NEARLY every student of the American Revolution has concluded that it was more radical in Pennsylvania than in any other state. From Progressive to Neo-Whig, historians have recognized the extensive social upheaval in Pennsylvania, agreeing that if the American Revolution shared any social aspects with the French Revolution, these were to be found in Pennsylvania.\(^1\) Our understanding of the American Revolution in Pennsylvania has expanded dramatically during the past decade with several important studies that focus on the "middling sort" as one of the keys to understanding its origins and dynamics. This middling group, as Charles S. Olton and Richard A. Ryerson have shown, broke with those above in 1769 and 1770; they became increasingly politicized, taking the lead of the resistance movement after the Tea Act.\(^2\) Relatively little attention, however, has been paid to the role of those below the middling sort: poor artisans and wage earners. We now know a great deal about these people before and after the Revolution, but much less about how they affected the developments in the period from 1765 to 1783.\(^3\)

Philadelphia's "lower sort," in the main politically inert and outwardly deferential before 1775, became actors in their own history when war broke out at Lexington and Concord. In an alliance with the radical middling sort and a few moderates, those below, with the aid of Congressional allies, made the "genuine revolution" needed to "sweep aside Quaker rule."\(^4\) This coalition overthrew Proprietary government, brought the colony into the pro-independence camp, and established the
democratic Constitution of 1776. The popular movement—composed of the radical middling and lower sort—that grew out of this coalition, despite continuing internal strains, struggled for a firm anti-Tory policy, just prices, and equitable militia burdens; it also, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, defended the radical Constitution.  

Out of the popular movement—which included both middling and lower sort—came the documents reproduced below. The writers of these documents do not stop in advocating radical notions of justice and equality (although that in itself would set them apart from many other revolutionaries) but demand that various bodies—state authorities, the militia, or the popular movement—implement those values. Four of these documents (I, II, III, and VI) came from people or authorities close to the lower sort and indirectly express their demand for equality. The other three, which appear to have come directly from the laboring poor, share many of the characteristics of the “anonymous threatening letter” of eighteenth-century England.  

In reproducing the documents, I have followed the Harvard's Guide literal method. In some cases, I silently have turned dashes into the proper punctuation. A brief introduction establishes the context for several items.

Pennsylvania had no established militia system in the eighteenth century, but rapidly created one after war began. The following broadside appeared just a few weeks after the first organizing meeting for the association, as the militia was called until the spring of 1777. The militia apparently lost this battle for a uniform that would “level all distinctions.”

TO THE ASSOCIATORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

[handwritten notation: May 18 1775]

A Considerable number of the Associators of this city, on considering the plan of an uniform recommended by a Committee of the Officers, at a late meeting, are of opinion that it will be found too expensive for the generality, as well as inconvenient to them; that the aforesaid Officers could not, with propriety, take upon them to adopt of themselves an uniform for the whole city, without the approbation of the people, who are entitled to an equal consultation. That by adopting the cheapest uniform, such as that of a HUNTING SHIRT, as it will level all
distinctions, answers the end of coat and jacket, and is within the
compass of almost every person's ability, not costing at the utmost above
ten shillings. The officers say that they did not mean to impose any
particular uniform upon the people, but then they should have given the
privates an opportunity of making known their sentiments. An uniform
is granted by all to be absolutely necessary, but let it be something cheap,
which the generality can afford. A very material advantage which the
HUNTING SHIRTS have above the present uniform recommended, is
that they will answer all seasons of the year, as a person may wear
neither coat nor jacket in warm weather, and in winter he may cloath
under them as warm as he pleases. Had the hunting shirts been
recommended by the Officers, it would have met the approbation of
ninety-nine out of an hundred. It is very far from being the intention of
the author of this, to make any dissention among the people; and he is
sorry to be under the necessity of proposing any alteration in what is
seemingly fixed upon. A meeting of the Associators ought to be called
immediately, that each man may have a voice in what so nearly concerns
himself. The author is informed that some of the Captains of the
different companies have proposed, that any of the men, who think they
are not able to buy uniforms, may be supplied by them; now there are
hundreds who could not afford it, yet would never submit to ask any man
for a coat, neither would they appear in the ranks to be pointed at by
those who had uniforms. The author begs leave to assure his fellow
citizens that no interested motives are the occasion of these strictures,
actuated only by a wish for the general welfare, the economy of the
uniform, and its being peculiarly adapted to the climate, he hopes will
induce those gentlemen, who have partly fixed upon an expensive
uniform, to concur in sentiment with him.

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE
STATE OF PENNSY

[November 26, 1776]
The Council of Safety beg leave with the utmost respect,
To lay before this House their proceedings in consequence of divers
resolutions laid before them by a Committee of Congress, and of several
Resolutions since passed by that Honble House. 11
In addition to these proceedings contained in the papers now before
EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

you, the Council beg leave to say that they have called together such of the Field officers of the several Battalions, in and near this City[,] as cou'd be Convened on a Short notice[,] to consult their opinion on the best mode of calling forth the Militia of the City and the four Counties mentioned in the Resolve of Congress. they have expressed the utmost readiness to do their duty[,] but they with us lament the present Situation of our Militia as a public Calamity. it is unsupported by Law.\textsuperscript{12} the people are disgusted at the Inconveniences, hardships and Losses which they Suffered in their late Service,\textsuperscript{13} while Non Associators were permitted to remain athome in the peaceable Enjoyment of their possessions, and many of them increasing their Wealth by grasping the Trade of the absent Associators, whose patriotic Exertions have been Smeered at, and their hardships & fatigues, [and] the distresses of their families, insultingly made jest of. and above all their just & reasonable expectations of seeing the Nonassociators obliged to [play something for the indulgences which had been granted them, wholly disappointed.\textsuperscript{14} It has been [proposed to call out the Battalions of the City and liberties tomorrow morning, but under these circumstances, with the hardships of a Winter Campaign [and] the dread of their leaving their Families to perish from the want of the necessaries of Life. what can we Expect from the Class of Men who live from day to day on the produce of their Industry[,] Mechanicks, Tenants & Laborers, of which to the Scandal of Men in more easy circumstances the Associators of this State are chiefly composed? Can it be expected, under these discouragements and Insults, that they will Consent to bear the whole Burthen and face alone the dangers of defending the State? What shall we say to them when they are called together? shall we depress the[ir] Spirits by describing the vast number of our Enemi[es] and assuring them of the certainty of their intenti[ons] of invading [their] [illegible]. Shall we trace out to them the footsteps of desolation, marked by [illegible] [illegible] insulting Conquerors? shall we point to them Cities in Flames, with their wretched inhabitant[ts] flying naked before their Enemies? Shall we Remind them of the heartrending Cries of abused Infants, and the shrieks of Violated Virgins, their Sisters, their daughters, when no relief can be give[n] them? Shall we describe the Chains which will be heaped uponus, if we are conquered, by men who have lost every Character, but the form of human nature? Such things may Chill their Blood with horror or produce a rage of momenta[ry] Madness, but will it induce men to leave their tender Connexions unprovided for, or to forget the unequal Burthens which have been laid on them? NO. They will demand Justice
and we are Convinced that, unless this is granted them, it [s] in vain that
we call on them in this hour of danger.

The Council, therefore are constrain'd, to address this Honorable
House, while we may yet do itas [illegible] and to Conjure you by all the
sacred ties which Unite to us, and to our Bleeding Country, to Postpone
all other Business and every other Consideration, however necessary,
proper & important. in any other Situation of our Affairs it might be
and [illegible] at the Single Object of saving your Country from that
destruction which will inevitably be the Consequence of the least delay.
And they beg leave to intimate that it would be attended with many
Salutary Effects if a fine of [blank] Pounds were ordered to be Levied
immediately on every Able Bodied Man from the age of 16 to 50 years,
who [s]hall refuse or Neglect to go into Service when called upon to do.
and that a reasonable assessmentbe [m]ade on the Estates of those above
that age. proper Persons may be appointed in each Ward of the City and
in each Township in the respective (four) Counties to Enrol the Men
and to Collect the Fines of Delinquents, with power to levy the same on
their goods and Chattells and to make Sale thereof, returning the
Surplusage if any, after paying the Charges &c. the Money so raised to
be divided among those who shall be in actual Service as Militia[,] or
some other Effectual Plan, adapted to the present Emergency, for
making the Burthen of those who stay at home in some degree equal to
that of those, who go into [the] Field to meet the Enemy. But it is to the
Wisdom of their Representatives that the People look [illegible] for a
Remedy of the Evils of which they Complain and from the Vigour of
their Counsels, expect to derive that Confidence which is necessary to
Enable them to Exert themselves in the Common Cause.

As to this Council it shall be their Glory to exerci[se] [w]ith
persevering firmness every power they are or shall be intrusted with to
rouse and animate the People to distinguish themselves and do honour to
their Country, by siezing with a manly and patriotic Spirit the present
glorious opportunity of signalizing their Courage in the defense of
Liberty. And they have no doubt but that this Honble House will on the
present occasion, prove to the World, that dangers do not intimidate
[themselves?[,] but on the Contrary will urge them to do all that is
possible for Men who ask the Blessing of God on their Endeavors, and
leave Events to him who governs the Universe.

Signed By order of Council
D Rittenhouse V. P.

copy
Gentlemen

We the officers of the fifth Company in the Second Philadelphia Battalion of Militia for our Selfs and our Company,\(^1\) take this Method to inform you, that it gave us General Satisfaction on hearing that James Allen Esq. was apprehended and Conducted as a Prisoner in order to be examined by your Honourable Board and to be dealt with according to his desarts\(^2\) the behaviour of his nearest relations in flying from their fellow Citizens and Seeking refuge amongst our Common unprovoked Cruel Enemies,\(^3\) we thought was Sufficient cause for the Securing Such a Person as the afore mentioned James Allen Esq. but to our great astonishment we [are] informed that he is Set at Liberty. now Gentlemen if e[ve]r there was no foundation for Confining him as a dangerous person to the Common State, you Cannot be ignorant that he is an associator belonging to our Company, and Sorry we are to Say it, a Man that has been the Cause of more Confusion than half of the Company Could have made had they had ever So great a mind to it. For to be particulare in regard to him you must be informed that he was waited upon by Mr. Adam Foulk & Henry Kammerer\(^4\) to get him to sign the association in order to induce the poorer kind of the Company to do the Same.\(^5\) he refused by &blank to dooit and declared in presence of them both he never would Sign them. Some time after that the Late Assemble passed a Resolve that the Several Back Counties Should have a proportionable & Honorable Number of Members, James Allen put him Self up for a Member for Northampton County,\(^6\) making them believe he was a proper associator in one of the Companies in the City of Philadelphia, which was a positive falsehood, and by that means was Elected a Member for Said County. on the hearing of the deceived good people of Said County that Mr. Allen was no regulare associator and had never Signed the association it occasioned a General dissatisfaction. Mr. Allen finding his being a Member of the House in that Situation So disagreeable, goes on his own accord to Mr. Phile,\(^7\) Late Captain of this Company and Signs the association, and evidently it appears [S]ince not to Serve his bleeding Country but to betray it with the assistance of his Brother Andrew & the rest of their party. now Gentlemen as much as the hearing of Mr. Allen being Apprehended by order of your Honourable House gave satisfaction to us our Company and all well wishers to
their Country, So much and more it mortified them on hearing that he was acquitted. now let us be free to tell you Gentlemen that if there was no Sufficient Cause for keeping him Confined as a dangerous person to the Safety of the different States at Large, it was your duty to keep him Safe as an associator properly belonging to our Company, and have Send him under a propper Guard to the Camp for a Satisfaction of the different poor people belonging to our and the Several Companies in the Batallion. for let us be free with you, that if you only mean to force the poorer kind in to the field and Suffer the Rich & the Great to remain at home who ought to Sett an example to the rest, you may rest assured that at a future Calling out of the Malitia you woud have Two Hundred Men from the Whole City that will obey. their is a General dissatisfaction amongst our people on account of the Several Gentlemen who formerly Paraded in our Company and now in time of the greatest danger have turn’d their backs, and indeed a good many out of other Companies make onquierencies after them, So that their goining at first Served to incourage the poorer Sort[,] now Serves to discourage them. and by all inqury we Can make we Cant learn of any Steps being taken to the taken of them in order to Send them to the Camps. they are as liable to be made to join their Company as the meanest Man belonging to their. their being no difference between the Rich & the poor associator[,] of the two the Rich ought to be foremost and the poor will Certainly follow. it is reaily astonishing to View the Batallion and to find that their is heardly one Man in Ten a Man of property. the future Steps Gentlemen will either make the Association flourish or Twintle to nothing. these Sentiments Gentlemen we hope will be taken in kind light as nothing but the well fair of our Cause induced us to acquaint you there with; we remain Honourable

Gentlemen your devoted Humble

Servants
Alexr Boyd Capt
Henry Kammerer, Lieut.
Adam Foulk [illegible]

Prices rose dramatically and paper money depreciated greatly through the latter half of 1778 and the spring of 1779. On May 23, an observer noted that “every article” was raised to “an immense price” and “many” chose not “to sell at all.” Increasing anger about the rising food prices, a scheduled militia muster day on May 24, and rumors that the militia would go about “discovering monopolizers &c.” led Elizabeth Drinker to confide to her diary that “many” were “apprehensive of a mob rising.” On May 24, when “many families” went
without bread because there was "not a bit to be bought," Philadelphians found "Come on Coolly's" broadside posted at "ye Corners."  

**FOR OUR COUNTRY'S GOOD!**

[May 23 or 24, 1779]

The depreciation of our Money and the high prices which every thing is got to, is one and the same thing. We ask not who introduced the evil, how it arose, or who encouraged it. In the midst of money we are in poverty, and exposed to want in a land of plenty. You that have money, and you that have none, down with your prices, or down with yourselves. For by the living and eternal God, we will bring every article down to what it was last Christmas, or we will down with those who oppose it.

We have turned out against the enemy and we will not be eaten up by monopolizers and forestallers.

Come on Coolly

The following broadside, which Elizabeth Drinker characterized as "mischievous and ridiculous in its kind," appeared three weeks after the price-fixing committee election of August 2, 1779. This committee, dominated by the radical middling sort, met with increasing opposition in its efforts to maintain price levels and keep Philadelphia supplied with goods. The popular movement did not respond to "Come on Warmly's" call for direct action, but subsequent events indicate that many came to share his anger. Of the three anonymous broadsides, the one that follows is most heavily sprinkled with Biblical allusions.

**GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW CITIZENS**

[August 29, 1779]

The time is now arrived to prove whether the suffering friends of [our] country, are to be enslaved, ruined and starved, by a few over-bearing Merchants, a swarm of Monopolizers and Speculators, an infernal gang of Tories, &c. &c.

Now is the time to prove, whether we will support our Committee or not, whether we shall tamely sit down and see the resolves of the Town-meeting and Committee, violated every day before our faces, and the Delinquents suffered to go unpunished; the case is just this, your opponents are rich and powerful, and they think by their consequence, to over-awe you into slavery, and to starve you in the bargen. But I say it is a shame and disgrace to the virtuous sons of Liberty, while the ALMIGHTY is fighting our battles without, to suffer those Devils of
all colours within us, to overturn all that God and Man has done to save
us. My dear [friends, if our Committee is overturned, our Money is
inevitably gone, the British Tyrant will then think his Golden bribe has
not been misapplied. But I call upon you all, in name of our Bleeding
Country, to rouse up as a Lyon out of his den, and make those Beasts of
Pray, to humble, and prove by this days conduct, than any person
whatever, though puffed like a Toad, with a sense of his own
consequence, shall dare to violate the least Resolve of our Committee, it
were better for him, that a Mill-stone was fastened to his neck, and he
cast into the depth of the Sea, or that he had never been born, Rouse!
Rouse! Rouse! and

COME on WARMLY

On October 4, 1779, radical militia men battled state authorities, the City
Light Horse, and Continental troops in the bloody fight that has come to be
known as "Fort Wilson." In the following petition, militia officers, who had not
joined their men, offered an analysis of why the battle occurred. In so doing, the
officers reiterated long-standing militia grievances.

[October 8, 1779]

To his Excellency the President Vice President and the Honorable the
Executive Council of the Common Wealth of Pennsylvania

The Memorial and Representation of a Deputation from the Several
Battalions of Militia of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia

Respectfully Sheweth

That your Memorialists in behalf of themselves and their respective
Battalions being deeply affected by the Melancholy Events which
happened on the 4th Instant beg to lay before you, what we believe after
the most Minute enquiry and deliberation to be the principal causes
thereof, humbly requesting this Honorable Board to take such Mea-
sures thereon as in your Wisdom shall seem necessary for preventing the
like fatal consequences in future.

The exceeding lenity which has been shewn to persons notoriously
disaffect ed to the Independence of the United States has rather tended to
encourage them in their misconduct than to convert them to reason and
sound Policy and although for the sake of order and good Government
we cannot but disapprove every attempt to punish them otherwise then
by the Laws of the State yet we humbly beg leave to represent in behalf
of tho[se] of our fellow Citizens who lately assembled on the Commons
for the purpose of removing such Obnoxious persons that their intended
Conduct proceeded from an Attachment to the cause of their suffering
Country, from a remembrance of the hardships they have endured in defence thereof and the numerous Grievances they at present undergo.

The enormous Price of all the necessaries of Life many of which are now beyond the power of the Poor to purchase is an Evil which has long threatened this place with Confusion. We believe that great pains have been taken by several worthy Characters to appease and quiet the minds of the suffering Poor under their accumulated hardships and to represent to them the inconveniences that would arise from any forceable attempt to redress themselves, but what are persuasions when compared with the iniquitous Price of Salt and every other foreign Article or how little will argument prevail upon families that are in want of Bread.

We entreat your Honorable Board to recommend to the Importers and Merchants of this State to fall on some plan for appeasing the [animosities] which their own Conduct has in a great measure been the cause of, and in this place we cannot help taking notice that although these Gentlemen argue in a memorial to your Excellency to sell [these] [goods] at a Certain price[,] namely Rum for 7.10.0[,] Coffee £1.2.6[,] Salt at £15.0.0[,] yet they no [sooner] made the proposal but they departed from it, forfeiting thereby their reputation with the Public and embittering their minds against them.

The excessive price of House Rent and the stipulations for Ground Rents to be paid in hard Money are matters which fall exceedingly heavy on Numbers of well Affected Inhabitants of this State.

The inequality likewise of the Militia law whereby a labouring Man is subject to a fine equal to him of Affluent Fortune is a Circumstance which we humbly request may be taken into consideration.

In making the representations to this Honorable Board we beg leave to assure you that we shall to the utmost of our Power endeavour to prevent any disorders from arising and as far as the Civil duty of a Citizen can extend shall always Assist in suppressing them. And as a Necessary provision thereto we request that the Persons hitherto deemed the Light Horse of this City may be put immediately under the Militia Law or disbanded.

Sign'd in behalf of the Militia of the City & Liberties of Philadelphia by this deputation Oct. 8th 1779

John [Mc]Culoh Capt
Wm Thorne Capt Lt Art
Thos. Hale
The laboring poor suffered grievously through the winter of 1779–1780. Trade revived after price-fixing ended, but prices rose to extraordinary heights and paper money depreciated even more rapidly. The winter itself was extremely cold and the poor relief system proved inadequate to the increased demands placed upon it. On March 20, 1780, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed the state’s second militia law. Although it continued many of the democratic features of the previous law, the brunt of militia duty continued to fall on the laboring poor as it had since 1776. The militia law and its requirement for new elections of officers provided the occasion for “Slow and Sure’s” broadside.
EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

TO THE INHABITANTS OF PHILADELPHIA &
ITS RESPECTIVE DISTRICTS, WHO COMPOSE
THE MILITIA ARTILLERY & MUSKETRY.

GENTLEMEN

Philadelphia, April 14, 1780

You are earnestly requested to attend (without Arms) a meeting to be held on Monday next the 17th Inst. at nine O’Clock in the forenoon on the Commons near Byrnes’s tavern in order to consider on matters of great importance respecting our present circumstances in regard to the necessaries of life, as well as the present militia Act & its consequential bad effects on the laboring poor, as all the fines & forfeitures together with their own tour of duty will center on themselves, also the partiality exhibited in the said act—those least entitled to it.

Slow and Sure

N.B. Perhaps a certain great personage & his B ---- Guards will favor us with their Company, but we are determined to be free . . .

the poor are humbly requested . . . to obey Cerberus’s Sumons in respect to the Election of their different Officers.

WHEAT!

If you mean to avoid the just resentment of an injur’d people don’t tear this off ---

NOTES


7. I am thankful to the Library Company of Philadelphia; the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; the American Philosophical Society; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; and the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for permission to print these materials.


10. Reel 11, frame 275, Series: Executive Correspondence File, Record Group 27, Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments, 1775–1790, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC) (hereafter all RG 27 items cited are from this file).


12. The Assembly had passed a militia law in April, 1776, *Pennsylvania Archives*, VIII:7473–7505, but it was not in effect after the overthrow of proprietary government.
The first Revolutionary Assembly began work on a militia bill on Nov. 29, 1776, but did not finally pass the law until April, 1777.

13. "[Late Service" refers to the Philadelphia's militia duty in New Jersey in July and August, 1776.

14. Although the Constitutional Convention passed a law establishing heavy fines for non-association ("An Ordinance to render the Burthen nearly Equal as may be," Sept. 14, 1776, Ab 1776-44, Historical Society of Pennsylvania), there is no evidence that authorities collected them.

15. On Nov. 30, the Assembly resolved that one-half of the associators immediately should take the field and remain in service for four weeks, but did nothing else until Dec. 12, when it offered bounties to those who turned out; Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: Beginning the twenty-eighth Day of November, 1776 and Ending the Second Day of October, 1781 (Philadelphia, 1782), 98, 101-102. The Council of Safety apparently considered levying fines, but did not do so, reel 11, frames 784-85, RG 27, PHMC; Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (Colonial Records) (Harrisburg, 1851-1853) XI, Dec. 7, 1776, 38. A group of "Real Whigs" suggested a set of fines on Dec. 1, "At a Meeting of Real Whigs . . .," Society Hall, Dec. 1, 1776, reel 11, frame 350, RG 27, PHMC.

16. Reel 11, frame 609, RG 27, PHMC.

17. There were 66 men in Boyd's company, "A Muster Roll of Captain Alexr Boyd’s Company," n.d., Cadwalader Collection, General John Cadwalader, Box 15, folder returns and muster rolls, 1776, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). I found the 1775 taxable wealth for 20 of these men: the average was £8.35 and the median about £3. (I excluded two men taxed per head and one man excused from paying taxes because of poverty). The average taxable wealth for Philadelphia as a whole in 1775 was about £20 and the median about £3.5. I found occupations for 18: four laborers, two shopkeepers, two bakers, two coddwainers, and a schoolmaster, fanmaker, butcher, tobacconist, barber, stonecutter, cooper, and Skinner. The tax and wealth information is from the Provincial County Tax Duplicate, 1775, Philadelphia City Archives (PCA). At some point during the campaign, someone made the following notation about the company on the muster: "many of them gone & some not dependable."


19. Andrew Allen, John Allen, and William Allen, brothers of James Allen, fled to the British Army earlier in December.

20. Foulk does not appear on the Provincial County Tax Duplicate, 1775, PCA, but was actively involved in the Revolution. He served on the radical price-fixing committee in August, 1779, "The Independent & Constitutional Ticket for a General Committee," Aug. 2, 1779, 962.F.147, LCP; in 1780, he was a militia captain, Bradford Manuscripts, British Army Prisoners, III, 137, HSP. Foulk was probably a member of the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania. Kammerer, a shopkeeper assessed for £4 of taxable wealth in 1775, was the co-publisher of the Philadelphische Correspondenz, the newspaper that first published the address of the German Republican Society in 1793; he served as the Society’s president.


22. This was the May, 1776 by-election.
23. The two "Philes" on the 1775 tax list were both named Frederick; one was a doctor, the other a chandler.


25. Elizabeth Drinker Diary (typescript), May 22, 1779, HSP.


27. A clearly non-literal transcription in William Blodgett to Greene, May 24, 1779, Greene Correspondence, V, #64, APS.


30. Ab 1776-46, HSP. Elizabeth Drinker provides the correct date, Aug. 30, 1779, HSP.

31. The references are to the town meetings of May 25 and July 26-27, 1779 and the price-fixing committee elected on Aug. 2, 1779.


33. Stauffer, 633, HSP.


35. I have not found this memorial.

36. This private troop of horsemen played a particularly prominent role in the suppression of the militia on Oct. 4.


38. The reference here is to Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council, who strenuously had opposed the militia on Oct. 4, 1779. B[aylor's] Guards, Continental Dragoons, again refers to the defeat of the militia at "Fort Wilson."

39. I have not found Cerberus's broadside; Cerberus was the three-headed dog who guarded the gate of Hades. The new militia law required that elections be held for militia officers.