diagnosis was the concept of the four bodily humors described by Hippocrates about 400 B.C. with most bodily ailments considered as the result of a misalignment of the four humors represented by black bile, yellow bile, phlegm (white bile) and blood.

There was no concept that micro-organisms caused diseases or that bacterium, viruses, protozoa and fungi even existed—nor could they even imagine such. Further, the physicians of that day did not understand that infectious diseases are transmitted by, for example, hand-to-mouth contact with infectious material, by bites of insects or from contaminated water or food. The bubonic plague was the result of “noxious vapors” or bad air, not the bites of rat-borne fleas. The most common medical procedure of the period was bleeding but 18th century physicians believed that the human body contained three (3) gallons of blood—12 quarts—while, in fact, it has only about 4.5 to 5.5 quarts or a little over one gallon. Thus, it was not unusual for a physician to, literally, bleed a patient to death in eight-ounce increments.

As the 19th century dawned, some physicians were searching for a means to cure the most common of all ailments, death. And while Mary Shelly in her 1823 novel Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus only imagined reanimation and resurrection, there were a number of reputable physicians who though that such was possible.

One of the most prominent individuals considered for reanimation was George Washington. The tale of this attempt begins shortly before Washington’s death in December 1799. George Washington, therefore, wasn’t only America’s first president; he was almost the subject of an unusual medical experiment that foreshadowed Mary Shelly’s 1823 book Frankenstein. William Thornton, a physician and architect, is best remembered as the first designer of the U.S. Capitol, but he also proposed reviving George Washington’s deceased body by using a combination of blankets, an air pump and lamb’s blood.

Washington became ill after traveling through the wet winter rain in December 1799. He finally succumbed to his illness after a painful series of “treatments” that included regular blood drawings, having his stomach drained and drinking mixtures of vinegar, molasses and butter. Washington famously told his doctors before passing, “I die hard, but I am not afraid to go.” He was, though, according to several reports, afraid of being buried alive and asked friends and family to wait three full days after his death before holding his funeral.

The morning after his death, Washington’s step-granddaughter, Eleanor Parke Curtis Lewis, known as Nelly, brought Dr. Thornton to Mount Vernon. That’s when Thornton made the offer to Martha Washington. The plan involved thawing Washington’s body (it had been placed on ice blocks), rubbing it vigorously with blankets, performing a crude tracheotomy to pump air into Washington’s lungs and, finally, infusing him with fresh lamb’s blood. At that time—1799—lamb’s blood was considered to have special medicinal properties (Tucker, 2011).

Washington’s friends and family turned down Thornton’s offer not because they didn’t think it would work, but because they felt that Washington would have wanted to rest in peace.

As it turns out, Thornton had other plans for Washington’s body, as well. Thornton included a burial vault in his design for the Capitol and hoped it would be Washington’s final resting place. Martha Washington reportedly agreed to this arrangement, only stipulating that she be entombed next to Washington after her own death.

The empty vault still exists under the U.S. Capitol, but George and Martha Washington are buried, as they wished, at their beloved Mount Vernon, Virginia.

References


MARINUS WILLETT - 10 August, 1740 - 23 August, 1830

By Ben DuBose

American hero, Marinus Willett was born in Jamaica, Long Island and at age seventeen he joined the provincial
army as a 2nd lieutenant. His baptism of fire was at the defeat at Ticonderoga in 1758. He immediately accompanied Colonel Bradstreet in his victory at Fort Frontenac (now Kingston in upper Quebec). When the Stamp Act sent a dark cloud over the colonies his undying loyalty and military experience were sworn to liberty.

Shortly after the skirmishes of Lexington and Concord the British troops in New York were ordered to Boston with a large quantity of arms and ammunition. In their usual show of strength the British troops marched down Broadway, followed by wagons loaded with supplies. Willet, a leader of the Liberty Boys, resolved to prevent those supplies from leaving New York.

Against the wishes of the mayor, and other Wigs he had scores of citizens to line the streets posing as spectators. After the troops marched by, and the first few wagons passed by, his men jumped on the first few wagons and turned them; creating a barrier to prevent the enemy troops from turning around.

He and his men jumped on the remaining wagons, pushed the drivers off, and took control of the reins. They headed north while mobs of citizens blocked the Red Coats from following them. He hid the supplies at various predetermined locations and those supplies were later used by the 1st Regiment of New York; where he was appointed a Captain.

Afterwards he was with Montgomery in his northern expedition; he commanded Fort Constitution on the Hudson across from West Point from 1776 to 1777; and Fort Stanwix until the summer of 1778. He was assigned to General Washington’s forces and fought at the Battle of Monmouth. From 1779 to 1782 he fought in the Mohawk Valley and after the war Washington sent him out west again to create treaties with the Creek Indians.

He was elected mayor of the City of New York in 1807 and went on to become president of the Electoral College. He died in the city he loved, NY, at age 91.

Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, and served as governor of that state from 1769 to 1784. He was one of the few Americans who served as governor in both a pre-Revolutionary colony and a post-Revolutionary state. During the American Revolution he was one of a very few colonial governors who supported the American side.

He joined the patriotic cause while he was the state’s lieutenant-governor in 1768 when he took the bold step of refusing to take the oath to the King and Parliament. This was so popular with the people that he was elected governor the following year.

His influence was almost unbounded throughout New England and while Adams and Hancock were members of the state’s legislature, it was Trumbull who was recognized as the great leader of the Northeast.

Trumbull was a good friend and advisor of General Washington throughout the revolutionary period, dedicating the resources of Connecticut to the fight for independence. Washington declared him “the first of the patriots.”

Whenever Washington was desperate for men or food during the war, he could turn to “Brother Jonathan.”

He also served as the Continental Army’s Paymaster General (Northern Department) in the spring of 1778, until the untimely death of his mother forced him to resign his post. As part of his resignation, he requested that the remainder of his back pay be distributed to the soldiers of the Northern Department.

The Marquis de Chastellux, who came to America with Rochambeau, said this of Trumbull: “He was greatly loved by Washington; and no name on the pages of our history appears brighter, as a pure patriot and honest man, than that of Jonathan Trumbull.”

Sources & photo: Eminent Americans by B.J. Lossing, also various internet sites.

Archbishop John Carroll - January 8, 1735 - December 3, 1815

The first Royal Patent granted by King Charles the First, in 1632, was to Lord Baltimore; a Roman Catholic gentleman of wealth and influence. That patent granted that all the settlements in the New World would guarantee freedom of worship
to all who professed a belief in Christ.

His descendant, Leonard Calvert, along with a group of Roman Catholic followers, settled what is today’s Maryland, and that area became an enclave for other Catholics who came here looking for a new life. It was there that John Carroll was born in an area known as Upper Marlborough.

At age thirteen he was sent to the college of St. Omer in French Flanders. Six years later he transferred to a Jesuits’ college at Liege. When, the Jesuits were expelled from France in 1773, he moved to England. By 1775, as the fires of discontent burned across the Colonies Carroll returned home and offered his services to the cause of freedom.

At the time Congress was trying to win Canada’s support in our fight against England, or at the very least, their neutrality. Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Father Carroll as commissioners to accomplish this task. Father Carroll was chosen because of his sacred office, and his mastery of the French language. The mission failed and Carroll returned to Philadelphia with the ailing Franklin, who remained his lifelong friend. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison were among the many prominent men who welcomed his counsel.

Throughout the war he supported the patriot cause and in 1786 was appointed Supreme of Missions and moved to Baltimore where he increased the Catholic congregation. Word of his works reached Pope. Pius VI and in 1790 he was consecrated a Bishop (the first in the United States). One year later he founded the college at Georgetown.

It is interesting to note that all the colonies were but one diocese; under the title of the see of Baltimore, of which he was the Bishop.

In 1799 Congress, by unanimous vote, invited him to deliver the eulogy for George Washington at St. Peters church in Baltimore.

Following the erection of four new Sees (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, Ky.) in 1808, Carroll was elevated to Archbishop three years later. During his years as head of the American church, the Roman Catholic population of the country grew from about 25,000 to 200,000. He remained the head of the Catholic Church of the United States until his death at age eighty. 

Previously printed in The Florida Patriot, Summer 2012 issue.

Who Was the Real Benedict Arnold

By Ben DuBose

Shakespeare wrote: “I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him. The evil that men do lives after them. The good is oft interred with their bones.” And so it was with Benedict Arnold.

That is, until about the turn of the 20th Century when historical apologists decided to dig up his bones – hoping to find some good in them. The result is a skewed version of history. One that uses actual events to create a scenario that not only praises him, but also attributes his last and worst crimes to an assortment of outside pressures. The problem is they totally ignored the man and his lifetime of misdeeds.

Earlier this year a cable TV company came out with a documentary on Benedict Arnold and decided to use local libraries to get some cheap publicity. They offered prizes for the best presentations, assuming libraries would bring in a viewing audience through grass roots advertising. Thus, as the past president of the Brevard Chapter of the SAR, and their guest speaker on other occasions, I was contacted to do a talk. I agreed, thinking I had enough general knowledge to put a talk together within the two-week time period allotted. Like most historians, I assumed Arnold to be a brave and true patriot who was disappointed and disgruntled because he was passed over for promotions and not given the credit he felt he deserved. As my research began for this talk, I picked through books in my personal library that I haven't read in decades (mostly older books published in the 1800's). A new picture of Benedict Arnold emerged, a picture of neither a patriot nor a traitor, but rather of a psychologically disturbed and very angry person who was consumed by his egotistical needs- needs which forced him to become an over achiever, needs which made him take advantage of any person, situation or cause – no matter what the future ramifications might be – as long as it satisfied him.

These historical revisionists concentrated on his deeds of bravery and what he had done for his country on the battlefield. There is no question about it – Benedict Arnold was a “brave man.” But, it was the kind of bravery that is born out of a desperate reckless urge to draw recognition from others, or to intimidate others – friends and foe alike. This type of bravery, without merit or cause, is nothing more than outbursts of anger, reactions to fear, or a way of getting attention. You will see that Arnold fought not for the cause of freedom, but rather for personal riches, power, extraordinary praise, and the calculation of future gain and advancement – all selfish needs.

Arnold just happened to be at the right place at the right time – a time when this type of irrational personality could be interpreted as “Revolutionary leadership.” Plus, he had incredible luck; was an above average battle strategist; and
he had the ability to write a great letter. Also, truthfulness was not one of his many talents.

I was amazed by what is written about his childhood. An old biography starts out by telling us that he was born in Norwich, Connecticut on January 3rd 1740. He was a descendent of another Benedict Arnold, one of the early governors of Rhode Island. His mother, according to her epitaph, was “A pattern of patience, piety, and virtue.” It goes on to say, “He was a wayward, disobedient and unscrupulous boy; cruel in his traits and wicked in his practices.”(1) A footnote describes that, “While yet a mere youth he attempted murder.” Young Arnold hated his sister’s boyfriend so much that he threatened to kill him if he ever returned. Shortly thereafter he shot the young man as he tried to escape out of a window.

His boyhood is discussed at length in another old reference work. It relates that one of his earliest amusements was to rob eggs from bird’s nests, and he loved to maim and mangle young birds in full sight of the older birds – just to hear their cries. He would put broken glass along the path from school so that the younger children would cut their feet. He also liked to sprinkle brightly colored glass at the doorway of the drug store where he worked – to attract the attention of youngsters. Then, as they were busy collecting the colorful tid-bits Arnold would run out of the shop with a horsewhip – calling them thieves – and beat them without pity. (2)

His misdirected bravery also showed itself during his youth, for he would often display rash feats of daring-do. One of his favorite amusements – which he did to astonish the other children – was to hang onto the arms of a large water-wheel at the grist-mill and go round-and-round as it plunged him into the water and out again. (2)

At fifteen he ran away from home and joined the provincial troops to fight in the war with France along the Canadian border. His adventures in upstate New York played an important role during the Canadian Campaign. He soon deserted and entered the smuggling trade with the West Indies. He served as a skipper, commanding a small schooner out of New London. To relieve the monotony after long days at sea he engaged in duels and brawls, mostly with Frenchmen who were considered our enemy. This sailing experience also comes into play during his days at Lake Champlain.

As the Revolution neared, we needed the likes of Arnold as much as the wisdom of Washington, and the shrewdness of Franklin. Yes! We needed the boasting, irregular, adventurous energy of men like Arnold to stir the hearts of other adventurers. No sooner had the musket-shots at Concord and Lexington echoed through New England, Arnold was in the field, mustering a company that was ready to march anywhere a good fight could be found. And that fight would most likely occur at Boston.

When he arrived in Boston it was already obvious that we lacked the artillery needed to fight the British. Several of those who had fought in the war with France, Arnold included, recalled that Fort Ticonderoga was filled with cannon, and it was ripe for the picking. It was Arnold who presented this proposal to The Massachusetts Committee for Safety.

“The Colony of Massachusetts voted a considerable sum and Colonel Benedict Arnold was authorized to raise a force and seize the fort. About the same time, however, Ethan Allan, leader of a body of irregular troops known as the Green Mountain Boys, also conceived the idea. Allan and Arnold met in Castleton, Vermont, and both claimed the command. The Green Mountain Boys refused to serve under anyone but Allen. Eventually a compromise was made and a joint command agreed on.”(3) These funds will be discussed later.

The facts are that Allen’s forces had grown to about 300 along the way, while Arnold’s forces consisted of himself and but a small handful of aides. Actually, Arnold had no other choice, for he had gathered no forces to side with him. Yet, in Arnold’s letter to the Committee explaining why he allowed Allen to lead the attack he lied saying: “not thinking proper to await the arrival of the troops I had engaged on the road.”(4)

Let’s be realistic. During those times leaders did not engage troops and move on. They amassed their forces along the way, moving forward with them to build more support. And there is no record of any of these forces ever arriving.

According to documents it was Allen’s forces that took the first fort and he was responsible for its almost bloodless surrender. Yet, Arnold included in that same letter the following seeds of discontent: “Colonel Allen is a proper man to head his own wild people, but entirely unacquainted with military service; and as I am the only person who has been legally authorized to take possession of this place, I am determined to insist on my right, and I think it is my duty to remain here against all opposition until I have further orders. But, as I have been the first person who entered and took possession of the fort, I shall keep it until I have further advice and orders from you.”(4)

Again, according to written document, Allen also had official orders to take the fort, and reports written by a British officer prove Allen was the first one in to claim the Fort – not Arnold. His first-hand report states that after Allen insisted on surrender: “Mr. Arnold begg’d it in a genteel manner.”(5) But it was Arnold’s report that reached General Washington in Boston. And Washington was so impressed he promoted Arnold to the position of Colonel in the Continental Army.

Washington’s first order for Arnold was to raise a force of men, proceed to Quebec, and join forces with General Montgomery who was moving north from Montreal. With the assistance of a young Aaron Burr and Daniel Morgan, they raised an army of about one-thousand men and marched them almost six hundred miles in about eight-weeks – only to find they had arrived weeks before General Montgomery who was to lead the assault.

Once again, Arnold impressed Washington; and to read Arnold’s reports concerning this event, one would think he did it single handedly. During the Battle of Quebec everything that could go wrong did. “ With enlistments of about
half their men expiring by the new year, Arnold and Montgomery undertook a desperate assault on the city during the night of December 30 in the middle of a raging blizzard. The Americans were outnumbered by the defenders, and the attack was a failure. Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded.”[6] Plus, Arnold was given Montgomery’s command and the rank of Brigadier-General.

In a letter written to his sister Hanna on January 6, just days after the Siege of Quebec Arnold relates in true bravado: “I received a wound by a ball through my left leg, which, by the loss of blood, rendered me very weak. As soon as the main body came up, with some assistance I returned to the hospital near a mile on foot, being obligated to draw one leg after me, and a great deal of the way under continual fire of the enemy... My wound has been exceedingly painful... I am doing my duty and know no fear.”[7]

With the collapse of the Canadian campaign, the American flank was wide open to counterattack. And if General Carleton had been ready, and if Arnold had not been put in charge of a sham naval operation on Lake Champlain, Carleton might have destroyed the American Forces along our northern border. The British could then have sailed down the Hudson River and joined forces with Howe in New York, thus separating the rebellion north and south.

What Arnold saw, as his chance to destroy the Royal Navy, and gain recognition and respect appeared to be a good plan by many of his superiors.

So, while Generals Schuyler and Gates “recruited,” they let Arnold pursue his mad, impossible plan... to build an American fleet and sail against Carleton. Shipwrights and sawyers, sailcloth and naval supplies were requisitioned from New England. Axemen felled trees on the lake shore, and green timbers were hewn into ships – two schooners, two sloops, four galleys, and eight gondolas. Cannon were mounted on the unpainted decks and the unseaworthy craft were manned by soldiers.”[8]

Arnold – in a whirlwind of energy, letter writing and resourcefulness - brought together a small navy by the first week in October, just a few days ahead of Carleton’s fleet. But all was not as organized as reported by Arnold, or as most modern-day historians like to tell it. In a letter from John Trumbull to his father, the Governor of Connecticut, written on July 12, 1776, he comments: “I found not an Army but a mob, the shattered remains of twelve or fifteen very fine battalions, ruined by sickness, fatigue and desertsions and void of any ideas of discipline... We have carpenters, shipbuilders and mechanics in plenty, but neither place for them to work in – nor materials in plenty.”[9] – He goes on to describe the small navy Arnold was hastily putting together, and there was no real hope of victory.

The Battle of Valcour Island, occurred on Oct. 11-13. As expected, Carleton’s superior force swept Arnold’s small navy off the lake. But, luckily for Arnold his grab for recognition came in another form. His naval challenge to Carleton forced the British to lose over a month in preparation for that battle, and that month was decisive. The English were not prepared for a winter campaign. Yes, they did march to Fort Ticonderoga – just a show of force – but turned around and returned to Canada before a shot was fired.

Once again Washington received only the good news and saw Arnold as a huge asset to his command.

At the battle of Ridgefield, Connecticut, on April 25, 1777, Arnold’s horse was killed from under him, having been hit by nine bullets, and it fell atop his leg thus causing another tragic wound in battle. According to the official records of the time he was given his promotion to major-general for his gallantry in action.

That promotion is the one that undermines the theory put forth by historical revisionists. Author Christopher Ward describes an event that occurred one month before the battle of Ridgefield. "In New Haven, Brigadier General Benedict Arnold, the Achilles of the American army, was sulking in his tent... Despite his brilliant services in the war, five brigadiers, all junior to him in rank and one a mere militia general, had been made major generals, while he was unnoticed. Astonished and indignant at the slight put upon him by an ungrateful Congress, he wrote to Washington saying he intended to resign the service. Washington urged him 'not to take any hasty steps'...[10] As we can see, one month later he did receive the promotion he was looking for. So, that old excuse, about not being promoted does not hold water.

It was during the summer of 1777 the pressure was put on Arnold to report on the funds he received from The Colony of Massachusetts. "Benedict Arnold, disgusted by the protracted charges that he had misused funds... had finally submitted his resignation to Congress, but on that same day (11 July 1777) Congress got a request from Washington that Arnold be assigned to Schuyler’s command.”[11] And, since Arnold received his new orders, he was right to assume that Congress took no action on his resignation. But word of it traveled fast.

At the battle of Freeman’s Farm on September 19, 1777, Arnold’s mask of patriotism began to slide off when he was confronted with a General who was to become his worst enemy. He was placed under the command of Major General Horatio Gates, a former British officer who was noted and respected for his defensive strategy, and was very familiar with and wary of Arnold’s unorthodox military career.

During the battle of Freeman’s Farm, Arnold continued to send messengers to Gates – insisting a more aggressive battle be fought, with him at the forefront. Gates not only ignored the messages, but after the battle was won he did not even include Major-General Arnold in his letters to Washington and Congress. Today’s historians, and the generals who participated in that battle are generally split on who was right, but the battle was won, and that’s all that counted at the time.

Arnold called on Gates at his headquarters, and a bitter quarrel took place. Gates told Arnold that as far as he was concerned Arnold had resigned to Congress and that he had never received notice of Arnold being reinstated. A day or
two later, Arnold was relieved of all command and Gates forbid him to return to headquarters.

Arnold’s Waterloo took place at the Bemis Height’s Battle of Saratoga, on October 7, 1777, just days later. Author, Hub-
bard Cobb, related the following story: “Brooding in his tent, Arnold heard the battle in progress, jumped on his mare
and dashed toward the site of action. With no authority – and in total disregard for Gates’ orders, Arnold took com-
mand of the forward brigade and smashed into the British center.” The author goes on to say, “Some historians believe
that Arnold’s incredible behavior and total disregard of orders was that he had either gone mad or was drunk.” Other
historians believe it was Arnold’s “Last Hurrah” – and that he wanted to be killed in action to preserve the legend he
had worked so hard to build. This may well have been the case, for reports say he rode back and forth in front of heavy
enemy fire waving his sword like a mad man. He even wounded one of his own officers by hitting in the head with his
sword. Back-and-forth he rode, charging headlong into the center of the enemy line. “He exposed himself – says Wilkin-
son – no very favorable witness by-the-by with great folly.” As he did so, his horse was again killed out from under
him and a musket ball fractured the thighbone in the same leg he had injured in Quebec. This last wound made him a
cripple for the rest of his life.

As he was being carried away in a stretcher, Major Armstrong, who had been sent out by Gates to stop Arnold from
joining the battle, caught up with him. His reports say Arnold was laughing loudly as he was being brought back to
Gates’ headquarters. As an interesting historical note, there is a monument dedicated to Arnold’s leg on that battlefield
to this day. Arnold spent the next year recovering from his wound, and although he requested other commands, Washing-
ton put him off time-and-again. By then Washington had started to see what the real Benedict Arnold was like, but he
also recalled his earlier deeds and felt pity for this brave officer of his. In June of 1778 Arnold traveled to Washington’s
headquarters at Valley Forge, looking for a command – any Command! Luckily for Arnold, the British were evacuating
Philadelphia, so Washington appointed Arnold as the Military Governor of that city – until an election could take place.

Washington, knowing full well that Arnold was what we now call a “loose-cannon,” wrote out a lengthy letter of
instructions on June 19, 1779, limiting Arnold’s duties to mostly policing the city. But Arnold decided to do whatever he
wanted. “Within three days after he took command, he entered in secret mercantile partnerships,” Which he later fa-
vored with big contracts. And, while in that position, he lived extravagantly, married the daughter of a leading Tory, and
created a political empire based on fraud, embezzlement and oppression. When General Reed was elected President of
the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania later that year, he proceeded to have Arnold tried at a court-martial where he was
found guilty of several crimes. And Washington himself reprimanded him publicly.

During that dramatic trial, Arnold’s true personality was shown publicly. His rage knew no bounds, as he waged an
arrogant and defamatory defense. He praised himself for his past military successes, boasted about his wounds in battle
and slandered others with no evidence. He grabbed anything that wasn’t nailed down and threw it at his accusers.

What followed was a period of deep debt, bankruptcy, public altercations and disgrace. It was during this period that
he began dealing with the enemy – in the person of Major Andre, a British Officer who was stationed inPhiladelphia
before Arnold took command. Andre had been a friend of Arnold’s father-in-law and wife. Speculation has it that it was
Arnold’s wife who put them together.

Andre paid Arnold for information concerning Philadelphia and troop movements. And, it was he who put him in
direct contact with Sir Henry Clinton. But Arnold’s sources were quickly drying up. So, he directed all of his energies to
securing a position of importance that would be more financially rewarding. He decided that the fort at West Point was
a key location in the final days of the war and directed all his powers and intrigue in securing the leadership of that post.

Since Arnold was in constant contact with Clinton, it is quite possible that Arnold knew about the secret talks going
on between the British and French military leaders. By 1880 the French were very unhappy with the way they were
being treated by the Americans and were considering abandoning this new nation and possibly joining forces with the
British. If that came to pass, Arnold would be assured a high rank in the new formed government.

In this correspondence to the King of France, Comte de Rochambeau wrote: “Send us troops, ships and money, but do
not count on these people nor their resources, they have neither money nor credit, their forces exist only momentarily,
and when they are about to be attacked in their own homes they assemble to defend themselves. Another French com-
mander thought only one highly placed American traitor was needed to decide the campaign.”

By then Clinton had, in fact, found his highly placed traitor in Benedict Arnold. “Money is this man’s god,” one of
his enemies had said of Arnold, earlier and evidently he was correct. Lucrative rewards promised by the British led to
Arnold’s treason.

In his quest to secure the command of West Point Arnold called on his few friends in Congress, and the few military
men he had not had confrontations with. He convinced them that he was the injured party in a battle for power in
Philadelphia. He requested they write letters to General Washington in his behalf. Then he proceeded to beg Washing-
ton for forgiveness, and to place trust in him once again to reverse the stigma of his curt-martial. Reluctantly, Washing-
ton yielded to his requests and directed Arnold to take charge of the garrison at West Point.

After Arnold was found to have committed acts of treason by selling information about the fort and the surrounding
defense, George Washington sent a letter to General Reed, President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: the same
General Reed who had Arnold face court-martial. In a letter dated 18th October 1780, shortly after Arnold fled to the
British, Washington penned this letter: “Arnold’s conduct is so villainously perfidious, that there are no terms that can describe the baseness of his heart. The confidence and folly, which have marked the subsequent career of this man are of a piece with his villany (sic) and all three are perfect in their kind.”

“Love of money and a general selfishness were his real faults, and they were of a kind to look particularly odious in a commander, at a time when so many men were periling all in the service of their country at her utmost need. Arnold has been brought to trial, for some alleged want of integrity, while in command of Philadelphia…and the disgrace he then suffered probably rankled his mind. At any rate, it is now well known, though then so little suspected, that he had in September 1780, been fifteen months in correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, with a view of betraying his country.”

After Arnold eluded capture, the British gave him a field command and he made attacks on Virginia and New England, including his own hometown. By now he knew full well that his ties with the revolutionists were at an end, and his only chance for respect and glory was if the British won the war.

An engraving was published in the Pennsylvania Gazette in November 1780. It shows a parade that took place in that city that had a two-faced effigy of Arnold. Looming over Arnold’s back is the Devil awaiting his due –Arnold’s soul! The caption reported that numerous people expressed their abhorrence of the Traitor.

Thus, he became one of the most vicious commanders of the war; ordering his men to take no captives and having them burn town-after-town. And during every attack he saved and savored the cruelest punishment for those he knew best. After the war he moved to England with his wife, where everyone except the Royal Family shunned them. One of the most used phrases of the time was: “We accept the treason, but despise the traitor.”

Benedict Arnold stared his life as a sadistic bully and went on to become a malcontent, a liar, an embezzler, and yes, a traitor to this country – and don’t you ever forget it!

End Notes

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2. WASHINGTON and THE GENERALS of the American Revolution by Edward Meeks, pp. 21-22, Phil. PA, 1858
5. Ibid., p. 64
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13. MEMOIRS of WASHINGTON by Mrs. C.M. Kirkland, p. 373, D. Appleton & Co., NY, 1857
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16. Ibid., p 89
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ISACC SHELLY - 11th December, 1750 - 18th July, 1826

Isacc Shelly is one of the few Revolutionary War heroes who also was a hero in the War of 1812. Born in Hagerstown, Maryland, he inherited his outstanding courage and perseverance from his Welsh ancestors. He became a surveyor in his teens and by age 21 he settled in Western Virginia and he received his Baptism of fighting at the Battle of Point Pleasant, known as the Battle of Kanawha during what has become known as Dunmore’s War.

It occurred on the 10th of October, 1774 when American Indians under the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk attacked Virginia militia hoping to halt their advance into the Ohio Country. After a long and furious battle, Cornstalk retreated and young Isacc, along with his father Even Shelly, returned to their homes.

In July, 1776 he was appointed to command a company of minute-men by the Virginia committee of safety and soon advanced to the Continental Commissary Department.

The Battle of Point Pleasant, known as the Battle of Kanawha in some older accounts, was the only major battle of Dunmore’s War. It was fought on October 10, 1774, primarily between Virginia militia and American Indians from the Shaw-
People in History

People in History

The Ohio River near modern Point Pleasant, West Virginia, American Indians under the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk attacked Virginia militia under Andrew Lewis, hoping to halt Lewis's advance into the Ohio Country. After a long and furious battle, Cornstalk retreated. After the battle, the Virginians, along with a second force led by Lord Dunmore, the Royal Governor of Virginia, marched into the Ohio Country and compelled Cornstalk to agree to a treaty, ending the war.

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Dr. Joseph Warren: The American Revolution’s First Martyred Patriot

By Donald E. Green, Ph.D.

Dr. Joseph Warren is not well known among America’s Patriots although he belongs in the high order of our Founding Fathers. Like General Richard Montgomery who led the expedition against Quebec in 1775, he was killed early in the conflict.

Warren was born 11 June 1741 at Roxbury, Massachusetts to Joseph & Mary Stevens Warren. His father was a farmer. He attended Roxbury Latin School and graduated from Harvard College in 1759. He studied medicine, began practicing same and married Elizabeth Hooten, a member of a wealthy New England family, in 1764. They had four children before Warren’s wife died all too soon in 1772.

Dr. Warren became involved in Boston politics at the outset of colonial unrest becoming close friends with the likes of Samuel Adams and John Hancock when he joined the Sons of Liberty. He was a member of the committee which wrote a report on the Boston Massacre in 1774 and gave two public speeches which soundly condemned the bloodshed. That same year he wrote one of our first patriotic songs, “Free America” sung to the popular tune of “British Grenadiers.” In the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party, Parliament passed the Coercive Acts, known in Boston as the “Intolerable Acts.” They included a law which closed the Port of Boston and one which disbanded the Colonial Legislature of Massachusetts. Instead of bringing the “rebels” to heel, the Intolerable Acts stiffened the will of New Englanders to resist this intrusion upon their historic liberties. None was more filled with rage than Joseph Warren. The young doctor was appointed to the Boston Committee of Correspondence, the first of the extra-legal, revolutionary groups which would lead the colonies toward Independence. With their government no longer in existence, the people elected delegates to the extra-legal Massachusetts Provincial Congress and chose Joseph Warren President of the assembly. When General Thomas Gage arrived from England in 1774 with four regiments to occupy Boston and enforce the Intolerable Acts, Warren drafted the Suffolk Resolves passed by Suffolk County on 9 September 1774 and forwarded them to the new Continental Congress. The Resolves called for a general boycott of all British goods and general resistance to the legislation. The Continental Congress adopted them.

His popularity and work in the cause of liberty continued to grow. When Warren received word that Gage* was planning a march for 19 April 1775 on Concord to confiscate arms and to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock while passing through Lexington where they were “in hiding,” he dispatched Paul Revere and William Dawes to make their famous “midnight rides” to warn the patriots. Later that day Joseph Warren with musket, balls and powder horn joined the Minute Men as they pursued the Redcoats back to Boston. On 14 June the Provincial Congress commissioned Warren to be Major General and commander of the Provincial Militia. As General Gage prepared to besiege Boston, Warren asked the grizzled veteran General Isaac Putnam where the heaviest fighting would likely occur. Putnam pointed across the Charles River to Breeds Hill. Thus the young doctor joined Putnam and Colonel William Prescott along with scores of militia in constructing a redoubt atop the promontory. He declined the command citing lack of military experience but appointed Prescott as commander. Warren took up his post behind the redoubt as a private and rallied the troops by declaring, “These fellows say we won’t fight! By Heaven, I hope I shall die up to my knees in blood!” The British charged the hill with bayonets twice losing hundreds of troops to militia musket and rifle fire. On the third charge, the Patriots ran out of ammunition. When Prescott signaled it was time to retreat across the narrow neck to the mainland, Warren remained in place to cover the retreat. As the Redcoats came over the top, an officer who recognized Warren shot him in the head with a pistol ball. Troops bayoneted him repeatedly before throwing his body into a ditch. Thus ended the Battle of Bunker Hill. Ten months later his body was exhumed by his brothers. Paul Revere identified the body by an artificial tooth which Revere had placed in Warren’s jaw. His remains were first placed in the Granary Burying Ground, then in St. Paul’s Church in 1825 before finally being interred in the family vault in Forest Hills Cemetery, Boston in 1855.

British General Thomas Gage said that Warren’s death was equal to the death of 500 of his soldiers. He was viewed as a martyr to the cause of independence and as an example of great courage under fire. His name is still very much with us. Today
People in History

fourteen States have a Warren County named after him. In addition, we have towns named Warren in Pennsylvania, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Virginia, Maine and of course Massachusetts. And five ships of the Continental Navy and the United States Navy were named Warren in his honor. *Historian David Hacket Fisher (see below) constructed a circumstantial case to show that the informant was none other than General Gage’s American wife, Margaret Kemble Gage. For more detailed information see:


Jefferson’s Taste for Fine Wine

By John Stewart

Mr. Jefferson loved his wine.

He drank it often at his meals and offered it liberally to his guests. He even tried to grow it on his land. And sadly it cost him the friendship of George Washington in whose first cabinet he had served brilliantly as Secretary of State. Mr. Jefferson drank wine before, during, and after his five years in France. As a young law student at William and Mary College, Mr. Jefferson enjoyed the sophisticated company of his “faithful and beloved mentor’ George Wythe, the cosmopolitan and erudite Dr. Wm Small, and Virginia Royal Governor Francis Fauquier, whom Mr. Jefferson called “the ablest man who ever filled that office.” The Governor’s table did not lack for fine wines. Later on in 1773 Mr. Jefferson met Philip Mazzai through the Virginia merchant, Thomas Adams. Mazzai was an European entrepreneur and bon vivant. He dreamed of making fine wine on 400 acres joining Monticello to the east. Mr. Jefferson let him have the land and encouraged him. Mazzai brought 10 Italian vigneronis to cultivate the land Mr. Jefferson described as “resembling extremely the Cote of Burgundy from Chambertin to Montrachet where the famous wines of Burgundy are made”

But the venture failed, due to killing frosts and war.

During his 5 year stay in France as minister plenipotentiary from the fledgling United States, Mr. Jefferson traveled to the vineyards of Burgundy, Cote Rotie, Hermitage, Bordeaux, Champagne, through Provence, over the Alps into Italy, along the French and Italian Rivieras, through Languedoc and the Canal-du-Mide, and down the Rhine. From his copious notes, it is easy to learn his favorite wines, which are available today. Listen to the familiar names of his favorites: From France, of the red Burgundies, he likes, in order, Chambertin, Clos de Vougeot, Vosne Romanee, Volnay, and Pomard. Of the white Burgundies, he likes Montrachet and Meursault. From Bordeaux, he likes Chateau Haut Brion, Lafitte, Latour and Margaux. From Italy, of the Tuscany wines, his favorite was Montepulciano. And from Portugal, he likes the ever popular Madeira. For those of you who would like to read more about this subject, I recommend Jim Gabler’s book, “The Wines and Travels of Thomas Jefferson.” I told you that Mr. Jefferson lost the friendship of George Washington over wine. This is the story. In 1796, Mr. Jefferson was Vice President under John Adams and dismayed to see the government drifting towards authoritarianism under the influence of Hamilton and the “monocrats.” TJ writes a newsy letter about current events in the US to his enduring friend, Philip Mazzai who has returned to Italy. Here’s the juicy part: “the aspect of our politics has wonderfully changed since you left us. In place of that noble love of liberty and republican government which carried us triumphantly through the war, an Anglican monarchial and aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance, as they have already done the forms, of the British government.” It gets better! TJ continues: “It would give you a fever were I to name to you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies, men who were Samsons in the field and Solomons in the council, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot England.”

Unfortunately Mazzai published this letter, and it wound up being read on the floor of the US congress! Washington could not miss the poke at him with the “Sampsons in the field” comment, and his history of favoring Hamilton in what seemed to Mr. Jefferson as several pro-British thrusts. The general took umbrage, abetted by Mr. Jefferson’s enemies, and didn’t talk or correspond with Mr. Jefferson for the remaining three years of his life.

Although Philip Mazzai and Mr. Jefferson failed to make wine at the time, their judgment about the terrior – that land next to Monticello - was perfectly correct. Today, you can visit what’s known as “the Jefferson Vineyard” and taste the very good reds and whites they make there. I have done it and recommend it to you heartily!

Mr. Jefferson was the most knowledgeable wine connoisseur of his age and his tastes in wine covered the world: France, Germany, Italy, Cyprus, Hungary, Madeira, Portugal, Spain and, of course, America He seldom drank a wine he didn’t like but he had clear favorites including Haut Brion, Lafite, Latour, Margaux, Chambertin and Schloss Johannisberg. He had
great taste! These wines remain favorites with wine lovers today. So let’s lift our glasses and give a hearty oenophilic toast: Happy 271st birthday, Mr. Jefferson!

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Patriot, British Warships Clash in 1783

by Lindsey Brock, Florida Society Past President - SAR

Editor’s Note: This article was reprinted from the Winter 2007 Edition of the SAR Magazine

Few historians celebrate the fact that the same Continental Captain who fought the British in the last naval battle of the Revolutionary War in American waters was also the Continental Captain to which a British vessel first struck her flag in battle on April 7, 1776, and was returned to an American port as a prize. That Continental Captain was John Barry. Captain John Barry left France on December 8, 1782, and arrived in the port of Martinique on January 8, 1783. There he received orders from Robert Morris, dated October 11, 1782, sending him to Havana to pick up “specie for Congress” and deliver the cargo to Philadelphia. Despite the long wait for the orders, Captain Barry prepared his ship for the journey. (1) Along the way during his cruise to Havana, the Alliance had spotted various vessels just off the horizon, but was never quite able to identify them or give chase. Ultimately he realized that several British vessels were patrolling the waters and more than once he had to use the speed of the Alliance to avoid capture. Upon his arrival in Havana, Captain Barry found the Duc de Lauzun in port with identical orders for Robert Morris. Mr. Morris had earlier acquired the vessel and sent her under command of Captain John Green, an old acquaintance of Captain Barry’s. (2) The specie, 72,000 Spanish milled dollars, had already been loaded upon the Duc de Lauzun, so the captains agreed that the Alliance would convoy with her to secure the delivery in Philadelphia.

SHIPS SAIL FOR FLORIDA COAST

The ships were delayed under “secret orders” of an embargo upon the port by order of the King. We know that all in the area knew the “secret orders” were merely to allow the French and Spanish fleets to join in force and sail to Jamaica. When the embargo lifted and the Spanish fleet departed on March 6, 1783, the captains joined with the Spanish fleet for a time, but not knowing their ultimate direction, they broke from them on March 7, 1783, and made way toward the Gulf of Florida. The Alliance was clearly the faster of the two vessels. As would ultimately be shown, Captain Barry was clearly the better captain as well. As they approached the Great Bahama bank, they spotted two sails to the southeast. Captain Barry slowed his vessel to allow Captain Green to get within hailing distance and the two discussed the sails and their response. Captain Green favored a run to the north, but Captain Barry realized that would give the advantage to the enemy to sail upon a short angle and give chase. His esteem for Captain Green fell considerably.

Captain Barry recommended a southwest course to lure the ships back to the Spanish fleet. This was the course they followed and when the British ships caught sight of the Spanish fleet, they broke off the chase. The Alliance and Duc de Lauzun remained in sight of the Spanish fleet until March 8, 1783, when they broke off again, heading along the coast of Florida. Captain Barry constantly had to slow his ship to allow the Duc de Lauzun to catch up to him. Finally on March 9, 1783, the captains had a “consultation” that lasted four hours. At its end, and much to the dislike of Captain Green, they agreed to move a great majority of the specie from the Duc de Lauzun to the Alliance. By this time they were through the Gulf of Florida and between Florida and the Bahamas, off the coast of what would be Fort Pierce, Florida, today. The transfer completed, they continued northward.

BRITISH SHIPS CLOSE IN

During this time, the two British ships that had given chase, Alarm, thirty-two gun frigate, Captain Charles Cotton and Sybil, twenty-eight gun frigate, Captain James Vashon, met up with the British sloop-of-war, Tobago, eighteen gun, Captain George Martin. These three British ships, south of Cape Canaveral, began cruising southward, spotted the American ships and gave chase.

Captain Barry spotted the British ships that morning, March 10, 1783, and also noticed another sail to his southwest. This latter vessel tacked away from them, so it was little concern. His focus was squarely with the three vessels rapidly descending upon them. The decision was made to make for the Spanish fleet again and the American vessels changed course to the southwest. As usual, Captain Green lagged far behind, with the Duc de Lauzun some two miles behind; she signaled that the pursuing ships were British frigates, vessels of superior force. Captain Barry, knowing he had the majority of the specie on his vessel, decided to place the safety of his vessel and cargo as paramount. He gave the signal for each to “shift for herself” and he unfurled the Stars and Stripes.

The gap began to widen between the American vessels, when Captain Green signaled the need to speak with Captain
Captain Barry. This was a risky proposition given that the Alarm was only one and a half miles off the windward stern of the Duc de Lauzun. Nevertheless, Captain Barry lowered his sails to slow his ship. He noted the Alarm did likewise in order to allow the other British ships to catch up to them and join in any fight. When the two American ships came abreast of each other, Captain Barry was shocked by Captain Green's words. He claimed that the ships were merely privateers and could easily be taken by them. Captain Barry realized that some other cargo aboard the Duc de Lauzun was seriously clouding the captain's judgment. Captain Green was obviously willing to sacrifice the Alliance and its public cargo, in order to protect his own private interests and his ship. One can only imagine how lowly Captain Barry regarded the captain at this point.

Captain Barry held off his disdain and simply disagreed with Captain Green's assessment of the ships, pointing out that they were clearly frigates, with the closest descending upon them carrying thirty-two guns. He implored Captain Green to throw his cannon overboard to lighten his ship and make speed away from the British vessels. This was done and all but the stern guns were thrown overboard. Again showing a lack of sailing prowess, rather than making the prudent maneuver to port and thus getting more wind behind him, Captain Green maintained his southwesterly course. The ships were closing rapidly. Honor prevented Captain Barry from completely abandoning the Duc de Lauzun. He quickly considered the possibilities of saving her and his own vessel. While considering his very limited options, he again spotted the lone sail off to the southwest that had been standing just off from them. It had now turned toward them. Captain Barry saw the British frigate, Alarm, break off from the pursuit of the Duc de Lauzun and thus guessed that the ship to his southwest was either French or Spanish.

In a bold move, Captain Barry committed to the fight. He was convinced that with one vessel now approaching, the Sybil, and with help on the horizon, he could buy enough time for the Duc de Lauzun to escape to safety. Given the situation he was confident that he could engage the single British ship and avoid a fight with all three. Captain Barry gave orders to raise sail and turn hard to starboard. His decision was to deliberately place his ship between the Duc de Lauzun and the oncoming Sybil. The Sybil continued firing her cannon and the Alliance took several shots, one that smashed into the captain's cabin killing a master's mate and wounding several others. Captain Barry left the quarter deck and personally walked from cannon to cannon encouraging and cautioning his men to not fire until he gave the order himself. He wanted to lure the enemy in as close as possible, “half a pistol range.” Alliance even took a full broadside from the Sybil and still did not fire her cannon. The discipline of the crew paid off in this crucial time of the battle.

**BRITISH BREAK OFF IN DEFEAT**

Captain Barry ordered the main topsail hove to mast and this positioned the Alliance directly abreast of the Sybil. "Open fire!" came the order from Captain Barry and the full fury of his ship was unleashed upon the Sybil. The British guns went silent after forty minutes of close fighting; she lost two sails and had considerable damage to her hull. Reports conflict, but it seems she raised distress flags to the other British vessels, which had not joined in the fight due to the French ship on the horizon. Her casualties were reported to range up to thirty-seven killed and forty wounded. In any event, the Sybil quickly broke off from the fight and fled back to the other vessels. Captain Barry, knowing he had saved the Duc de Lauzun as well as the Alliance, did not give immediate chase. Instead he questioned the French captain why he had not come to their aid faster. The captain meekly replied that he had a valuable cargo of gold and feared the whole enterprise was a trick to draw him in and capture the vessel. At that point the Alliance, Duc de Lauzun, and the Triton, a sixty-four gun ship, gave chase to the British, but after eight to ten hours they lost sight of the ships in the dark.

Afterwards, Captain Barry was met rather coolly by Captain Green, and after somewhat heated discussions, Captain Green eventually agreed to transfer the remaining Spanish dollars to the hold of the Alliance. At noon on March 11, 1783, the ships continued on their journey northward without any other encounters. On March 18, 1783, the Duc de Lauzun became separated from the Alliance off the coast of Hatteras. This proved fortuitous because as the fog lifted the next morning, Captain Barry spotted two British ships off the Delaware capes who immediately gave chase. The speed of his vessel saved him yet again. He drew the vessels northward and allowed the slower Duc de Lauzun to safely sail into Philadelphia. The next day, March 20, 1783, the Alliance sailed into New Port, Rhode Island, abandoning the plan to return to Philadelphia given the strong British presence. A few days later news reached America that on February 3, 1783, the peace treaty had been ratified - the war for independence was over. Thus the last naval battle of the Revolutionary War in American waters was fought and won off the coast of Florida, just south of Cape Canaveral – sealing an American victory!

**Endnotes and Sources**

1. Clark, Gallant John Barry; Gurn, Commodore John Barry: Father of the American Navy. Interestingly, Captain Barry reported to the local newspaper editor that peace preliminaries had been signed in Paris. By the time that news was filtered and exaggerated back to America, the Boston newspapers were reporting that the peace treaty had been signed in December 1782. Formal hostilities were not ended until January 20, 1783, in Versailles.

2. From British records we know that these encounters and the ultimate battle were not by chance. The British ships were watching the maneuvers of the French fleet. It was known that the Spanish and French were preparing a joint assault on Jamaica and the British needed the intelligence. British spies had also learned of the valuable cargo of the Alliance and the Duc de Lauzun. The British ships were waiting for the right opportunity to seize the cargo of the vessels.

3. We know that the Alarm had recognized the ship's colors as French and surmised that the vessel was turning to give support the American vessels. Captain Barry did not have the same vantage, but was correct in his supposition that the ship was not British.

The Battle of Savannah, October 9, 1779

By Norman Hoffman, President of Edward Telfair SAR Chapter, Georgia Society

Hundreds fought and died that day. The Continental Army had prepared for an early morning assault on the Spring Hill Redoubt, a heavy defensive structure constructed by the British during the Revolutionary War. In the early morning hours of October 9, 1779, the Continental Army made its attack on the British forces entrenched within the fortification. The Battle to capture Savannah from the British had begun.

A heavy morning fog surrounded the battlefield. The sound of a lone British piper could be heard from the distant redoubt as the troops marched toward what was to be a bloody battle. Who were these men who were willing to sacrifice themselves for the cause of freedom? The 3500 allied force consisted of Polish freedom fighters, freed blacks who were volunteers from the West Indies, soldiers from the royal French Army, American patriot militia, and veterans of the Continental Army. In a sense, this was a world war.

The battle lasted no more than one hour. The British held firm. When the battle ended, about 1200 wounded and dead lay on the battlefield, including mortally wounded Polish General Casimir Pulaski. The allies failed to capture Savannah. Each year the Battle of Savannah is commemorated on the day and time the battle took place. The original location of the Spring Hill Redoubt has been uncovered, and a replica of its structure stands at one end of the battlefield. The Georgia State Society, Edward Telfair Chapter of Savannah, and many other SAR Chapters, pay respect to the fallen heroes of the battle by the placement of wreathes at the battlefield and at the Monument erected in memory of Casimir Pulaski located in Monterrey Square.

At the present moment, Battlefield Park and the Spring Hill Redoubt are part of an effort by the Coastal Heritage Society of Savannah to preserve the Revolutionary War site upon which the 1779 Battle of Savannah was fought. A series of granite squares are now being arranged in a column ten stones wide and eighty stones long on the slope of the battlefield approaching the Spring Hill Redoubt located near Martin Luther King, Junior Boulevard in the City of Savannah. The placement of the stone markers will reveal to an onlooker a clear reflection of the size and shape of the columns of Patriots attacking the redoubt. It will also give some sense of the number of troops killed and wounded in this bloody battle. Each stone marker will be inscribed with the name of a Revolutionary War hero.

The Edward Telfair Chapter has chosen the name of Samuel Elbert to be inscribed on one of the stone markers. Samuel Elbert was born in Savannah. He organized and was commissioned captain of a grenadier company of Savannah's First Regiment of militia in 1772. In 1775 he served on Savannah's Council of Safety, a group authorized to ensure the city's safety during the early period of the rebellion. Elbert was given command of the Georgia militia, commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the First Battalion of the Continental Line where he ultimately became Commander. Although eventually captured by the British, upon his release he made his way to Washington's encampment in Yorktown where he commanded a brigade and returned to Georgia 1773 after having been brevetted as a brigadier general of the Continental Line. In 1785 he became the governor of Georgia.

Samuel Elbert not only served the City of Savannah, but he was also a fitting representative of the entire State of Georgia in his patriotic efforts and service to the call of freedom.

Dr. John Witherspoon: The Academic as a Founding Father

By Donald E. Green, Ph.D.

In 1767, Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, a fresh graduate of The College of New Jersey, apprenticed himself to one of the most highly regarded physicians in Philadelphia, John Redmon. Upon completion of the apprenticeship, Redmon encouraged Rush to study at the University of Edinburgh where medicine had transitioned from the world of folk remedies into basic research and clinical science. Rush took the advice to heart and enrolled in Edinburgh's School of Medicine. By this time the Scottish universities, led by Edinburgh and Glasgow, had undergone a massive revolution in their curricula. No longer emphasizing the classics, as did Oxford and Cambridge, the Scottish seats of higher learning put science and contemporary subjects at the center of their studies. Students were required to take a "large dose" of English, English & Scottish Literature, "Moral Philosophy," History, Political Economy and...
Science. Students studied the works of David Hume, John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Adam Smith (who served on the faculty at Edinburgh) Robert Burns and others. The Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were in the forefront of the intellectual movement which even then was spoken of as “The Enlightenment.” The movement profoundly influenced not only our American Revolution but our modern world as well.

Rush carried letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin, then in London, to a number of celebrated men of science and letters, including Dr. John Witherspoon, a minister, intellectual and graduate of Edinburgh who occasionally delivered lectures at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. A large part of Rush’s education consisted of socializing with these men of learning, including Witherspoon. Rush graduated from the University with the degree of Doctor of Medicine and returned to Philadelphia where he helped establish a department of medicine in the new College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) patterned after the School in Edinburgh. I might add that in the coming Revolutionary War, Benjamin Rush would become George Washington’s Surgeon-General.

While practicing medicine in Philadelphia, Rush maintained close ties with his Alma Mater in New Jersey. Established in 1746 as the College of New Jersey in Elizabeth by “New Light” Presbyterians who sought to break away from classical Calvinism, it was moved first to Newark and then to Princeton (its name would not officially be Princeton University until 1896). The college was housed in a single large building named Nassau Hall, the largest building in the colonies at the time. It was constructed to house the entire college and its functions. The name derived William, Prince of Orange and King of The Netherlands and Great Britain, who descended from the House of Nassau. The institution inaugurated five presidents in its first 20 years including Aaron Burr, Sr. in 1748, and the famous Great Awakening preacher, the Reverend Jonathan Edwards in 1758 (Edwards lived only a few months in the position).

The college threshed around for a few years with no president. With debts accumulating and student enrollment in decline, critics doubted its future. Then alum Benjamin Rush came to the rescue. The struggling board of governors began to think “large” and went after a “big fish” for the presidency. Knowing that Rush would soon be on his way to Edinburgh, they empowered him to offer the job to the Reverend John Knox Witherspoon. Witherspoon was born in Paisley, East Lothian, Scotland. He attended Haddington Grammar School and studied at St. Andrews University where he was granted the Bachelor of Divinity and the Master of Arts degrees. He was then accepted in the Graduate School of the University of Edinburgh where he was awarded another M.A. When Rush first met him, Witherspoon was middle aged minister of a prominent Presbyterian Kirk at his hometown near Glasgow. He was well known throughout the country for his reasoned sermons, as well as for lectures and writings on a variety of subjects ranging from philosophy and government to theology. At first Witherspoon turned down the offer but when it was offered again a year later, he accepted and booked a ship in Liverpool bound for Philadelphia for himself and his family.

We may ask why Witherspoon would leave such a comfortable position for a small, unstable college in New Jersey? Why accept the leadership of this small colonial college when he already held an enviable position with a good salary, and was well known as well as highly respected in his native Scotland? The answer is rather simple. He thought both the college and the colonies had a future. The conflict between Great Britain and the North American Colonies was just beginning to simmer over trade issues in 1768 when Witherspoon was inaugurated as the sixth president of the college. Witherspoon’s sympathies lay with the colonies even before he embarked from his native land. Part of the reason may well have been Witherspoon’s contact with the tobacco merchants of Glasgow who were among the earliest advocates of free trade in the British Isles (Adam Smith would derive much of his data for his Wealth of Nations, published in 1776, from those “merchant princes”). Restrictive British trade policies were damaging the finances of those Scottish merchants as well as the colonists. Another reason stemmed from the longstanding conflict between Scottish “nationalists” and the British government. He had been a witness to the Battle of Falkirk which the Scots had lost to the English and was imprisoned for a time although he had not fought in the battle. In addition, Witherspoon was also very much in harmony with the principles of Natural Law and Common Sense Philosophy espoused by the Scottish universities. As earlier described, their curricula were founded on the new sciences and the philosophy of Natural Law while the curricula of the major English universities of Oxford and Cambridge still rested on the bedrock of the classics and Episcopal religion. The Scottish institutions exuded the sweet air of liberty and free inquiry. No religious test was required for admission while at Oxford and Cambridge, Catholics and dissenters (that included Presbyterians, Baptists and Jews) were not admitted. The result, of course, was that the “coin of the realm” in Scotland was intellectual inquiry, the constant search for truth through the use of hard evidence while the English universities were more interested in students who could “regurgitate” long Latin and Greek passages from the classics as well as recite religious dogma.

Influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment, President Witherspoon revolutionized the curriculum of the College of New Jersey introducing hard science, Natural Law and Common Sense philosophy while still maintaining the courses in religion and theology with a Presbyterian slant, of course. But the emphasis was upon free inquiry. Witherspoon himself taught theology, history, literature and even science. Over the next several years, he counted among his students, several who would greatly influence the future of America. The literary lights, Philip Freneau and Hugh Henry Brackinridge, were his...
students as well as the better known Aaron Burr, Jr. and James Madison, Jr. Among our Southern Founding Fathers, James Madison was the only one to graduate from Princeton. Jefferson and most of his peers graduated from William and Mary which still embraced a classical curriculum. Jefferson, however, absorbed the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment through his prodigious reading of intellectuals such as Frances Hutcheson, David Hume, John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and others. So it is not surprising that when Jefferson and Madison, who lived in adjacent counties, met for the first at Williamsburg where they discovered similar inquiring minds and formed a lifelong alliance.

As the crisis between colonies and the mother country erupted in 1774, Witherspoon jumped into the conflict “with both feet.” He joined New Jersey’s Committee of Correspondence and Safety in 1774. He contributed a number of essays and speeches to the Patriot Cause. They included, “Thoughts on American Liberty,” “On the Controversy and Independence,” and “On the Contest Between Great Britain and America.” From the beginning, he advocated resistance to the tyranny of Parliament and King and was one of the first to advocate full independence. Thomas Paine called on him for advice in writing COMMON SENSE, a phrase which echoes the Scottish Common Sense philosophy. Witherspoon served in the Continental Congress from June 1776 to 1782 where President John Hancock appointed him Chaplain. He no sooner arrived in Philadelphia in June when he voiced an “Aye” in favor of Richard Henry Lee’s Resolution for Independence. In July he voiced his approval of the Declaration of Independence and added his signature to the document. He served on more than 100 Congressional committees including the powerful Board of War and the Committee on Secret Correspondence and Foreign Affairs. One of his final official acts was to help draft the Articles of Confederation.

Witherspoon left Congress in 1782 and returned to his duties at Princeton where he continued to raise money for the college and to speak on its behalf. It is indeed safe to say that had it not been for John Witherspoon, Princeton would probably have passed into oblivion. It would be difficult to find a teacher in the history of our nation who exerted more influence on his students than John Witherspoon. Counted among his students were 34 judges, 3 justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, 10 cabinet officers, 12 members of the Continental Congress, 28 U.S. Senators and 49 U.S. Congressmen. His daughter Frances married David Ramsay, an early historian of The American Revolution, physician and Congressman. Another daughter, Ann, became the wife of Samuel Stanhope Smith who succeeded Winthrop as President of Princeton. And of course, we should remember perhaps the brightest star in John Witherspoon’s crown, James Madison, Jr., “Father of the Constitution of 1787.”

Witherspoon died in 1794 at his plantation, Tusculum, a few miles from Princeton, while still serving as President of the college. His campus home, The President’s House, still occupies an honored site at the University and is now a United States Historic National Landmark. The Witherspoon Institute is an integral research facility at Princeton. The Witherspoon Society consists of a group of dedicated laypeople in the Presbyterian Church. The Winthrop Building stands in Philadelphia. And in World War II, the United States Navy commissioned the SS John Winthrop as a supply ship (unfortunately a German U-Boat sunk the vessel in 1942 in the North Atlantic). Scottish sculptor Alexander Stoddart carved twin heroic size bronze statues of Winthrop. One stands on a pedestal at Princeton; the other is just outside the University of West Scotland in Paisley, East Lothian, Scotland, Witherspoon’s hometown where he is still remembered as a favorite son. A third bronze occupies a pedestal near DuPont Circle in Washington, D.C.

For Further Reading See

Jeffrey H. Morrison, John Witherspoon and the Founding of the American Republic (2005)

and

Arthur Herman, How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe’s Poorest Nation Created Our World and Everything in It (2001),

Robert Lemmon, Soldier and Patriot

I entered the service of the United States on August 25, 1776 in Westmoreland County PA. I joined for 12 months to do ranging service against the Indians in the western part of the state, towards Pittsburg where the Indians had been very troublesome. We scouted the frontiers until sometime in October.

In December, a messenger came to our Colonel with word that the British were running over the Jerseys and that we must join General Washington at his headquarters in Morristown. The Virginia and Maryland troops had Small Pox very bad amongst them.

We left Lancaster and took the road to Correll’s Ferry, then crossed the Delaware River at that place. The day after we arrived in January at Morristown, General Washington received us. The next day we left under General Maxwell and went through a little town called Chatam, and then on to Springfield that night. The next day we passed through Spanktown in Jersey, a mile and a half from Amboy where the British lie. We were stationed there through the winter and had skirmishes almost every day ‘til February. We had an engagement at a place called Ash Swamp, between

PH-15
Westfield and Spanktown. We killed a great many British there, as we were informed by deserters who came to us. We stayed at Spanktown until the end of March, when we marched back to Morristown. From there General Washington sent us to Philadelphia where we were discharged on May 25, 1777 after having served nine months as Orderly Sergeant.

We were discharged before our time was out because many of the officers and men had families in Westmoreland County, and the officers insisted on being permitted to return to that part of the country on account of the Indians¹ who had become very troublesome. We were discharged to go home for the better securing of our families. On my way home, I met my father and his family retreating from the Indians. I joined with them and went up to Cumberland County.

I remained in Cumberland County until August of 1777 on the Plantation of Captain George Crawford along with my father. Captain Crawford was called to raise troops and on March 10th he turned out a Volunteer Company for three months under him. We left and immediately joined General Washington at his headquarters at White Horse, near Philadelphia. This was the first place that I saw Generals Lafayette and Wayne.

We met the British who had come across at the head of the Elk and were at the battle of Brandywine in September. My commander, General Stephens from Virginia, got drunk and ordered a retreat when he should have ordered a charge. He never commanded again. The battle only lasted two or three hours until the retreat was sounded, otherwise we surely would have whipped them. The creek was almost stopped from running from the number of British that were in it – we killed a great many in the creek. On the retreat, General Stephens was overtaken by a light horseman who cut at him often, but he guarded himself with his gun. At length, he got into a ditch and fired, after which the rider wheeled his horse and hung on one side as if shot.

After the battle, we marched up to Valley Forge and remained in that area until October 25, 1777 where I was discharged as a Private soldier, having served two months and fifteen days. I returned to Cumberland County and remained there until the first of May 1778 when I turned out to volunteer under Captain William Love who was at Fort Wallace in Westmoreland County. We had repeated skirmishes with the Indians.

I served until my three months had expired and returned home as a Private soldier, without a written discharge. After returning to Cumberland County, I made repeated scouts and excursions against the Indians for near to two years, without being able to do much than to watch them. They had become very troublesome in the western part of the state until August 1780.

I returned to Mecklenburg County NC, Charlotte Courthouse, and I remained there that fall and winter. The next spring, on the 15th of May 1781, I turned out as a mounted volunteer under Captain Thomas Patton who lived on the Catawba River in that County.

We crossed the river over to Fort Motte on the south side, then met with General Middleton who took command. The troops from the high hill above the Santee River crossed the river at Nelson’s Ferry and we joined them under General Sumpter and General Green. We then marched through, or rather down, the country when we joined General Green who came across on the south side of the Congaree River where we first joined him.

¹ Thayendanega, also known as Joseph Bryant, was instrumental in leading combined British, Loyalist, and Indian forces on raids in western New York and Pennsylvania.
After being with Green only one day, we overtook the British at Eutaw Springs. We had an engagement at that place, repeated firing with the British, but they continued to retreat until we came up to the main battle. We returned back across the Congaree River at the same Ferry we crossed going out.

We left General Green with the main army and returned back to Mecklenburg under our Colonel. The Regiment was kept together on account of the Tories until we arrived home.

I was discharged August 25, 1781 at Hill’s Iron Works as a Private soldier after serving three months, ten days. I afterwards resided at McCord’s Ferry and was at Nelson’s Ferry on the Santee at the time that General Washington and Colonel Lee disbanded their troops in 1784.

At the age of 78, Robert Lemmon appeared in open court before Judge David Todd of the Circuit Court of Boone County MO on June 26, 1833 in an effort to obtain pension benefits resulting from an act of Congress June 7, 1832. He told his story under oath, which has been edited for the purpose of inclusion in this newsletter by shortening it and by making it more readable without changing the facts and circumstances as related by SGT Lemmon.

Remembering Lexington and Concord

John Sheppard and John Auld

The battles of Lexington and Concord were fought on April 19, 1775. It is important for us, 240 years later, to remember our beginnings as a free nation repatriated from tyranny and taxation without representation.

Do you ever feel that our Congress and president do not represent us? That they are not listening? That our country is divided into so many splinter groups that we may never be whole again? That the government is not of, by and for the people, but for the lawmakers and special interest groups?

The American colonists did not just wake up on a spring morning in 1775 and decide to go to war with the most powerful nation in the world. Before “the shot heard ‘round the world,” many economic issues led to the Revolutionary War.

In particular, the colonists objected to taxation by the British Parliament in a series of acts beginning as early as 1733. The colonists were British subjects. British law stated taxes on British citizens could only be levied by elected members of Parliament. But the colonists were not allowed to elect members of Parliament; hence, the colonists were being taxed without representation.

Wars with both Spain and France left England needing money to pay war debts, so they taxed the 13 colonies. As the colonies resisted the taxes, Parliament and King George III imposed more taxes and repressive laws.

In 1766, the Declaratory Act stated that Parliament had “full power and authority to make laws to bind all the Colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever.”

People protested and demonstrated in open opposition to the series of acts, and England reacted, became more repressive, and sent 4,000 troops to Boston in 1768.

The situation deteriorated and resulted in the Boston Massacre in 1770, when five colonists were killed and nine wounded by British soldiers. The tax on tea was created to support the private East India Tea Company in England. This was a “good deal” for a special interest group with many “friends” in Parliament.

In December 1773, thousands of people gathered in Boston to hear Samuel Adams speak against the tax on tea. That night about 50 men dressed as Indians boarded three ships and threw thousands of pounds of tea into the Boston Harbor.

These laws passed by Parliament in England tried to force the colonists into submission, but had the opposite effect. The First Continental Congress met in September 1774. Their accomplishments were modest. Most important, however, was the fact that delegates from all the colonies, except Georgia, came together and successfully reached an agreement to call for immediate boycott of British goods. Civil disobedience was not enough, repression continued, and the colonists had enough. England had deprived them the “right to consent to be governed.” The skirmishes at Lexington and Concord
on April 19, 1775, led to the bold decisions of a few, all signatories to the Declaration of Independence, from which evolved the most powerful nation on earth.

The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, begins: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”

May we as free citizens continue to hold these truths to be self-evident.

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