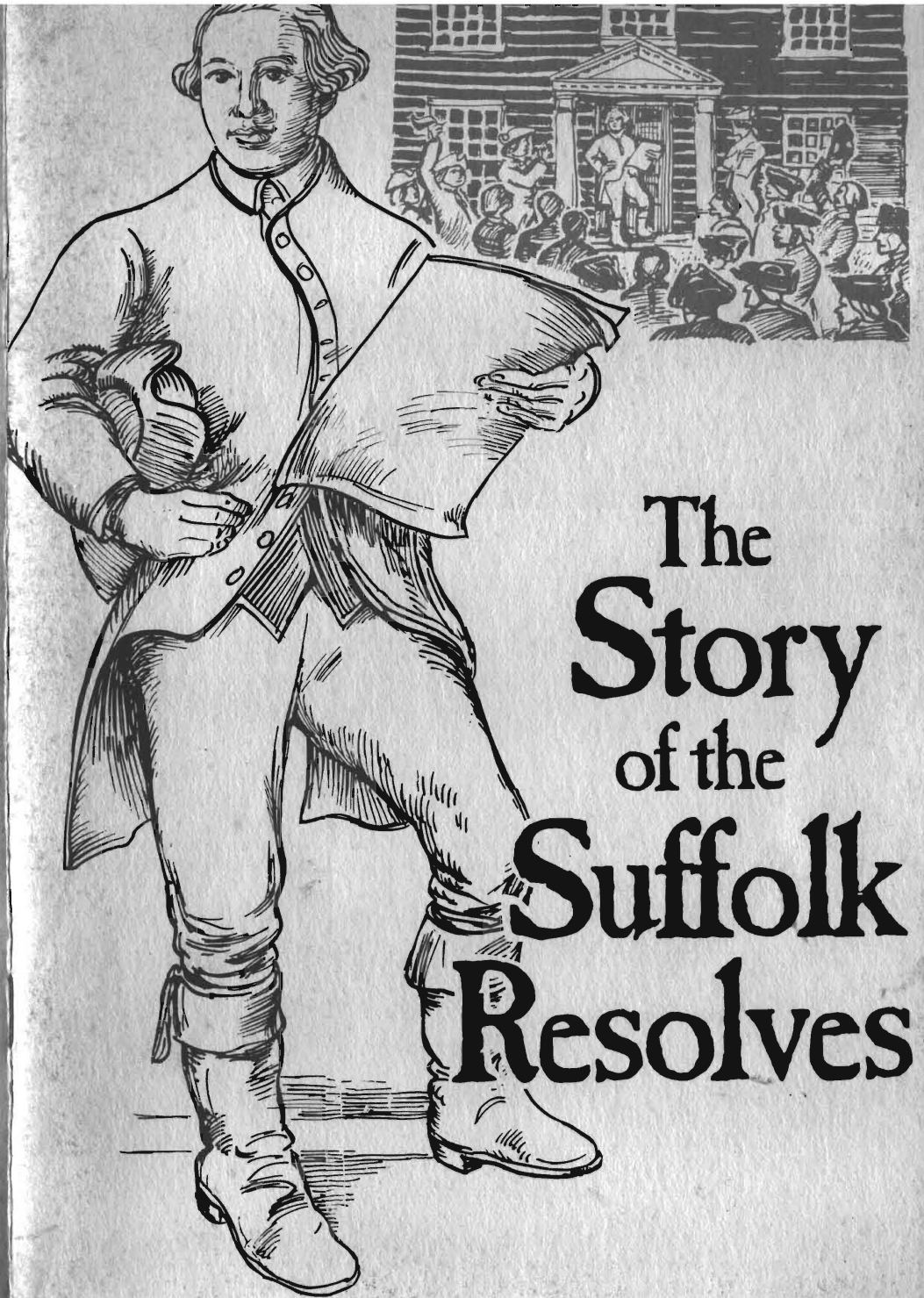


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The Story of the Suffolk Resolves

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Based on a Map of NEW ENGLAND showing the Province of Massachusetts Bay of 1752 composed for Carrington Bowles and printed in London, 1772 with interpolation and adjustment for this present version. Saml. H. Bryant, del.

THE STORY OF THE SUFFOLK RESOLVES

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by Charles R. Morris

(Retired Head of English Department, Milton Academy ; President,
Milton Historical Society ; Chairman, Milton Historical Commission)

This map shows Eastern Massachusetts counties in 1772. Suffolk County, including Boston and Chelsea, is in almost the exact center. Reproduced by permission of the publishers from REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS IN MASSACHUSETTS by Richard D. Brown, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright 1970 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

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AMERICA'S SUFFOLK COUNTY HERITAGE

Delegates from nineteen Suffolk County towns met on September 9, 1774, in Milton, Massachusetts, and unanimously passed the Resolutions carried by Paul Revere to Philadelphia there to be submitted to the members of the First Continental Congress. The Resolutions were adopted by the Congress on September 17, 1774. Of that day John Adams wrote in his diary, "This was one of the happiest days of my life . . . This day convinced me that America will support Massachusetts or perish with her."

The cover, by Jack Coolidge, shows Doctor Joseph Warren reading the Resolves article by article to the cheering delegates just as he did 200 years ago.

The story which follows recounts Milton's, Suffolk County's, and the whole Neponset Valley's involvement in the propaganda war for American Independence and as a supplier of war materials for the Continental Army. To be published also will be a portfolio of documents, pictures, and related materials.

The Milton Bicentennial Celebration will start September 9, 1974, the bicentennial of the passage of the Suffolk Resolves in Milton September 9, 1774, and will continue throughout the year with competitions, ceremonies, a parade, and other appropriate activities.

Students, writers, institutions, and commercial establishments should find in the contents of this pamphlet and the portfolio, information and materials which, it is hoped, they will make use of. Its purpose is not to exhaust the subject but, rather, to open windows on fresh horizons of treatment.

*THE SUFFOLK RESOLVES

*The co-author of this paper, Mary Phillips Webster, was the first president of the Milton Woman's Club which sponsored the celebration of the 125th anniversary of the passage of the Suffolk Resolves. Although the paper first appeared in the *New England Magazine*, November 1902, parts of it were delivered by Miss Webster, September 1899, from the doorway, draped with American flags, of the Suffolk Resolves House when it stood in Milton Village on the present site of the Milton Savings Bank. Since New England town meetings were customarily held outdoors when weather was good, and September 9, 1774, was an ideal September day, it is probable that Doctor Joseph Warren, on September 9, 1774, in much the same manner as Miss Webster, read the Suffolk Resolves article by article for approval by the Suffolk County delegates from Milton, Roxbury, Dorchester, Boston, Dedham, Chelsea, Bellingham, Brookline, Needham, Wrentham, Walpole, Medfield, Medway, Braintree, Stoughton, Stoughtonham (Sharon), and, possibly, Weymouth, Hingham, and Cohasset. Miss Webster's paper has been adapted to the current needs of Milton and Norfolk County by careful editing and by the incorporation of new material. Additions by Charles R. Morris are enclosed in brackets. Authors only are noted. Titles are found in the bibliography.

The powerful and far-reaching influence of the New England town meeting as exemplified in the County Congresses organized when town meetings were forbidden, finds its most important illustration in the famous paper known as the Suffolk Resolves. Its story is that of the towns of Suffolk County, in 1774, and especially of Boston, whose struggles and sufferings had enlisted the sympathy not only of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, but also of the whole continent, from Quebec to South Carolina, and even of many people in England. While the tyranny of King and Parliament was felt throughout the colonies, Boston, then a little town of sixteen thousand inhabitants, had made the most determined and spirited resistance, and had openly defied the power of the English government. Accordingly, Boston and the Province of Massachusetts Bay were singled out for punishment.

Realizing the importance of the crisis and that on their conduct depended the fate of the entire country, the people of Boston saw clearly that their only hope for the future lay in the united action, not merely of the different towns and counties of the province, but also of the several English colonies. At a town meeting, held November 2, 1772, Samuel Adams proposed that a Committee of Correspondence should be appointed to prepare a statement of the rights of the colonists and of the infringements of those rights, and to send them to the other towns, accompanied by a letter "requesting a free communication of their sentiments on this subject."

Governor Hutchinson wrote to Lord Dartmouth of this "foolish scheme," as he called it, and even some of the friends of Adams laughed at it. But three years later John Adams wrote, "When a certain masterly statesman invented a Committee of Correspondence in Boston, did not every colony, nay, every county, city, hundred and town upon the whole continent, adopt the measure, I had

almost said as if it had been a revelation from above, as the happiest means of cementing the union and acting in concert?" Soon the Committees of Correspondence of the province of Massachusetts were organized, and within four months the Virginia Legislature proposed a system of correspondence between the colonies, and thus united them into a confederation. In May, 1774, the Sons of Liberty of New York asked Massachusetts to name the time and place for a general Continental Congress, and on June 17, just a year before the battle of Bunker Hill, the Massachusetts Legislature, behind locked doors and while the governor's secretary sought in vain to enter with a proclamation dissolving the assembly, under the intrepid leadership of Samuel Adams, chose their delegates and appointed the first meeting of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia on September 1. It actually met on the 5th, four days before the passing of the Suffolk Resolves.

Meantime the local affairs of Boston and the Province of Massachusetts Bay had gone from bad to worse. Four acts had been passed by Parliament which reduced the colony almost to a condition of slavery. These were the Port Bill, by which the port of Boston was blockaded after the first of June; the Regulating Act, by which the executive power, including the courts of justice, was concentrated in the hands of the governor; the so-called "Murder Act," by which magistrates, revenue officers or soldiers, indicted for murder or other capital offense in Massachusetts, were to be transferred for trial to Nova Scotia or Great Britain; and a bill legalizing the quartering of troops in Boston. A fifth act established the Roman Catholic religion and French laws in Canada and extended the Province of Quebec as far as the Ohio and Mississippi.

Boston showed its characteristic energy. The Port Bill was read at a town meeting held on May 13, 1774, three days after its receipt, and the records show that a committee was appointed to consider "what measures are proper to take upon the present exigency." At an adjourned meeting, held the same afternoon, it was voted that a Circular Letter should be written to the several towns of this province of Massachusetts and to the several colonies and that "messengers should be dispatched with all possible speed," and we learn later that Mr. Revere started on this errand the very next day.

[Paul Revere, whose earlier services to the New England colonies as a courier have been somewhat dimmed by the popularity of Longfellow's poem extolling his services at Lexington and Concord, carried the Circular Letter to Philadelphia, arriving there on May 19, 1774. His next appearance in Philadelphia would be on September 16, when he arrived with the Suffolk Resolves to be presented to the First Continental Congress meeting in Carpenter's Hall. Details of the Non-Importation Agreement and the "Solemn League and Covenant," also acts of the Boston Town Meeting will not be summarized here, since they can be obtained in history books. The conditions, though, existing in Boston as a consequence of the "In-

tolerable Acts," do have a relationship to the Suffolk Resolves. For instance, Hull, practically destitute with its entire fishing fleet beached, could not send a delegate, nor is there a record of Weymouth, Hingham, or Cohasset delegates. Chelsea, possibly the most exposed of all Suffolk County towns, strongly supported the County Congresses in Dedham and Milton.]

No wonder the Boston merchants were anxious; for the condition of the town, whose harbor was now in the possession of a fleet of war ships, was indeed pitiable. Bancroft says: "Not a scow could be manned by oars to bring an ox or a sheep or a bundle of hay from the islands. All water carriage from pier to pier, though but of lumber, or bricks, or lime, was strictly forbidden. The boats between Boston and Charlestown could not ferry a parcel of goods across the Charles River, the fishermen of Marblehead, sending dried fish to the poor of Boston, were obliged to transport their offering in wagons by a circuit of thirty miles." The town was full of British soldiers. Business was paralyzed. A letter written at this time says: "When I seriously reflect on the unhappy situation we are in, I can't but be uneasy lest ye trade of the town should never be reinstated again . . . You can have no just conception how sensibly I am affected in my business . . . Such are the inevitable consequences resulting from a stoppage of trade." (Andrews, August 20, 1774.)

In this time of need the sympathy of the entire country went out toward Boston. "Gifts were offered from far and near." Gilman wrote, "South Carolina sent two hundred barrels of rice and promised to make the gift a thousand. Washington headed a subscription paper in Fairfax County, Virginia, with fifty pounds; Wilmington, North Carolina, raised two thousand pounds currency in a few days; flour, cattle, sheep, fish, came from New England towns; Quebec sent over a thousand bushels of wheat; and Augusta County, Virginia, offered one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour."

"Lord North had no expectation that we should be thus sustained," said Samuel Adams; "he trusted that Boston would be left to fall alone." But instead, the Boston Port Bill had precisely the opposite effect. It was this measure that stirred New York, Providence and Philadelphia to propose the Continental Congress. Bancroft says: "the port act had been received on the tenth of May; and in three weeks . . . the Continent, as 'one great Commonwealth,' made the cause of Boston its own."

But it was one thing for the other colonies to send assurances of sympathy and gifts of money and provisions; to write in indignation that they should not pay for an ounce of the detested tea; to toll the bells in Philadelphia when the Port Bill went into operation; or to observe the day in Virginia with fasting and prayer; it was quite a different thing and a far more serious matter for them

to stand shoulder to shoulder with Massachusetts in opposing the Regulating Act, which utterly annulled her charter and established a new form of government for the province. The other colonies had been molded by influences and traditions which were very different from those of Massachusetts. Would it be possible to reconcile these differences; to unite all the colonies in a common cause; to smooth away jealousies; to establish mutual understanding and confidence? The Massachusetts delegates had a difficult task before them. They were first of all to learn the character and disposition of the other delegates; then they were to place the case of Massachusetts before them so clearly that it could not fail to be understood; and finally, they were to secure that substantial cooperation without which the brave struggle of Boston would have been in vain.

And who were these four delegates upon whom the fate of the state and of the nation depended? First and foremost was Samuel Adams, at this time fifty-two years of age; Thomas Cushing, the speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, a man of great influence, moderate and conciliatory, forty-nine years of age; Robert Treat Paine of Taunton, a lawyer, and a man of forty-three, noted for his scholarship, ability and wit; and another lawyer, John Adams, then thirty-eight years of age, and so the youngest of the group. The last two had served four years before as prosecutor and defender in the trial of the soldiers who took part in the Boston Massacre.

Behind these delegates were the people of Massachusetts, eagerly awaiting the decision of Congress and ready to do all they could to bring about the wished-for result. Bancroft tells us that before leaving for Philadelphia, on August 10, Samuel Adams had concerted the measures by which Suffolk County would be best able to bring the wrongs of the town and the province before the general Congress; and he left the direction with Joseph Warren, who was to send a memorial of the result to Philadelphia. Warren wrote to him on the 15th that delegates had been chosen for the first meeting of the convention, and again on the 21st, saying, "I shall take care to follow your advice respecting the county meeting which, depend upon it, will have very important consequences. The spirits of our friends rise every day."

[Most historical comment recognizes the importance of the Suffolk Resolves and, particularly, Samuel Adams's part in it. Joseph Galloy, who claimed that he was terrorized by Samuel Adams into dropping his plan, (Miller), said of him: "He eats little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects." "With some degree of finesse credited to Samuel Adams, a small bomb, loaded with political explosives, was touched off in the assembled congress." (Burnett) "A study of Samuel Adams's letters shows how dexterously he manipulated political thought in New England and Philadelphia." (Burnett, Montrose)]

Meantime the other counties had not been idle. Berkshire had met long before, on July 6, at Stockbridge; Worcester on August 9; Middlesex on August 30; and Essex, Cumberland, Hampshire, Plymouth and Bristol during September. Reports of these conventions will be found in the Journals of the Provincial Congresses of Massachusetts. They all passed resolutions, which agree, first, in declaring their allegiance to King George the Third; second, in firmly opposing the acts of Parliament in which their charter rights are violated. The action of the Worcester convention was especially vigorous. On August 31 they passed resolutions calling the people together to prevent the sitting of the court on September 6, in obedience to which about six thousand assembled in military order, and "Having been formed in two lines, the royalist justices and officers were compelled to pass through the ranks, pausing at intervals to read their declarations of submission to the public will."

In Suffolk County the patriots held their first meeting on August 16, at Doty's tavern, in what was then Stoughton, now Canton. This old house, which was standing until 1888, was on the Canton road, near Blue Hill. It had been chosen by the advice of Samuel Adams, who "desired that some inland town should be selected, where the Congress might meet, free from interference."

[Since town meetings were prohibited, County Congresses were substituted, held, whenever possible, in rural locations, to encourage the country people to make common cause with Boston. Doctor Warren's berlin — one can be seen at the Shelburne, Vermont, Museum — was probably the only stylish vehicle. Most delegates undoubtedly arrived on horseback or in chaises, gigs or sulkies . . . there were few coaches in Boston despite the prominence given John Hancock's. There would be even fewer since Adino Paddock, the popular Boston coach builder, was destined to remain loyal to the king. Even General Washington, when he became Commander-in-Chief in July, 1775, had to use Thomas Hutchinson's confiscated coach which used to be kept in the Governor's coach house on Adams Street in Milton.

A sign at the entrance to the new Episcopal Church in Canton now marks the former location of Doty's Tavern. It was a favorite stopping place of John Adams. It was also the favorite fishing lodge of John Rowe. (Hunton and Rowe.) The sign reads, "SITE OF THE DOTY TAVERN. Here on August 16, 1774, the delegates to the first 'Suffolk County Congress' met and passed resolutions which, at a subsequent meeting developed into the celebrated 'Suffolk Resolves.' These 'Resolves,' it has been said 'Contained a complete Declaration of War against Great Britain.' "]

"Early in the forenoon the delegates began to arrive. The members from the inland towns came on horseback, while young Dr. Warren, with his Boston friends, drove up in a stylish berlin, drawn by four horses, with a coachman in livery on the box and

footman on the rumble. From old Stoughton came Parson Dunbar in gown and bands . . . against the advice of many of his friends, relatives, and (even) his own son." (Huntoon)

One of the Boston delegates to this convention, writing a few days later to Samuel Adams, says: "We were perfectly unanimous and firm in the common cause. Colonel Thayer particularly said, we must all appear undisguised upon one side or the other. Good Parson Dunbar gave us the most extraordinary liberty prayer that ever I heard. He appeared to have the most divine, if not prophetic, enthusiasm in favor of our rights, and stood with us till eight o'clock at night." The result of the meeting may be seen in the following letter, which was sent to the different Suffolk County towns:

Roxbury, Aug. 18, 1774

Gentlemen:—

A meeting of gentlemen from every town and district in the county of Suffolk except Weymouth, Cohasset, Needham, and Chelsea, was held at Colonel Doty's, in Stoughton, on Tuesday, the 16th current, to consult what measures were proper to be taken by the people of the county at this most important and alarming crisis of our public affairs. But, as several towns had not appointed delegates for the special purposes of a county meeting, they did not think proper to proceed to complete the business proposed; but, in order that the proceedings of such a meeting might be more valid and authentic, they came unanimously into the following resolve, and appointed a Committee to transmit the same to every town and district in the county; viz.:

Whereas it appears to us that the Parliament of Great Britain, in violation of the faith of the nation, have, in direct infraction of the Charter of this Province, contrary to the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the natural constitutional claim of British subjects, by an Act called the Boston Port Bill, a Bill for amending the Charter of the Province, and another for the Imperial Administration of Justice, with all the parade and ostentation of law and justice, attempted to reduce this Colony to an unparalleled state of slavery; and whereas the several Colonies on this continent, being justly and properly alarmed with this lawless and tyrannical exertion of power, have entered into combinations for our relief, and published sundry resolutions, which we are determined to abide by in support of common interest:—

We earnestly recommend to our brethren of the several towns and districts in this county to appoint members to attend a county convention for Suffolk, at the house of Mr. Woodward, innholder, in Dedham, on Tuesday, the sixth day of September next, at ten o'clock, before noon, to deliberate and determine upon all such matters as the distressed circumstance of this province may require. We therefore transmit the same to you, to be laid

before your town, to act thereon as you may think proper; and we beg leave to add our request, that the gentlemen who may be chosen by your town would be very punctual to the hour proposed for the convention, as it (is) very probable the business will take up the rest of the day.

We are your humble servant, by order of the Committee.

Nath. Patten

To the Gentlemen Selectmen for the town of Roxbury

(Health Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.)

[William Cooper, on August 18, 1774, two days after the Stoughton meeting, temporarily relinquished his position as clerk of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, and, subsequently, served in various capacities in the Massachusetts Provincial Congresses and as Town Clerk of Boston. Many of the delegates to the three Suffolk County conventions, at Stoughton, Dedham, and Milton, were members of their town's Committees of Correspondence. (see Brown) Were Cooper and members of the Boston Committee of Correspondence the principal authors of the Suffolk Resolves, or was General Warren? (see Cary and Frothingham.)

The meeting of four Massachusetts counties, including Suffolk, called by Doctor Warren and held at Faneuil Hall on August 26, 1774, established policy statements echoed in all subsequent county resolutions, including Suffolk's.

The house, no longer in existence, of Mr. Woodward, who was a leading citizen of Dedham and a delegate to the convention, stood near the present courthouse.

A pillar at the entrance to the Norfolk County Courthouse bears this inscription, "Here met on September 6, 1774, the convention which three days later at Milton adopted the Suffolk Resolves. They lighted the match that kindled the mighty conflagration of the American Revolution." The meeting there on September 6 appointed a committee, headed by Warren, to polish and add to a set of Resolves already existing in rough form, and then adjourned to meet on September 9, at the house of Daniel Vose, in Milton, where the report of the committee was read and the Resolves unanimously passed.

"The September 6 meeting was so brief that Doctor Warren was able to return to Boston and make a number of professional calls that day." (Cary) One gets the impression that little was done in Dedham, except the appointment of various committees. The time for action, not talk, had arrived.]

At this time the position of Milton was a peculiar one. Although a little town of about a thousand inhabitants, we must think of it

then as a much more important place, relatively speaking, than it is now. It had been a social centre ever since the days of Governor Belcher and Provincial Secretary Foye, members of whose families still remained in the town. Just above the village, at the summit of Milton Hill, stood the house of Governor Hutchinson, with its beautiful English garden, and not three months before the meeting of the Suffolk Convention the governor himself walked through the village street, past Daniel Vose's house on his way to take ship for England, shaking hands, as he went, with his fellow-townsmen of both political parties, with whom he was personally a favorite, and bidding them a cordial farewell.

Milton also counted among its citizens other men of learning and refinement. Among her delegates to the convention there was at least one Harvard graduate, Dr. Samuel Gardner. Another delegate, David Rawson, was afterwards representative of Milton in the Provincial Congress. A more influential man than either of these had been Oxenbridge Thatcher, Jr., grandson of Milton's first minister, whose death some nine years before, had been a great loss to the patriots. A lawyer of great ability and a member of that noble band whose eloquence had "associated Faneuil Hall with the idea of civil freedom," the government party had "hated him worse than even Otis or Samuel Adams and had feared him more." As Representative in the General Court in 1765 he was succeeded by Samuel Adams.

The intellectual status of Milton and its patriotic spirit are well shown in the resolutions passed at a town meeting on the 25th of July, which must have been held in response to the receipt of the "Solemn League and Covenant," sent out by the Boston Committee of Correspondence in June. The record of this meeting, in brief form, is as follows :

At a town-meeting held by adjournment from the 27th day of June 1774 to the 25th of the next July at 4 of the Clock afternoon.

1st the Committee appointed at the last Town Meeting to consider and determine upon some proper measure for this Town to come into Respecting the situation of publick affairs Reported as follows, viz.

We the Inhabitants of Milton acknowledge George the third to be our rightful Monarch — we feelingly Declare ourselves to be his true and loyal Subjects — and next to the Horrors of Slavery we detest the thought of being separated from our Parent State. We have been wont to glory in our connexion with our Mother Country — our hearts have been ever warm with filial affection and we are ready and willing on all proper Occasions to spend our Blood and Treasure in defence of his Majesties Crown and Dignity — and we are Equally ready & willing to spend our ALL in defending our own religious and civil liberties

when invaded by any humane Power . . . But in defiance of the Laws of God and society, in direct Violation of Sacred Compact, the British Parliament have assumed a Power to alter and destroy our free Constitution of Civil Government and to introduce any Species of oppression whatever. Now that such pretended Omnipotency ought to be opposed when assumed by any set of men unless they have *infinite Wisdom* to direct, and *infinite Goodness* to stimulate them to a righteous conduct, is a dictate of common Sense, and whether these are predictable of the present British Parliament let Gods intelligent Creation Judge.

And being clearly of opinion that to withstand such assumed Power, and to oppose in a regular way ; the Oppressive Measures which are carrying into Execution by such power is a Duty we owe to God, to ourselves, and to unborn Millions, we therefore RESOLVE that we will unite with our Brethren THE SONS OF FREEDOM IN AMERICA in any proper measures, that may be adopted to defeat the late cruel & oppressive Acts of the British Parliament respecting America, and this Distressed Province in particular, — to extirpate the Idea of Tyranizing, which is so fondly fostered in the Bosoms of those in Power — and to secure to ourselves and to Posterity our invaluable Rights & Privileges.

A Non-consumption Agreement we think the most rational as it is most Peaceful. But as Committees from the several Colonies on this Continent are soon to meet and to deliberate and determine upon some wise and proper measures for the recovery & Establishment of American Liberties — and as we doubt not but the WISDOM OF AMERICA will fix upon such righteous measures as will Eventually prove not only the Salvation of this Extensive Continent but also the Permanentest Dignity of Great Britain, we therefore RESOLVE to commit our cause under God, to them, and to adopt such Righteous Measures as shall be by them recommended to the Colonies as necessary to regain & secure our free Constitution of Government.

We wish them a seasonable & Joyful Meeting — and a happy union of sentiment — and may God Almighty direct and protect them. We return our sincere thanks to the Town of Boston for their indefatigable & noble Exertions in the cause of Freedom — and beg them still to watch upon the walls of our Jerusalem and not to be weary in well doing.

DAVID RAWSON
RALPH HOUGHTON
AMARIAH BLAKE
OLIVER VOSE
JOSEPH CLAP
SAMUEL HENSHAW, JUN.
SAMUEL GARDNER
Committee

MILTON 25 July 1774

Milton counted among its citizens not only social and intellectual, but business leaders as well. As early as 1634 a gristmill had been built on the site occupied until recently by one of the Baker chocolate mills; the chocolate business itself was established in 1765; the Milton paper mills were in 1769 sending as far as Portsmouth for rags; the slitting mill at Mattapan was one of the first in the province.

[An authentic "first," whose influence though not the actual mill, was to be of great service to Massachusetts in the war, was the powder mill built in 1675 at Milton Lower Falls. More will be said of this later in this narrative.]

Mr. James Boice and Captain Daniel Vose, both afterwards representatives of Milton in the Provincial Congress, were well-known business men.

At that time Captain Vose's home stood farther up the street than it did in 1899, being afterwards removed to its location until 1950 on the present site of the Milton Savings Bank, and enlarged. It was most conveniently situated for a county convention, being near the junction of the post road from Boston to Plymouth and the "great road to Taunton." (now Canton Avenue)

[At the time of the Massachusetts Tercentenary in 1930, the spot was marked and the stone is passed every day by hundreds of people who, probably, seldom give it a second look. "1640 Milton Landing Place Near this spot were enacted on September 9, 1774, by about seventy patriots assembled at Daniel Vose's Inn THE SUFFOLK RESOLVES which carried by Paul Revere to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia became a powerful influence in the adoption of The DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE." When threatened with destruction, the house was acquired in 1950 by the late Doctor and Mrs. James B. Ayer and moved to their property at 1370 Canton Avenue. It is now owned and maintained by the Milton Historical Society. The authenticity of the house, once doubted, has been established beyond question by the researches of the late Colonel Edward P. Hamilton. His evidence and report are on file at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Milton Historical Society has a copy of the report.]

At a meeting there on September 9 nineteen towns and districts were represented, most of them appointing five delegates; some, only one or two; some as many as seven — all leading men, as befitted the occasion. Many of their names are found among the minutemen who hurried to Lexington on the 19th of April; one, Isaac Gardner of Brookline, the first Harvard graduate to be killed in the Revolution, fell on that day; and another, Captain Eleazer Kingsbury of Needham, was wounded. The moderator was Deacon Joseph Palmer of Germantown, in Braintree (brother-in-law of Abigail Adams's sister, Mary), who sacrificed both health and

wealth in the cause of freedom; the clerk was Major William Thompson, a well-known patriot from Brookline. From Stoughton came Thomas Crane, who, with Daniel Vose, was to furnish most of the powder used by the province during the first three years of the war, manufacturing it in Stoughton, which then included Canton, on nearly the same site as that occupied by the Revere Copper Company. From Roxbury came William Heath, afterwards major general in the Continental army. From Boston came, alas, the traitor, Doctor Benjamin Church, who undoubtedly kept Governor Gage informed of what was happening in Dedham and Milton; from Boston, too, came the leader, Joseph Warren, chairman of the committee which had drafted the Resolves, who, although only thirty-three years of age, was celebrated as a physician, a writer, and an orator; was a grand master in the Masonic fraternity, and soon to be made a major general in the army, and whose death at Bunker Hill left orphan four little children, already motherless, and deprived his country of one of her greatest and noblest men.

[Not all of the delegates achieved, in the struggle for liberty, the heroic stature of General Warren or the military distinction of General Heath and General Lincoln, but most, in a modest way, served the common cause. John Goddard, from Brookline, for instance, six months after the Milton meeting, was appointed wagon master of the Continental army. Gunpowder stored on his property was moved to Concord. Earnest in the cause of his country, he himself is thought to have been present at the Lexington-Concord fight. As recalled by his granddaughter years later this Brookline farmer-patriot, "was a fine specimen of venerable old age; his erect figure, his long white hair gathered into a queue, his three-cornered Continental hat, and staff, gave him a very patriarchal appearance." Nathaniel Felton, a scythe maker from Roxbury, turned to making spears for the army; those spears, if they had been available at Bunker Hill, according to General Ward, might have served to repulse the enemy after the powder supply ran low. Enoch Ellis of Walpole used his experience as a blacksmith or gunsmith to select master armorers for the army. Nathaniel Guild, also of Walpole, owned an iron mine, and at Stoughtonham (Sharon) carried on an iron furnace where, during the Revolutionary War, he manufactured large quantities of gun carriage wheels, shot, and other munitions of war. Paper was made in Milton, for paper was not only needed for communicational purposes but also to provide wadding for the widely used flintlock guns. Later Daniel Vose made gunpowder, as has already been noted.

Another delegate was the sixty-three-year-old Job Smith of Sharon who, on June 18, 1775, having received news of the imminence of battle, aroused the countryside and with his tall sons Joshua, Job, and Jirah, joined Captain Ebenezer Tisdale's company as it came marching down the rough road from Easton, bound for Concord. It was at the tavern of Delegate Captain Lemuel Robin-

son of Dorchester, located near the present intersection of Washington Street and Callivan Boulevard, Dorchester, that 300 Sons of Liberty gathered in 1769 at a famous barbecue. Though Captain Robinson, then a colonel in William Heath's regiment, died in 1776 of smallpox, he lived long enough to arrange the baptism of his son, George Washington Robinson, in August 1775, one month after George Washington had taken command of the Continental Army in Cambridge, by Parson Dunbar of Stoughton, who had given "the most extraordinary liberty prayer" at the first meeting of the Suffolk County Congress in Stoughton on August 16, 1774. From the farm of another delegate, Captain John Homans of Dorchester, located near the west end of present Robbins Street, Milton, fascines were cut for fortifying Dorchester Heights. The farm was personally chosen by General Washington.

Such delegates as Captain Benjamin White of Brookline, Stephen Metcalf of Bellingham, Jabez Fisher and Lemuel Kollock of Wrentham, were respected members of their communities, who sacrificed much for the cause of Independence and held positions of influence in the difficult days following the victory. Captain White, like the zealous John Pitts of Boston, at the end of the war was in debt. John Pitts, a few weeks after the Milton meeting, was writing to his uncle, James Bowdoin, "We must, I fear, be obliged finally to appeal to arms." Oliver Wendell, like John Pitts also a Harvard graduate, though crippled in college and forced to walk with two canes, was possibly the wealthiest of the delegates. He lived well into the next century, dying in Cambridge in 1818, and leaving a famous grandson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and great grandson, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, to add new lustre to his name.

On the same day the Suffolk County delegates were meeting in Milton, Governor Gage was dispatching the warship, H.M.S. Scarborough, to England carrying dispatches from him. Among the information transmitted by Governor Gage was this ominous warning from the governor of the rebellious Province of Massachusetts: "Civil government is near its end . . . Conciliating, moderating, reasoning is over. Nothing can be done but by forceable means." It seems possible that Governor Gage's spy in the inner circles of the radical independence movement, Doctor Benjamin Church, had kept him informed of the violent statements embodied in the Suffolk Resolves, tantamount to a declaration of war, as some people said.]

Few details of the convention have come down to us. We know that the 9th of September was a beautiful day, that the delegates must have been in good spirits over the news of the Worcester action of September 6th; we may guess that toasts were drunk to the brave men there and in the Continental Congress of Philadelphia; the doorway in which Warren stood as he read the Resolves,

paragraph by paragraph, to be considered and voted upon by the assembled delegates, still exists, though it now opens on Canton Avenue, Milton, and not on Adams Street. We know, too, that not a man gave way to fear, and that every vote of the convention was a unanimous one; and we know that the Resolves were carried to Philadelphia by Paul Revere.

Nearly a month had now passed since the delegates to the Continental Congress had set out of August 10, "in a coach and four, preceded by two white servants, well mounted and arm'd, with four blacks behind in livery, two on horseback and two footmen." (Andrews) A large number of gentlemen had escorted them as far as Coolidge's, in Watertown, where an entertainment had been prepared. As they proceeded on their way, they had everywhere been received with demonstrations of sympathy and respect. Seven miles out of New Haven they were met by a great number of carriages and horsemen, and John Adams writes in his diary :

As we came into town, all the bells in town were set to ringing, and the people, men, women and children, were crowding at the doors and windows, as if it was to see a coronation. At nine o'clock the cannon were fired, about a dozen guns, I think . . . No Governor of a Province, nor General of an army, was ever treated with so much ceremony and assiduity as we have been throughout . . . Connecticut;" and he writes of his wife, Abigail, from Philadelphia: "I have not time nor language to express the hospitality and civility, the studied and expensive respect, with which we have been treated in every step of our progress." And, again, a little later, "I shall be killed with kindness in this place. We go to Congress at nine, and there we stay most earnestly engaged in debates upon the most abstruse mysteries of state, until three in the afternoon; then we adjourn, and go to dine with some of the nobles of Pennsylvania at four o'clock, and feast upon ten thousand delicacies, and sit drinking Madeira, Claret, and Burgundy, till six or seven, and then go home fatigued to death with business, company, and care. Yet I hold out surprisingly." Later he says: "There is a great spirit in the Congress. But our people must be peaceable. Let them exercise every day in the week if they will, the more the better . . . But let them avoid war *if possible* — *if possible* I say." (Oct. 7) In his next letter he gives us the following glimpse of the Congress: "This assembly is like no other that ever existed. Every man in it is a great man, an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man upon every question must show his oratory, his criticism and his political abilities. The consequence of this is that business is drawn and spun out to an immeasurable length. I believe if it was moved and seconded that we should come to a resolution that three and two make five, we should be entertained with logic and rhetoric, law, history, politics, and mathematics, and then — we should pass the resolution unanimously in the affirmative.

Such was the assembly before whom the four delegates were to state the case of Massachusetts. Moreover, they had to overcome a feeling of personal prejudice against themselves. When within a few miles of Philadelphia, they were told by some of the Sons of Liberty, who had come to meet them, that letters had been written to that city and to all the South by some of the friends of government in Boston, in which they were represented as four desperate adventurers. According to these letters:

Mr. Cushing was a harmless kind of man, but poor, and wholly dependent on his popularity for his subsistence. Mr. Samuel Adams was a very artful, designing man, but desperately poor, and wholly independent on his popularity with the lowest vulgar for his living. John Adams and Mr. Paine were two young lawyers, of no great talents, reputation, or weight, who had no other means of raising themselves into consequence than by courting popularity. We were all suspected of having independence in view — an idea as unpopular in Pennsylvania and in all the Middle and Southern States as the Stamp Act itself. “Now,” said they . . . “you are the representatives of the suffering State . . . You have been long persecuted — your feelings have been hurt, your passions excited; you are thought to be too warm, too zealous, too sanguine. You must be very cautious; you must not come forward with any bold measures, you must not pretend to take the lead. You know Virginia is the most populous State in the Union. They are very proud of their ancient dominion, they think they have the right to take the lead, and the Southern States and the Middle States, too, are too much disposed to yield it to them . . . (John Adams, writing in 1822)

We cannot wonder at the estimation in which Virginia was held when we remember that among her delegates were Peyton Randolph, president of the Congress; Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and George Washington. But it was not possible for the Massachusetts men to keep in the background. At the very first meeting it was given to Samuel Adams to speak the right word at the right time; a word of inestimable weight in uniting the colonies; which showed at the very outset the willingness of the Massachusetts delegates to adopt the fundamental principle without which there could have been no union, viz., a spirit of mutual toleration which could overlook minor differences of opinion in recognition of the fact that in spite of these differences they were all at heart united in love to God and to their country.

The incident is told as follows in a letter written by John Adams to his wife, Abigail:

When the Congress first met, Mr. Cushing made a motion that it should be opened with prayer. It was opposed by Mr. Jay, of New York, and Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, because we

were so divided in religious sentiments, some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians and some Congregationalists, that we could not join in the same act of worship. Mr. Samuel Adams arose and said he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend to his country. He was a stranger to Philadelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duché deserved that character, and therefore he moved that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers to the Congress, tomorrow morning. The motion was seconded and passed in the affirmative. Mr. Randolph, our president, waited on Mr. Duché, and received for an answer that if his health would permit he certainly would. Accordingly, next morning he appeared with his clerk and in his pontificals, and read several prayers in the established form; and then read the Collect for the seventh day of September, which was the thirty-fifth Psalm. You must remember this was the next morning after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston (the Powder Alarm). I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning. After this, Mr. Duché, unexpected to everyone, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness and pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime — for America, for the Congress, for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially the Town of Boston.

The first business of the Congress was to examine the credentials of the delegates, pass resolutions regarding their transactions and appoint two committees, one “to state the rights of the colonies in general,” the infringements of these rights and the “means most proper to be pursued” for their restoration; the other to examine and report upon the laws affecting the trade and manufactures of the colonies. Then, after thanking the Library Company of Philadelphia for offering them the use of their books, they adjourned from day to day awaiting the reports of the committees. On September 14 the delegates from Massachusetts placed the Resolves of the County of Middlesex before the Congress. They were read, but no action was taken upon them, for Samuel Adams and his colleagues were, no doubt, waiting to hear from Boston and from Suffolk County. Every one is familiar with the famous ride of Paul Revere on the 19th of April, in 1775, but history has little to say about the equally important one which he took in September, 1774, when leaving on the eleventh, in five short days he carried the Suffolk Resolves from Boston to Philadelphia. [The text of the Suffolk Resolves, just as it was printed in the Journals of the First Continental Congress, and a record of the action, taken together with the names of the members, will be found in the Appendix together with notes by Worthington C. Ford, editor.

The people of Boston first heard of the enthusiastic reaction of the members of the First Continental Congress when Paul Revere returned to Boston on September 26 bearing "expresses" reporting the resolutions adopted in Philadelphia. These were printed in Samuel Adams's propaganda newspaper, *The Boston Gazette* on the same day, September 26. The same issue of *The Boston Gazette* carried an account of a jolly party held on September 19th when the delegates were entertained "by the Gentlemen of Philadelphia". In all, some thirty-two toasts were drunk. Immediately following four toasts to members of the British Royal Family was a sixth toast, "May the Colonies faithfully execute what the Congress shall wisely Resolve", and a seventh toast saluted, "The much injured Town of Boston and the Province of Massachusetts-Bay." It is said that toasts six and seven were received with particular acclamation.]

This endorsement of the Suffolk Resolves by the Continental Congress produced a great effect in this country and in England. Frothingham cites a number of Tory pamphlets vigorously deploring the adoption of the Suffolk Resolves by the Continental Congress. Warden summarizes English reaction also. Also Cary. Professor Norton in her notes mentions several of these pamphlets.

A writer of the times says:

The friends of America have the satisfaction to learn that the Resolves of the late Continental Congress respecting the votes of the County of Suffolk published in the English papers here not only surprised, but confounded the ministry, as by it they perceive the Union of the Colonies to be complete, and their present menaces only mark their despair.

The thanks of the people of Boston for the action of the Continental Congress, which adjourned October 26, was, appropriately enough, expressed, with Samuel Adams in the chair. Recently returned from Philadelphia, he must have felt satisfied with himself, and if so, he had reason to be. The year 1774 was at its close, and his most successful propaganda move of the year had worked — the acceptance of the Suffolk Resolves. For the colonies to break ties with England all now remaining was to open hostilities in 1775 and to declare independence in 1776!

At a meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston at Faneuil Hall . . . December 30th, 1774 —

Mr. Samuel Adams in the Chair . . . The following Vote expressive of the Gratitude to the Town for the benevolent Assistance received from the other Colonies under our present Calamities, & the kind Recommendation of the late respectable Continental Congress for future support — Passed Nem. Cont.

Whereas the Town of Boston is unfortunately become the most striking Monument of Ministerial Tyranny & Barbarity, as is particularly exhibited in the sudden shutting up this Port thereby cruelly depriving the Inhabitants of this Matropolis of the Means they have hitherto used to support their Families; And whereas our Brethren of and in the other Colonies, well knowing that we are suffering in the common Cause of America & of Mankind have, from a generous & Brotherly Disposition contributed largely towards our Support in this Time of our General Distress (without which many of our worthy and virtuous Citizens must have been in imminent Danger of perishing with Cold & Hunger) — And whereas the Honble Members of the Continental Congress have kindly recommended us to our Sister Colonies, as worthy of farther Support from them, while the Iron Hand of unremitting Oppression lies heavy upon us. Therefore Voted, that this Town, truly sensible of the generous Assistance they have received from their sympathizing Brethren, return them their warmest & most sincere Thanks for the same: And they pray that GOD, whose beneficence they so gloriously imitate, may bestow upon them the Blessings he has promised to all them, who feed the hungry & cloth the naked: And the Thanks of this Town are accordingly hereby given to our Benefactor aforementioned, & to the Honble Members of the Congress for their Benevolence towards us, expressed as aforesaid, which Support, if continued cannot fail of animating us to remain stedfast in defending the Rights of America.

APPENDIX I

The delegates to the Suffolk County Convention were in most cases chosen by special town meetings called in response to the letter sent out by order of the preliminary meeting, August 16. It is distinctly stated that every town and district in the country was represented at Milton.

LIST OF DELEGATES

(corrected 1972)

(*Afterwards Representatives in the
Massachusetts Provincial Congress.)

BELLINGHAM

*Stephen Metcalf,
Committee of
Correspondence

BOSTON

*Joseph Warren
*Benjamin Church
*John Pitts
Benjamin Kent
*Oliver Wendell

BRAINTREE

*Joseph Palmer
*Ebenezer Thayer
Thomas Penniman

MILTON

*David Rawson
William Taylor
Samuel Gardner
Amariah Blake
Ralph Houghton,
Committee of
Correspondence

NEEDHAM

*Eleazar Kingsbury
Lemuel Pratt
Jonathan Deming
Samuel Daggett
Caleb Kingsbury

BROOKLINE

*William Thompson
*Benjamin White
Isaac Gardner
*John Goddard
Thomas Aspinwall

CHELSEA

Samuel Sprague
Samuel Sargeant
*Samuel Watts

DEDHAM

William Avery
Richard Woodward
Nathaniel Sumner
Daniel Gay
Ralph Day

DORCHESTER

Samuel How
*Lemuel Robinson
*Ebenezer Withington
*James Robinson
John Minott
William Holden
John Homans

ROXBURY

Nathaniel Patten
*William Heath
Nathaniel Felton
Ebenezer Dorr
David Weld
Eben Whiting
Jeremiah Parker

STOUGHTON

*John Withington
Theophilus Curtis
John Kenney
Josiah Pratt
*Thomas Crane,
Committee of
Correspondence
Jedediah Southworth

STOUGHTONHAM

*Job Swift
Elijah Hewins

WALPOLE

Nathaniel Guild
*Enoch Ellis
Samuel Cheney

The names of the delegates from Weymouth, Hingham and Cohasset are not specified on the town records. These three towns were probably represented by committees whose duties covered a more general field of work.

On September 28, 1774, the town of Weymouth

Voted To accept of the 19 Resolves Drawed up by the County Committee & to stand by them Resolves.

At Hingham

the Committee appointed to meet the Committees from the several Towns in the County of Suffolk Reported to the Town on September 21 and the Resolves were voted to be agreeable to the Town.

On October 7, Cohasset

Voted to accept the Report of the Committee for the County of Suffolk.

It seems probable that Weymouth may have been represented by Nathaniel Bayley, Hingham by Benjamin Lincoln and Cohasset by Isaac Lincoln, all of whom were later in the Provincial Congress.

MEDFIELD

Simon Plimpton
Eliakim Morse
*Seth Clark
*Daniel Perry
*Moses Bullen,
Committee of
Correspondence

MEDWAY

Daniel Pond
*Jonathan Adams
Elijah Clark
Joshua Partridge
Eleazar Adams, Jr.

WRENTHAM

*Jebez Fisher
*Lemuel Kollock
*Samuel Lethridge

The Suffolk Resolves, passed unanimously by the delegates to the Milton meeting, were handed on September 11, 1774 by Dr. Joseph Warren to his good friend Paul Revere, who carried them in five days to the first Continental Congress sitting in Philadelphia. His arrival was noted by Massachusetts' delegate Robert Treat Paine in a diary entry for September 16: "Fine day. This AM Paul Revere arrived express from Boston." The next day Congress acted.

APPENDIX II

*Proceedings of the First Continental Congress

*These proceedings were issued as a broadside, and copies are in the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass., in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, and in the Milton Historical Society. The entire *Boston Gazette* for 1774 has recently been issued in facsimile by the Reprint Society, South Barre, Mass. It contains a copy of the Suffolk Resolves. So does Teele's *History of Milton*, and numerous other publications. However, for our purposes, it seems best to print it just as it was voted by the First Continental Congress in 1774. This copy is from the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. 1, 1774, as edited from the original records in the Library of Congress, by Worthington C. Ford in 1904.

Saturday, September 17, 1774
Philadelphia

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Richard Caswell, Esqr. one of the deputies from North Carolina, appeared, and took his seat in Congress.

The Resolutions entered into by the delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, in the province of the Massachusetts-bay, on tuesday the 6th instant, and their address to his excellency Govr. Gage. dated the 9th instant, were laid before the Congress, and are as follows:

At a meeting of the delegates of every town & district in the county of Suffolk, on tuesday the 6th of Sepr., at the house of Mr. Richard Woodward, of Deadham, & by adjournment, at the house of Mr. (Daniel) Vose, of Milton, on Friday the 9th instant, Joseph Palmer, esq. being chosen moderator, and William Thompson, esq. clerk, a committee was chosen to bring in a report to the convention, and the following being several times read, and put paragraph by paragraph, was unanimously voted, viz.

Whereas the power but not the justice, the vengeance but not the wisdom of Great-Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity: And whereas, this, then savage and uncultivated desart, was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valor of those our venerable progenitors; to us they bequeathed the dearbought inheritance, to our care and protection they consigned it, and the most sacred obligations are upon us to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring. On the fortitude, on the wisdom and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions. If a boundless extent of continent, swarming with millions, will tamely submit to live, move and have their being at the arbitrary will of a licentious minister, they basely yield to voluntary slavery, and future generations shall load their memories with incessant execrations. — On the other hand, if we arrest the hand which would ransack our pockets, if we disarm the parricide which points the dagger to our bosoms, if we nobly defeat that fatal edict which proclaims a power to frame laws for us in all cases whatsoever, thereby entailing the endless and numberless curses of slavery upon us, our heirs and their heirs forever; if we successfully resist that unparalleled usurpation of unconstitutional power, whereby our capital is robbed of the means of life; whereby the streets of Boston are thronged with military executioners; whereby our coasts are lined and harbours crouded with

ships of war; whereby the charter of the colony, that sacred barrier against the encroachments of tyranny, is mutilated and, in effect, annihilated; whereby a murderous law is framed to shelter villains from the hands of justice; whereby the unalienable and inestimable inheritance, which we derived from nature, the constitution of Britain, and the privileges warranted to us in the charter of the province, is totally wrecked, annulled, and vacated, posterity will acknowledged that virtue which preserved them free and happy; and while we enjoy the rewards and blessings of the faithful, the torrent of panegyrists will roll our reputations to the latest period, when the streams of time shall be absorbed in the abyss of eternity. — Therefore, we have resolved, and **do resolve,**

1. That whereas his majesty, George the Third, is the rightful successor to the throne of Great-Britain, and justly entitled to the allegiance of the British realm, and agreeable to compact, of the English colonies in America — therefore, we, the heirs and successors of the first planters of this colony, do cheerfully acknowledge the said George the Third to be our rightful sovereign, and that said covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and submission.

2. That it is an indispensable duty which we owe to God, our country, ourselves and posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power to maintain, defend and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties, for which many of our fathers fought, bled and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations.

3. That the last acts of the British parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the established form of government in this colony, and for screening the most flagitious violators of the laws of the province from a legal trial, are gross infractions of those rights to which we are justly entitled by the laws of nature, the British constitution, and the charter of the province.

4. That no obedience is due from this province to either or any parts of the acts above mentioned, but that they be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.

5. That so long as the justices of our superior court of judicature, court of assize, &c. and inferior court of common pleas in this county are appointed, or hold their places, by any other tenure than that which the charter and the laws of the province direct, they must be considered as under undue influence, and are therefore unconstitutional officers, and, as such, no regard ought to be paid to them by the people of this country.

6. That if the justices of the superior court of judicature, assize, &c. justices of the court of common pleas, or of the general sessions of the peace, shall sit and act during their present disqualified state, this country will support, and bear harmless, all sheriffs and their deputies, constables, jurors and other officers who shall refuse to carry into execution the orders of said courts; and, as far as possible, to prevent the many inconveniences which must be occasioned by a suspension of the courts of justice, we do most earnestly recommend it to all creditors that they shew all reasonable and even

generous forbearance to their debtors; and to all debtors, to pay their just debts with all possible speed, and if any disputes relative to debts or trespasses shall arise, which cannot be settled by the parties, we recommend it to them to submit all such causes to arbitration; and it is our opinion that the contending parties or either of them, who shall refuse so to do, ought to be considered as cooperating with the enemies of this country.

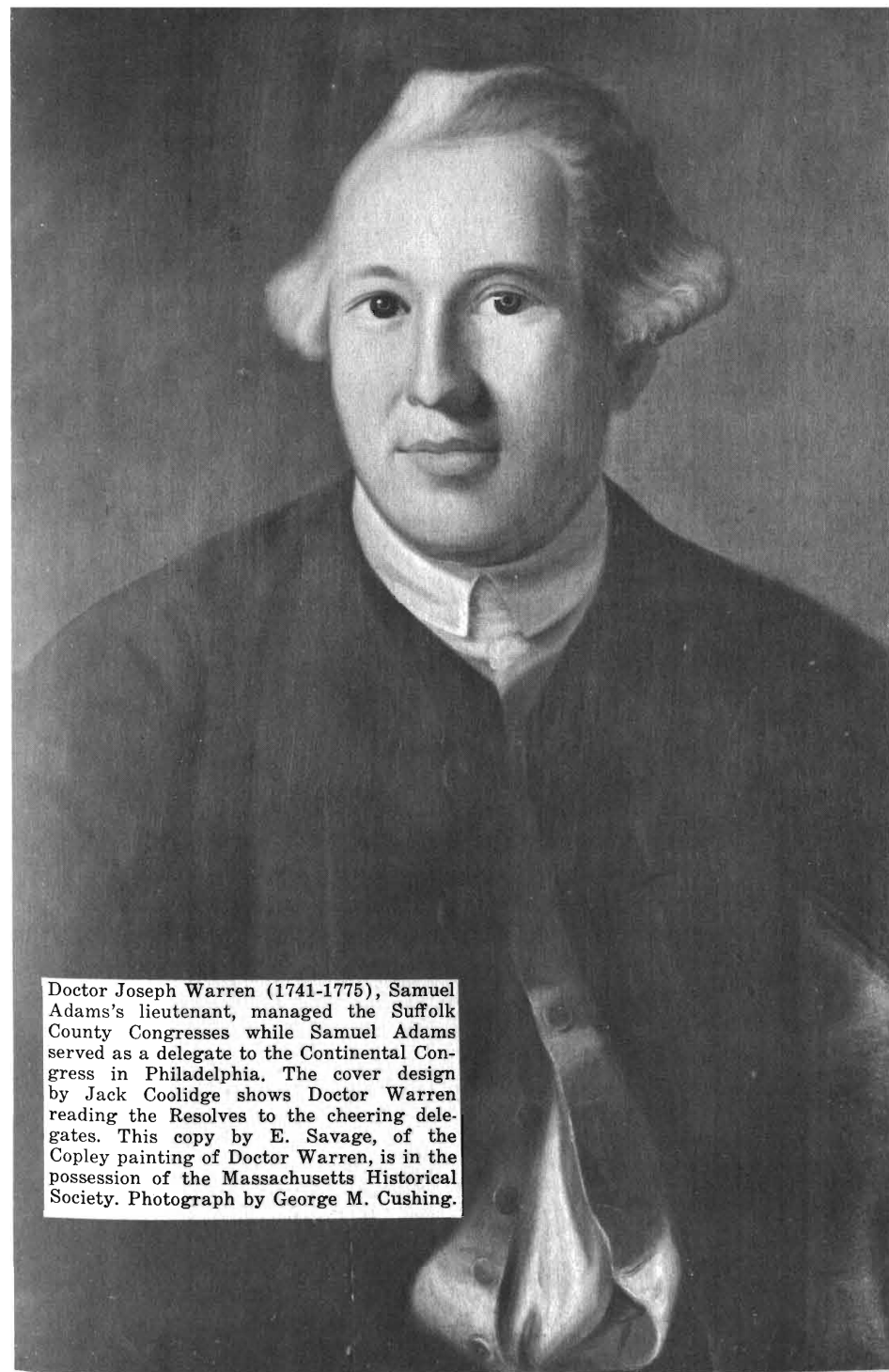
7. That it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, constables and all other officers, who have public monies in their hands, to retain the same, and not to make payment thereof to the provincial county treasurer until the civil government of the province is placed upon a constitutional foundation, or until it shall otherwise be ordered by the proposed provincial Congress.

8. That the persons who have accepted seats at the council board, by virtue of a mandamus from the King, in conformity to the late act of the British parliament, entitled, an act for the regulating the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, have acted in direct violation of the duty they owe to their country, and have thereby given great and just offence to this people; therefore, resolved, that this country do recommend it to all persons, who have so highly offended by accepting said departments, and have not already publicly resigned their seats at the council board, to make public resignations of their places at said board, on or before the 20th day of this instant, September; and that all persons refusing so to do, shall, from and after said day, be considered by this county as obstinate and incorrigible enemies of this country.

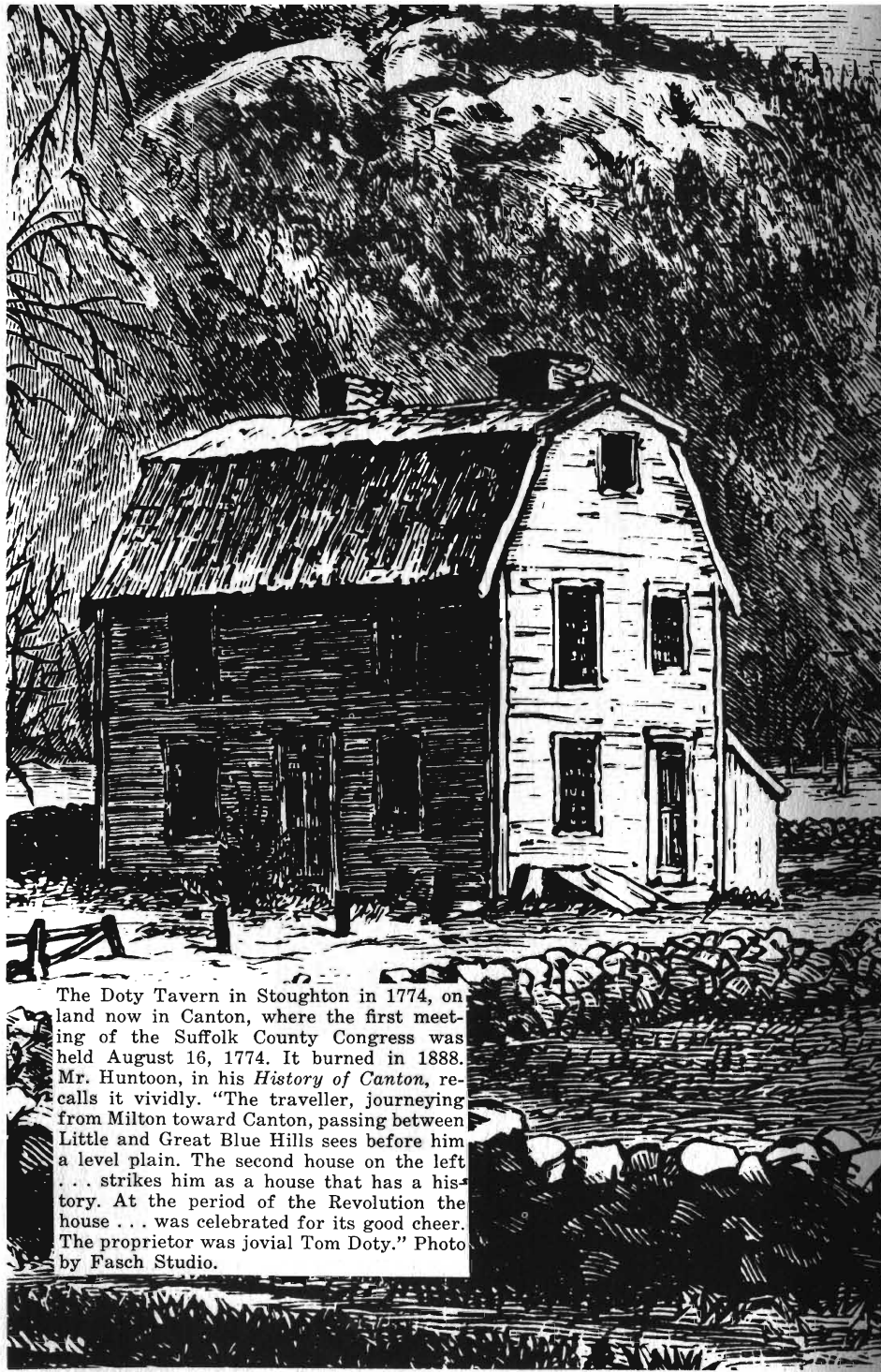
9. That the fortifications begun and now carrying on upon Boston Neck, are justly alarming to this county, and gives us reason to apprehend some hostile intention against that town, more especially as the commander in chief has, in a very extraordinary manner, removed the powder from the magazine at Charlestown, and has also forbidden the keeper of the magazine at Boston, to deliver out to the owners, the powder, which they had lodged in said magazine.

10. That the late act of parliament for establishing the Roman Catholic religion and the French laws in that extensive country, now called Canada, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion and to the civil rights and liberties of all America; and, therefore, as men and Protestant Christians, we are indispensably obliged to take all proper measures for our security.

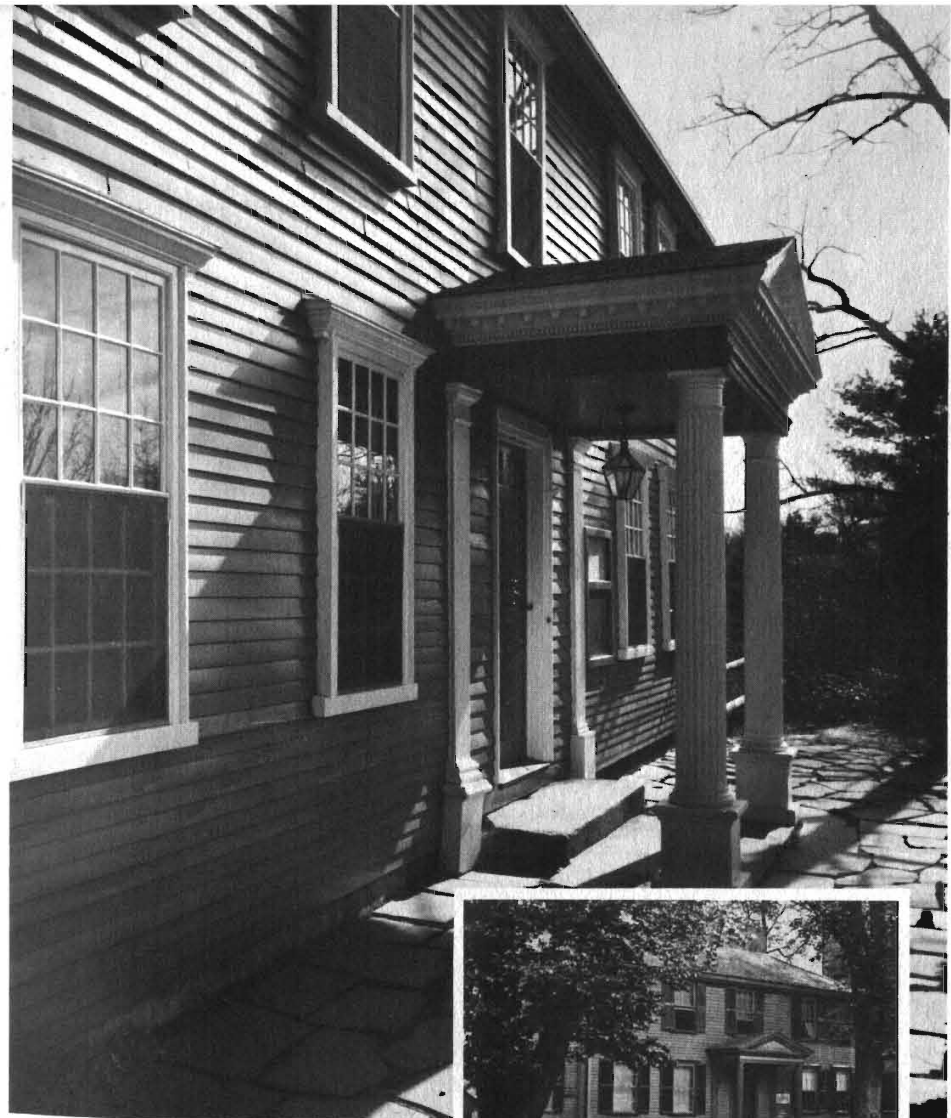
11. That whereas our enemies have flattered themselves that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous, brave and hardy people, from an apprehension that they are unacquainted with military discipline; we, therefore, for the honour, defence and security of this county and province, advise, as it has been recommended to take away all commissions from the officers of the militia, that those who now hold commissions, or such other persons, be elected in each town as officers in the militia, as shall be judged of sufficient capacity for that purpose, and who have evidenced themselves the inflexible friends to the rights of the people; and that inhabitants of those towns and districts, who are qualified, do use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and do, for that



Doctor Joseph Warren (1741-1775), Samuel Adams's lieutenant, managed the Suffolk County Congresses while Samuel Adams served as a delegate to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. The cover design by Jack Coolidge shows Doctor Warren reading the Resolves to the cheering delegates. This copy by E. Savage, of the Copley painting of Doctor Warren, is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Photograph by George M. Cushing.



The Doty Tavern in Stoughton in 1774, on land now in Canton, where the first meeting of the Suffolk County Congress was held August 16, 1774. It burned in 1888. Mr. Huntoon, in his *History of Canton*, recalls it vividly. "The traveller, journeying from Milton toward Canton, passing between Little and Great Blue Hills sees before him a level plain. The second house on the left . . . strikes him as a house that has a history. At the period of the Revolution the house . . . was celebrated for its good cheer. The proprietor was jovial Tom Doty." Photo by Fasch Studio.



1. Entrance to the Suffolk Resolves House now located at 1370 Canton Avenue, Milton, Massachusetts. The house is identified by a tavern sign showing Paul Revere on a prancing horse.

The house has recently been placed on the National Register of Historic Places, a Register maintained by the National Park Service Division of the U.S. Department of the Interior. The architect in charge of the moving and restoration of the house in 1950 was William Morris Hunt.



Captain Daniel Vose's house, called "The Suffolk Resolves House", as it appeared in Milton Lower Mills to generations of Milton citizens. The house was rescued, when it was threatened with destruction in 1950, and moved by the late Doctor and Mrs. James B. Ayer to its present location at 1370 Canton Avenue. The magnificent elms seen in the picture, no longer in existence, were set out in 1784 by Captain Vose's son-in-law, Doctor Amos Holbrook, whose home at 203 Adams Street still stands. Photo by Fasch Studios.

Both photos by Fasch Studio, Milton.



Copley's portrait of Samuel Adams. Although the documents on the table are known to include the Charter of Massachusetts, no harm in imagining the Suffolk Resolves to be there also. (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Deposited by the City of Boston.)

purpose, appear under arms at least once every week.

12. That during the present hostile appearances on the part of Great-Britain, notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which we most sensibly resent, yet, nevertheless, from our affection to his majesty, which we have at all times evidenced, we are determined to act merely upon the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason and the principles of self-preservation, but no longer.

13. That, as we understand, it has been in contemplation to apprehend sundry persons of this county, who have rendered themselves conspicuous in contending for the violated rights and liberties of their countrymen; we do recommend, should such an audacious measure be put in practice, to seize and keep in safe custody, every servant of the present tyrannical and unconstitutional government throughout the country and province, until the persons so apprehended be liberated from the hands of our adversaries, and restored safe and uninjured to their respective friends and families.

14. That until our rights are fully restored to us, we will, to the utmost of our power, and we recommend the same to the other counties, to withhold all commercial intercourse with Great-Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies, and abstain from the consumption of British merchandise and manufactures, and especially of East-India teas and piece goods, with such additions, alterations and exceptions only, as the General Congress of the colonies may agree to.

15. That under our present circumstances, it is incumbent on us to encourage arts and manufactures amongst us, by all means in our power, and that¹ be and hereby are appointed a committee, to

¹The names of those appointed on this committee were Joseph Palmer, of Braintree; Ebenezer Dorr, of Roxbury; James Boies and Edward Preston, of Milton, and Nathaniel Guild, of Walpole.

consider of the best ways and means to promote and establish the same, and to report to this convention as soon as may be.

16. That the exigencies of our public affairs, demand that a provincial Congress be called to consult such measures as may be adopted, and vigorously executed by the whole people; and we do recommend it to the several towns in this country, to chuse members for such a provincial Congress, to be holden at Concord, on the second Tuesday of October, next ensuing.

17. That this country, confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the Continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, pay all due respect and submission to such measures as may be recommended by them to the colonies, for the restoration and establishment of our just rights, civil and religious, and for renewing that harmony and union between Great-Britain and the colonies, so earnestly wished for by all good men.

18. That whereas the universal uneasiness which prevails among all orders of men, arising from the wicked and oppressive measures of the present administration, may influence some unthinking persons to commit outrage upon private property; we would heartily recommend to all persons of this community, not to engage in any routs, riots,

or licentious attacks upon the properties of any person whatsoever, as being subversive to all order and government; but, by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince our enemies, that in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age, and of every country.

19. That should our enemies, by any sudden manoeuvres, render it necessary to ask the aid and assistance of our brethren in the country, some one of the committee of correspondence, or a select man of such town, or the town adjoining, where such hostilities shall commence, or shall be expected to commence, shall despatch couriers with written messages to the select men, or committees of correspondence, of the several towns in the vicinity, with a written account of such matter, who shall despatch others to committees more remote, until proper and sufficient assistance be obtained, and that the expense of said couriers be defrayed by the county, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the provincial Congress.²

² Thus far was issued in Boston as a broadside, a copy of which is to be found in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. The language differs somewhat in the two versions.

At a meeting of delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, held at Milton, on Friday, the 9th day of September, 1774 — Voted,

That Dr. Joseph Warren, of Boston, &c.³ be a

³ The names of this committee were printed in the newspaper accounts, and were as follows: Dr. Benjamin Church, Boston; Deacon Joseph Palmer, German-town; Capt. Lemuel Robinson, Dorchester; Capt. William Heath,

Roxbury; Col. Ebenezer Thayer, Braintree; William Holden, Esq., Dorchester; Col. William Taylor, Milton; Capt. John Homans, Dorchester; Isaac Gardiner, Esq., Brooklyn; Mr. Richard Woodward, Dedham; Capt. Benjamin White, Brooklyn; Dr. Samuel Gardiner, Milton; Nathaniel Summer, Esq., Dedham; Capt. Thomas Aspinwall, Brooklyn.

committee to wait on his excellency the governor, to inform him, that this county are alarmed at the fortifications making on Boston Neck, and to remonstrate against the same, and the repeated insults offered by the soldiery, to persons passing and repassing into that town, and to confer with him upon those subjects.

Attest,

WILLIAM THOMPSON, Clerk

“To his excellency Thomas Gage, Esq. captain-general, and commander in chief of his majesty’s province of Massachusetts-Bay.

“May it please your excellency,

“The county of Suffolk, being greatly, and, in their opinion, justly alarmed at the formidable appearances of hostility, now threatening his majesty’s good subjects of this county, and more particularly of the town of Boston, the loyal and faithful capital of this province, beg leave to address your excellency, and represent, that the apprehensions of the people are more particularly increased by the dangerous design, now carrying into execution, of repairing and manning the fortifications at the south entrance of the town of Boston, which, when completed, may, at any time, be improved to aggravate the miseries of that already impoverished and distressed city, by intercepting the wonted and necessary intercourse between the

town and country, and compel the wretched inhabitants to the most ignominious state of humiliation and vassalage, by depriving them of the necessary supplies of provision, for which they are chiefly dependant on that communication. We have been informed, that your excellency, in consequence of the application of the select men of Boston, has, indeed, disavowed any intention to injure the town in your present manoeuvres, and expressed your purpose to be for the security of the troops and his majesty’s subjects in the town, we are therefore at a loss to guess, may it please your excellency, from whence your want of confidence in the loyal and orderly people of this vicinity could originate; a measure, so formidable, carried into execution from a pre-conceived though causeless jealousy of the insecurity of his majesty’s troops and subjects in the town, deeply wounds the loyalty, and is an additional injury to the faithful subjects of this county, and affords them a strong motive for this application. We therefore intreat your excellency to desist from your design, assuring your excellency, that the people of this county, are by no means disposed to injure his majesty’s troops; they think themselves aggrieved and oppressed by the late acts of parliament, and are resolved, by Divine assistance, never to submit to them, but have no inclination to commence a war with his majesty’s troops, and beg leave to observe to your excellency, that the ferment now excited in the minds of the people, is occasioned by some late transactions, by seizing the powder in the arsenal at Charlestown; by withholding the powder lodged in the magazine of the town of Boston, from the legal proprietors; insulting, beating, and abusing passengers to and

from the town by the soldiery, in which they have been encouraged by some of their officers; putting the people in fear, and menacing them in their nightly patrole into the neighbouring towns, and more particularly by the fortifying the sole avenue by land to the town of Boston.

“In duty therefore to his majesty and to your excellency, and for the restoration of order and security to this county, we the delegates from the several towns in this county, being commissioned for this purpose, beg your excellency’s attention to this humble and faithful address, assuring you, that nothing less than an immediate removal of the ordnance, and restoring the entrance into the town to its former state, and an effectual stop to all insults and abuses in future, can place the inhabitants of this county in that state of peace and tranquillity, in which every free subject ought to be.”

His excellency was waited on to know if he would receive the committee with the above written address, but desiring he might have a copy of it in a private way, that so when he received it from the committee, he might have an answer prepared for them, he was accordingly furnished with a copy. His excellency then declared, that he would receive the committee on Monday, at 12 o’clock.

The Congress, taking the foregoing into consideration,

Resolved unan, That this assembly deeply feels the suffering of their countrymen in the Massachusetts-Bay, under the operation of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British Parliament — that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude, with which opposition to these wicked ministerial measures has hitherto been conducted, and they earnestly recommend to their brethren, a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct as expressed in the resolutions determined upon, at a (late) meeting of the delegates for the county of Suffolk, on Tuesday, the 6th instant, trusting that the effect(s) of the united efforts of North America in their behalf, will carry such conviction to the British nation, of the unwise, unjust, and ruinous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures.

Resolved unan, That contributions from all the colonies for supplying the necessities, and alleviating the distresses of our brethren at Boston, ought to be continued, in such manner, and so long as their occasions may require.

A ms. copy of these resolutions, in the writing of Richard Henry Lee, is among the *Lee Papers*. It does not, however, follow that he was the framer. (Note of Worthington C. Ford)

Ordered, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to Boston by the president.

Ordered, That these resolutions, together with the resolutions of the County of Suffolk, be published in the newspapers.

That committee appointed to examine & report the several statutes, which affect the trade and manufacturers of the colonies, brought in their report, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Adjourned till Monday morning.

On Saturday, October 8,

The Congress resumed the consideration of the letter from the Committee of Correspondence in Boston and . . .

Resolved, That this Congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, to the execution of the late acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case, all America ought to support them in their opposition.

And two days later it was

Resolved unanimously, That every person and persons whomsoever, who shall take, accept, or act under any commission or authority, in anywise derived from the act passed at the last session of

parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which God, nature, and compact, have given to America.

APPENDIX III

Members of the First Continental Congress
Philadelphia, September 5, 1774 to October 26, 1774
Peyton Randolph, Virginia, President

CONNECTICUT

Silas Deane
Eliphalet Dyer
Roger Sherman

DELAWARE

Thomas McKean
George Read
Caesar Rodney

MARYLAND

Samuel Chase
Robert Goldsborough
Thomas Johnson
William Paca
Matthew Tilghman

MASSACHUSETTS

John Adams
Samuel Adams
Thomas Cushing
Robert Treat Paine

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Nathaniel Folsom

NEW JERSEY

Stephen Crane
John De Hart
James Kinsey
William Livingston
Richard Smith

NORTH CAROLINA

Richard Caswell
Joseph Hewes
William Hooper

PENNSYLVANIA

John Dickinson
Joseph Galloway
Charles Humphreys
Thomas Mifflin
John Morton
Samuel Rhoads
George Ross

RHODE ISLAND

Stephen Hopkins
Samuel Ward

SOUTH CAROLINA

Christopher Gadsden
Thomas Lynch, Sr.
Henry Middleton
Edward Rutledge
John Rutledge

NEW YORK

John Alsop
James Duane
William Floyd
John Jay
Isaac Low

VIRGINIA

Richard Bland
Benjamin Harrison
Patrick Henry
Richard Henry Lee
Edmund Pendleton
Peyton Randolph
George Washington

CHRONOLOGY OF SOME EVENTS 1774

- May 10 Boston Port Bill brought to Boston
May 13 Boston Town Meeting held to move appeal to the other colonies for non-intercourse with Britain
May 14 Paul Revere dispatched the message to the other colonies
May 19 Paul Revere arrived in Philadelphia
May 20 Citizens met at the City Tavern
May 27 The dissolved Houses of Burgesses of Virginia issues its declaration from the Raleigh Tavern, Williamsburg
June 28 General meeting (public) held in the State House yard, Philadelphia
Sept. 5 First session of the Continental Congress opened in Carpenter's Hall. Peyton Randolph, President
Sept. 16 Paul Revere arrives in Philadelphia with Suffolk Resolves
SEPT. 17 SUFFOLK RESOLVES APPROVED BY CONGRESS
Sept. 27 Joseph Galloway's plan of Union presented
Oct. 14 Declaration of rights
Oct. 18 Association of nonimportation
Oct. 21 Declaration to the people of Great Britain approved
Oct. 22 Henry Middleton elected president
Oct. 26 The Petition to the King signed
Oct. 26 Congress adjourned

APPENDIX V

Books alluded to in the foregoing account, and others, from which further information can be obtained.

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Brown, Richard D. *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts (The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1773-1774)*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

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Clarke. *History of Needham*, Cambridge, 1912.

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Friedewald. *Declaration of Independence*. New York. Macmillan, 1904.

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Harlow, R. V. *Samuel Adams, Promotor of the American Revolution*, New York, 1923.

Huntoon. *History of Canton*. Cambridge, 1893.

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Lincoln, William E., ed. *The Journal of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775*. With an appendix containing the proceedings of the county conventions, and other documents, illustrative of the early history of the American Revolution. Boston, 1838.

Massachusetts Historical Society. *Diary and Biography of John Adams*. Belknap Press, 1962. (Vol. 2, 1771-1781)

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Milton Record. 1950. (Full reports on the moving of the Suffolk Resolves House)

Montross, Lynn. *The Reluctant Rebels: The Story of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*. (pp. 48-53)

Nash, Gilbert. *Historical Sketch of the Town of Weymouth, Mass., 1622-1884*. Boston: 1885.

Norton, Mary Beth. *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789*. Boston: Little Brown, 1972.

Pearson, Michael. *Those Damned Rebels, the American Revolution Through British Eyes*. Putnam, 1972.

Pratt, W. M. *Seven Generations: A Story of Prattleville and Chelsea*. 1930. (also *Chelsea Town Records*)

Preston, John Hyde. *Revolution: 1776*. Harcourt Brace, 1933. (p. 28)

- Richmond, Robert P. *Powder Alarm, 1774*. Auerbach, 1971. (Relates the Charlestown powder raid (Article 9) to the Resolves.)
- Roxbury Town Records*, Vol. 2: 1730-1790. (Boston Public Library)
- Scaife, L. L. *Milton and the Suffolk Resolves*. Milton Historical Society, 1921. (pamphlet)
- Sharon Advocate Bicentennial Scrapbook, 1765-1965*.
- Smith. *History of Dedham*. 1936.
- Tilden. *History of the Town of Medfield*. Boston: 1887.
- Van Tyne, Claude H. *Cause of the War of Independence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922.
- Warden, G. B. *Boston, 1689-1776*. Boston: Little Brown, 1970.
- Webster, M. P. "The Suffolk Resolves," *New England Magazine*, XXVII, No. 3 (Nov. 1902). (pp. 353-372)

Earlier it was said that "most historical comment recognizes the importance of the Suffolk Resolves." A few brief quotes from books mentioned in the Bibliography could stimulate further exploration.

- Bowen "The Suffolk Resolves were the boldest statement ever made on the continent. They spoke of Britain in terms of utmost violence."
- Warden "The Suffolk Resolves and the news brought by Paul Revere on September 16 provided the touch of drama that the Bostonians needed to gain support for the beleaguered town and its principles."
- Meigs "The courage of that hard-pressed group of citizens (in Milton), the directness of their statement, and the absence of any self-pity or regret swept the Congress with a wave of enthusiasm."
- Burnett "It was the 'Suffolk Resolves' . . . that stirred Congress to action."
- Fisher "It is quite obvious that the resolutions were in effect a declaration of independence by the patriots of Massachusetts, although the word independence was not used."
- Burnett (Letters: Silas Deane to Mrs. Deane, September 17, 1774) "I send the Resolves of this day, which are applauded to the skies by the inhabitants of this city (Philadelphia)."
- Friedenwald "The pledge of Suffolk County, to support whatever the Congress determined on, went a long way towards influencing it in taking this radical action. Their assurance was the first information of this nature officially conveyed, as the resolutions of the Congress thereon were the first public expression of the fact that the colonies would support each other."

Cary "The resolves which Joseph Warren presented to the convention when it reconvened in Milton on September 9 were different in certain respects from these Cooper 'Minutes.' The entire document compares favorably with the Declaration of Independence, and the preamble is as exciting as Jefferson's great state paper."

Norton "The new direction of the protest movement (of the Americans) was revealed for the first time at the Continental Congress . . . the Congress . . . took two actions that some colonists believed would widen, rather than conciliate, the differences with Great Britain. The first was its approval of the Suffolk Resolves, an inflammatory statement of American rights drafted by one of Samuel Adams' associates."

Labaree "When the Congress unanimously endorsed these principles (the Suffolk Resolves) on 18 September, the determination of the assembly to take firm action was established."

Fleming "These Suffolk Resolves were rushed to Philadelphia . . . Congress . . . passed a vote of full approval, and for the first time in New England men began to hope that the other colonies would stand behind them."

Beach "This document . . . is one of the most important policy declarations of the time."

Britt "The forthright character of this local declaration (the Suffolk Resolves) broke the strength of the moderates and conservatives and gave the balance of power into the hands of the extremists."

These notes of reaction to the Resolves have been prepared by Worthington C. Ford for his edition of the Journals of the Continental Congress, and are found in Vol. I, 1774. To create a more readable booklet the editor has moved them to this section.

To his wife John Adams wrote: "These votes were passed in full Congress with perfect unanimity. The esteem, the affection, the admiration for the people of Boston and the Massachusetts, which were expressed yesterday, and the fixed determination that they should be supported, were enough to melt a heart of stone. I saw the tears gush into the eyes of the old, pacific Quakers of Pennsylvania."

Samuel Adams wrote that the resolves were "read with great applause," and that Congress was unanimous in its resolutions. (Quincy, *Life of Quincy*, 155)

Silas Deane noted that the two resolutions of Congress were passed without one dissenting voice, though all the members were present." (Ford, *Correspondence of Samuel Blachley Webb*, I, 39.) Jones believed that this endorsement by Congress put an end to the usefulness of the Tories or Loyalists in the Congress.

To indorse the Suffolk Resolves was but a step in the policy of the Massachusetts delegation. On the 24th of September the two Adamses talked with Dickinson — “a true Bostonian” was Samuel Adams’s comment. “The Congress have, in their resolve of the 17th instant, given their sanction to the resolutions of the county of Suffolk, one of which is to act merely upon the defensive so long as such conduct may be justified by reason and the principles of self-preservation, — *but no longer*. They have great dependence upon your tried patience and fortitude . . . They suppose you mean to defend your civil Constitution. They strongly recommend perseverance and a firm and temperate conduct, and give you a full pledge of their united efforts in your behalf. They have not yet come to final resolutions. It becomes them to be deliberate. I have been assured, in private conversation with individuals, that if you should be driven to the necessity of acting in self-defence of your lives or liberties, you would be justified by their constituents, and openly supported by all the means in their power.” (Samuel Adams to Joseph Warren, September 25, 1774)

On the following day John Adams wrote of the numberless prejudices to be removed. “We have been obliged to act with great delicacy and caution. We have been obliged to keep ourselves out of sight, and to feel the pulses of and sound the depths; to insinuate our sentiments, designs, and desires, by means of other persons; sometimes of one Province, and sometimes of another.” (To Judge Tudor, September 26, 1774.) A good illustration of this labor is given in the meeting with Shippen, Richard Henry Lee and Washington, on the evening of the 28th. (Washington to Robert MacKenzie, October 9, 1774.) As a result of these deliberations, the resolutions of the 30th here printed must have been framed and submitted; but as events proved, too early to be adopted. And this, too, in the face of a belief of Adams that all Congress “profess to consider our Province as suffering in the common cause, and indeed they seem to feel for us, as if for themselves.” (To his wife, September 29, 1774.)

II NEPONSET VALLEY INDUSTRY PREPARES TO SUPPLY THE CONTINENTAL ARMY BY CHARLES R. MORRIS

In the Yankee fashion, Milton and Suffolk County’s Revolutionary spirit became increasingly practical at the Dedham meeting on September sixth. The Colonies, jolted by the Powder Alarm of September 1, 1774, aroused when Governor Gage confiscated the powder supply stored at Charlestown, setting in motion waves of rumors that he had begun a horrible butchery in Massachusetts, accelerated preparations for war already, according to Suffolk County local histories, underway in many towns. These rumors,

finally reaching Philadelphia, disturbed the tranquil waters of the First Continental Congress and prepared its membership for a favorable reception of Paul Revere when he arrived on September 16 with the Suffolk Resolves. (John Adams, in Philadelphia, commented upon “the rumors of the horrible cannonade of Boston.”) Since this Powder Alarm development and the reception of the Resolves is well set forth in Richmond, and its dramatic impact on the Continental Congress is ably described in *The American Heritage History of the American Revolution* and by Miller and Burnett and by other authors, it will be only mentioned in passing as a lively subject for further investigation. On the other hand, the probable impact of the Powder Alarm on the meetings of the Suffolk County delegates, in Dedham on September sixth and in Milton on September ninth, is of immediate concern to us.

Four Suffolk County meetings were known to have been held; a fifth was planned, but since the date set for it, April 26, 1775, was a week after the Concord and Lexington fight which opened hostilities, it is probable that it was not held. The first meeting, as has already been noted, held at Colonel Doty’s tavern in Stoughton on August 16, 1774, resulted in some general protests against the “Intolerable Acts.” (These protests are summarized in Nathaniel Paten’s letter, an original copy of which is in the Milton Historical Society and reproduced in the portfolio of documents; the letter is also printed in Miss Webster’s article already quoted.) Significantly, William Cooper, clerk of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, temporarily resigned on August 18, possible to devote more time to channeling the thought of the Suffolk County Resolution and to rephrase them to conform to what the Boston Committees of Correspondence wanted said and, particularly, to what Samuel Adams wanted said. Cary, in his *Life of Joseph Warren*, takes this view.

The second meeting was held on September 6, 1774, at the tavern of Richard Woodward in Dedham. This meeting apparently did not last too long since Doctor Warren was able to return to Boston, presumably in his berlin, to make afternoon calls. Between the Stoughton meeting and Dedham meeting, Governor Gage had fortified Boston Neck and taken the powder at Charlestown (Article 9) and these martial actions undoubtedly alarmed the delegates, compelling them to concern themselves with “ways and means” of fighting a war which, since the Boston Tea Party almost nine months earlier, seemed in the minds of many people inevitable. In the Massachusetts Historical Society Library is a rough draft of the Suffolk Resolves, said to be in the hand of William Cooper. (This rough draft will also be reproduced in the portfolio.) Apparently designed for the Dedham meeting, it has no Article 9 summarizing the alarm occasioned by the construction of fortifications at Boston Neck and the Charlestown Powder Raid. It has only rough mention of Article 15 appointing a committee “to encourage arts and manufactures.” The decision, also, to hold the adjourned meet-

ing at the house of Daniel Vose in Milton on Tuesday, September 9, 1774, is not recorded. A fair assumption, then, follows that, as the threat of armed conflict became more real, the means with which to fight it were part of the thought of the delegates.

Thus subsequent meetings, on September 9, 1774 and on February 28, 1775, were held in Milton. Why they were held in Milton and not in some other Suffolk County town is suggested by the late Colonel Edward P. Hamilton's brief summary in his *History of Milton*: "By the time of the Revolution, Neponset Village was a major industrial center." Two members of the committee of five formed "to encourage arts and manufactures" (Article 15 of the Suffolk Resolves) were Milton Lower Mills businessmen. One was Edward Preston, owner of a fulling mill, which together with the saw mill and the grist mill formed the three "homespun mills" found in early New England settlements. (A fulling mill was necessary for the manufacture of cloth.) The other was James Boise who owned paper mills. Indeed, paper was important enough to the colonies to cause the Massachusetts Provincial Congress under date of May 16, 1775, to release to Mr. Boise a prisoner with training as a paper maker and, under date of March 15, 1775, to return to Mr. Boise four apprentices in his paper mill who had joined the army. The importance to the colonies of the Neponset Valley industrial complex will be the subject of this chapter. (It is treated only briefly. Possibly this mention might inspire more studies of the Neponset River industrial complex at the time of the Revolution. Canoeists on the river today, such as Robert Stanhope of the Trailside Museum in Milton, still see evidences of the old mills which, at one time, extended upstream from tidewater through Milton, Dedham, Canton, Stoughton, Sharon, Medfield, Foxborough, and other territories. These towns were in Suffolk County in 1774, and these were some of the towns sending representatives to the County Congresses in Stoughton, Dedham, and Milton.)

It should be noted, in passing, that a fourth meeting was held, on February 28, 1775 also in Milton, to refuse payment of public moneys to the King's collectors, as Article 7 of the Suffolk Resolves proposed. Thus, it appears, the time for rhetoric was passed.

Having unanimously passed the Resolves on September 9, 1774 and dispatched them to Philadelphia, there to accomplish Samuel Adams's propaganda purposes and those of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, the Yankee delegates now settled down to develop the means to fight the war which seemed inevitable. No place in New England, possibly even in the colonies, was better suited than Milton and the whole Neponset Valley mill complex to accomplish this purpose.¹

¹ The Historian of early New England industry is the late Colonel Edward P. Hamilton, author of *The History of Milton*, 1957. Any of his writings men-

tioned here can be consulted for further information about the Neponset River industry in the days of water mills: "The New England Village Mill," *Old time New England* (Oct.-Dec. 1951); *The French and Indian Wars*, Doubleday, 1961; "Early Industry of the Neponset and the Charles," *Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 71. Col. Hamilton designed the mill at Williamsburg. His chapter in the *History of Milton* on Milton Lower Mills industry and the River is superb. See also Hamilton, Old Sturbridge Booklet, #18 *The Village Mill in Early New England*. The *History of the Town of Dorchester*, by Edmund J. Baker, also has a fine chapter on Lower Mills industry. Delue's *Story of Walpole*, and *Huntoon's History of Canton* were also used. One of the earliest treatments of the "Powder Mill on the Neponset" was in a paper delivered by Horace E. Ware before the Milton Woman's Club on May 6, 1901. At the time of the Sharon Bicentennial in 1965, the Sharon Advocate published an interesting study of "The Iron Business" in Sharon, which was called Stoughtonham at the time of the Revolution. Richmond, *Powder Alarm — 1774*, Auerbach, 1971, relates the Powder Alarm of September 1 to the Suffolk County Congresses.

Miscellaneous material on the Vose and Boise families and the making of paper is in the possession of the Milton Historical Society. Since all information will be taken from these sources, no further bibliography will be provided.

The nicely balanced sentences of the Suffolk Resolves document, reflecting echoes of eighteenth century "Enlightenment" and of John Locke, suggested its composition by scholars trained in the classics, particularly Latin. Such training they would have received at a college and, in Eighteenth Century Boston, they received it at Harvard. Doctor Warren, John Pitts, Oliver Wendell, Samuel Watts, Doctor Church, Doctor Samuel Gardner of Milton, Captain Benjamin White, and Isaac Gardner were all Harvard graduates, and there may have been others. The education and training of the delegates to the County Congress, reflecting immersion in the classics and the sermon style of the New England minister would make an interesting study. At this point in the story of the Suffolk Resolves, however, the artisans, yeomen, craftsmen, and mill operators attending the Congress, who in their smocks and leather jerkins worked from dawn to dusk six days a week at their trades, are given front booking. It was becoming apparent that a war would have to be fought and, though the propaganda war of words would continue, Lexington and Concord, only nine months away, would be fought with flints, powder, shot, guns, and, strange as it may seem to us, paper too. The muzzle loading flintlock musket, so widely used at this time, required paper for wadding. Paper was needed for making money and as Article 19 of the Suffolk Resolves indicated it was needed by the Committee of Correspondence for messages. To provide these necessities of war, and others too, the fifteen water mills on the Neponset River, almost twice the number on the Charles River, its nearest rival, were utilized.

POWDER

Article 16 of the Suffolk Resolves called for "a provincial congress to be holden at Concord on the second Tuesday of October." Such a congress, the first of three Massachusetts Provincial Con-

gresses, assembled at Salem in October, 1774, remaining in session until December, 1774. Among its actions was the acceptance of a report "on the state of manufactures of the province." Article 8 of that report read "that gun powder is also an article of such importance that every man among us who loves his country, must wish the establishment of manufactures for that purpose; and as there are the ruins of several powder mills, and sundry people among us who are acquainted with that business, we do heartily recommend its encouragement by repairing one or more of said mills, or by erecting others, and renewing said business as soon as possible."

Subsequently, the revival of Milton's ancient powder-making knowledge, though applied at a different location — in Stoughton, now Canton — provided for the first three years of the war most of the powder used by the provincial army. It was a descendant of Walter Everendon, a Kentish man "who made powder in England as he saith," the first overseer of the Milton Powder Mill at "Unkety" as Milton Lower Mills was called in 1675, who now emerged to "provide that article of such importance," gunpowder, the scarcity of which was to lose the field at Bunker Hill to the King's forces. It was Milton's Daniel Vose, at whose house the Suffolk County Congress had been held, together with Thomas Crane who later moved to Milton, who set up the powder mill in Stoughton where Massapoag Brook joined York Brook to form the eastern branch of the Neponset River. Later Paul Revere purchased the "mill privilege" to establish his copper works at that site.

Though slightly edited, the following account is from Huntoon's *History of Canton*:

Stoughton, and later Milton and Dedham, had been selected as fitting places for the Suffolk County Congresses, because they were in rural surroundings, and the involvement of rural New England in their radical plans was one of the aims of Samuel Adams and the Boston Committee of Correspondence, yet within easy access of Boston. The same reasons undoubtedly influenced those at the head of affairs two years afterward in selecting Stoughton as the most suitable place to begin the manufacture of powder. The distance from the sea was great enough to render it safe from the attacks of an enemy landing on the coast, and yet transportation was easy. But besides these advantages, the town of Stoughton possessed a skilled workman who understood the manufacture of powder. The Everendon family, powder-makers for generations, were still resident here, and were designated in legal documents as "powder makers" by vocation. These considerations undoubtedly influenced the government in determining the location of the mill. The immediate cause may have been an anonymous letter received by Dr. Joseph Warren, as follows: —

May 31, 1775

SIR, — I shall just take the liberty to give you a friendly line, which I have often mentioned in conversation, but perhaps it will arrive so late to merit no higher honor than just to light your pipe . . .

There is now living, or rather pining in poverty, one Everton in Stoughton, that by proper encouragement might at this day become a most useful member of society. He perfectly understands making gunpowder and reviving that which is damaged, and he is the only one in the Province that has the practical skill. What pity the art should die with him! But what am I about? Sat verbum, &c.

A TRUE SON OF LIBERTY

TO DR. JOSEPH WARREN

President of the Congress at Watertown

The November following the receipt of this letter, the contents of which without doubt General Warren had communicated to parties interested, the House of Representatives appointed a committee to consider a proper place to erect a powder-mill. The committee were authorized in December "to purchase the remains of a powder-mill in the town of Stoughton, with so much of the land and a stream as may be sufficient to prepare said mill for the manufacture of powder." This vote was subsequently reconsidered, and a committee appointed to visit Andover, Sutton, and Stoughton, to take a view of the place in each of the towns where it was proposed to erect a mill.

The town of Stoughton was considered to have the most advantages; but the colonial government did not deem it best to purchase the property formerly occupied by the Everendons, but bought the privilege next above on the same stream. This site was owned by one Samuel Briggs and his son, who on the 20th of February, 1776, conveyed about three quarters of an acre and fifteen rods of land, part upland part mill-pond, to the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, for £ 100, — the grantors agreeing not to damage any water-works that might be built by the colony. This land was near the house occupied by the late Joseph Warren Revere. On the 19th of January, 1776, the House of Representatives ordered the committee appointed to erect the powder-mill for the use of the colony, "to commence the buildings of the mill at Stoughton, and to exert themselves to hurry on this important and necessary business without delay," and cause the same to be constructed in such manner as shall appear to them most advantageous.

The historian of Andover, Mass., informs us that as early as the 1st of January, 1776, Samuel Phillips, Jr., obtained an

order from the General Court, permitting him "to employ the master workman of the powder mill erecting for the Colony in Stoughton one Thomas Harling,"² and adds, "The mill at

² who was granted a sum of money to bring his tools from Hartford to Stoughton to assist in building the powder mill. This must have been the Thomas Harling who married into the Vose family and built a saw and grist mill near the present Harland Street, in Milton, named after him.

Andover was completed nearly three months before the one at Stoughton was ready for work." In February the building of the mill was progressing. On the 9th of May Major Thomas Crane was appointed to carry on the manufacture of powder at the colony mill at Stoughton, and "employ such skillful persons as manufacturers as may be sufficient for the purpose;" and on the same month it was —

"Resolved, That there be paid to Thomas Crane and Daniel Vose, Esq., £ 300 to enable them to pay and discharge the debts they have already contracted for labor and materials in building a powder mill at Stoughton for the Colonys use."

The "Massachusetts Spy," in its issue of May 3, says, "The powder-mill at Stoughton will begin to go in a few days." Everything was ready to begin operations. The building where the powder was stored was protected by a high post and rail fence, behind which, night and day, guards were posted with orders from the government to fire upon any persons who shall attempt, upon being three times forbid by such guards, to enter the said lines.

So successful was the enterprise that in the September following, 37,962 pounds of powder and 34,155 pounds of saltpetre were in the storehouse of Major Crane; and during the first three years of the war the Stoughton powder-mill furnished the greater part of the powder that was used by the provincial army. A writer of the time says that "not only was a large quantity of gunpowder manufactured at this mill, but it was of excellent quality, made from saltpetre, the product of the towns in the vicinity." Upon a requisition from the board of war, the powder was placed in wagons, and under the protection of a guard, conveyed by night over the rough roads to its destination, and distributed as the military necessities of the army demanded. On September 12, 1776, 350 pounds were sent on board the schooner "Langdon." During the years 1777-79, 7,600 pounds were used on the Continental frigate "The Boston." Forty barrels, containing one hundred pounds each, were sent, on October 20, 1777, to "the Castle," for which Paul Revere, the commanding officer at the time, gives his receipt to Major Crane. Large quantities were also at various times delivered at the Castle and at the powder-house in Boston.

In February, 1777, six Indians, delegates from the Six Nations, visited Massachusetts. The story had been circulated among their tribes that the Americans were not able to manufacture powder, and could not, therefore, contend for any length of time with the mother country. In order to prove to the Indians how false these British stories were, the Council ordered that in case the Indians visited any powder-mills, the powder-makers were directed to give them all the information they were able about the making of powder, in order to convince them that powder was really made in this State, and was good, and to present them with a small sample. The Indians were escorted to Stoughton, where they witnessed the process of making powder, and were given a portion of the stock in hand.

On the 1st of March, 1779, the General Court resolved that a committee, consisting of George Partridge, Lemuel Kollock of Wrentham, and Samuel Phillips, Jr., should have power to sell by auction or private sale the powder-mill at Stoughton, with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging. They further instructed their committee that an express condition should be made with the purchaser or his successor, that during the succeeding four years he should be obliged to manufacture for the State all the gunpowder that the General Court shall from time to time order to be made, providing the quantity is not greater than the capacity of the mill. The State was to furnish the materials, but the owner was to be at the expense of procuring sulphur and coals. The compensation the owner was to receive for his powder was "as much per pound as shall be equivalent to what eight pence was at the time the mill first began to work."

On the 17th of April following, the committee conveyed the land and mill-pond with streams of water, the powder-mill, together with all the utensils of whatever kind had been purchased by the State for the accommodation of the powder-mill, to Samuel Osgood, of Andover, he paying the sum therefor of £ 3,200. From Osgood, in July, 1779, the powder-mill passed into the possession of Samuel Phillips, Jr., of Andover.

On the 30th of October, 1779, the powder-mill at Stoughton was blown to atoms. One diarist says: "Oct. 30, 1779, Powder mill blew up ex parte; one Pettingill very much burnt.-31, Pettingill dies." Another diarist records the event as follows: "Oct. 31, Benjamin Pettingill dies in thirty-five hours after being burnt in powder mill."

The large stones which had been used to grind the powder were carried to the grist-mill afterward owned by Major-Gen. Richard Gridley.

The property, in June, 1792, was conveyed by Samuel Phillips, Jr., to Jonathan Leonard and Adam Kinsley, ironmongers; but

this time the description is changed, and in place of "a powder mill" we find "the remains of a powder mill standing thereon."

On the 14th of March, 1801, Colonel Paul Revere, of Revolutionary fame, purchased the property and other real estate in its immediate vicinity. Upon the ground there was then standing a dwelling-house, trip-hammer shop, and "cole" house. Colonel Revere soon began to erect new buildings and refit the old. From this time forward to his death, the gallant patriot was a resident of Canton during the summer months, and was ever active in promoting the best interests of the town. By his diligence and perseverance he laid the foundation of a large business which has been successfully continued by his son and grandson to the present day, and which bears his name.

As in the days of the Revolution the old powder-mill manufactured powder for the supply of the army, in later times, upon almost the same site, the Revere Copper Company turned out brass fieldpieces for the use of the artillery during the War of the Rebellion.

PAPER

The Neponset River by 1775 offered ample water power for little mills in the Milton Lower Mills area, large enough to power yet not too large to tame — saw, grist, fulling, snuff, and paper mills plus two chocolate mills on the Dorchester and Milton sides of the river. In addition, Lower Mills had Daniel Vose, at whose house the delegates met on September 9, 1774, and whose sloops and wagons ranged up and down the Massachusetts South Shore trading. He was a member of a family destined to contribute more of its members to the Continental Army than any other Milton family. We have already met Daniel Vose in one of his diversified activities as one of the two builders of the Stoughton Powder Mill. His trading activities at the time of the Revolution became, in fact, so widespread that one of his descendants recalled seeing in his "distill house" a long wagon used by Mr. Vose in trade between Philadelphia, New York, and Milton. His operations in 1778 were sufficiently extensive to enable him to contract to water the French fleet, commanded by Count d'Estaing, and anchored in the outer harbor of Boston. Naturally, about such a man as Captain Vose who at one time or another owned a bakery, a distillery, and a lumber wharf in addition to his numerous mills — paper, chocolate, grist, and saw — stories and legends gather. One, in later years much beloved by Milton chocolate makers, described when Captain Daniel Vose, following glorious days of service at the Roxbury fort after the battle of Concord, led his weary soldiers to his home in Milton Lower Falls and fed them with bread baked in his ovens and chocolate made in the basement of his store, served in utensils provided from his stock in trade. Was it any wonder that in addition to his

services in the Massachusetts General Court in 1775 and 1778, he was in constant demand in both county and town to serve on important commissions and committees?

Left at the close of the American Revolution with quires of paper money he had printed — "Not worth a continental" used to be the old saying — Daniel Vose is remembered as the Milton paper maker whose apprentice, Stephen Crane, Jr., learned his trade in his mill and then passed it on to his brother, Zenas, who founded the great Crane Company, still one of the great industries of Massachusetts. When the Massachusetts Bank was founded during the period following the war, Daniel Vose's paper was rejected as not being of good enough quality for use in the printing of banknotes.

All four paper mills listed by Colonel Hamilton as existing on the Neponset in 1775 were in Milton or Dorchester, and only one paper mill existed on the Charles River in 1775. Prior to Lexington and Concord, the circulation of colonial newspapers rose sharply and it is a fair assumption, therefore, that much of the paper used in New England at least for pamphlets, newspapers, books, etc., came from Milton. When John Adams wrote many years later:

The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people. This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments and affections of the people was the real American Revolution.

He was paying tribute, in part, to the use of paper in the form of newspapers and, particularly, pamphlets and broadsides, as they were called, to articulate and, in a sense, alter the thinking and allegiances of the people. Without paper, the Committees of Correspondence would certainly not have been as effective. When the First Continental Congress unanimously supported the Suffolk Resolves on September 17, 1774, it was also ordered "that these resolutions, together with the resolutions of the County of Suffolk, be published in the newspapers." The importance of printing and paper has been recognized in 1973 by the issuance of two eight-cent stamps, suitably entitled "Rise of the Spirit of Independence." One shows a printer's shop, and the other a "broadside" being posted on a door. Trees, also, were favorite places for the posting of broadsides. It was no accident that Benjamin Franklin, one of the fathers of the American Revolution, served an apprenticeship as a printer. One wonders if he ever used paper manufactured in Milton. A study of the relationship of the manufacture of paper in Milton to the American Revolution could be an interesting one indeed.

It is probable that the Boice (Boice, Boies) and Clark paper mills on the Neponset, later Boies and McLean, were better able than the Vose Mill to meet the need of the colonies, particularly in New Eng-

land, for paper. This seemed to be recognized by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress in several resolutions. One particularly, under date of Feb. 9, 1775, recorded in the Proceedings of the Second Congress meeting in Cambridge, notes an action shortly after assembling, to urge the collection of linen and cotton rags for the Boise and Clark mills. The "resolve" read:

Whereas, the encouragement of the manufactories of this country will, at all times, and more especially at this, be attended with the most beneficial effects, and Messrs. Boise and Clark, having represented to this Congress, that they have, at a very considerable expense, erected works at Milton, in this province, for the making of paper, and have not heretofore been able to obtain a sufficiency of rags to answer their purpose, and in order to procure a larger quantity of that article, have raised the price thereof;

Therefore, *Resolved*, That it be recommended, and it is by this Congress accordingly recommended, to every family in this province, to preserve all their linen, and cotton and linen rags, in order that a manufacture so useful and advantageous to this country, may be suitably encouraged: and it is also recommended to our several towns, to take such farther measures for the encouragement of the manufacture aforesaid, as they shall think proper. (Possibly an early example of "Recycling")

Recently, when the foundation for the new Milton Residence for the Elderly, Unquity House, was excavated and the remains of an old Neponset mill were discovered, they were probably what was left of one of the two Boise and Clark paper mills on the river at Mattapan. That one was built in 1770. Earlier mention was made of four men released from the Continental Army to work in the Boise and Clark mills and one of them, James Calder, is quoted in an early account book: "This mill went first in 1770, April the 13th, and will go longer for what I know." Paper made in this mill, with the watermark I.B. (James Boise), was used by Paul Revere for the notes used by the Provincial Government.

Though the story of papermaking on the Neponset is found in numerous authoritative books, since the great Tileston and Hollingsworth paper company grew out of it, this account for our purposes will be concluded with a brief biography of two men chiefly active in the early days — Richard Clark and James Boise. Jeremiah Smith, father-in-law of both James Boise and Daniel Vose, in 1741 brought a master papermaker from Newcastle, England, Richard Clark. More important, possibly, than his arrival was the fact that he stayed, for papermakers were scarce, and the lack of trained papermakers retarded progress along the Neponset more than anything else. James Boise, who formed the partnership with Richard Clark in 1764, served as a member of the second Provincial Congress in Cambridge. Originally a supercargo, he gradually acquired numerous properties on the Neponset, and when Dorches-

ter Heights was secretly fortified on the night of March 4, 1776, Boise had charge of the 300 oxen utilized to transport the fascines, cut on Captain John Homans' farm at the end of Robbins Street in Milton, used for fortifying the earthworks. The oxen were also employed in moving the guns. Captain Boise's house still stands on Curtis Road. It was James Boise's grandson, John McLean, using wealth amassed in part in the Milton paper industry, who gave his name to the great McLean Sanitarium in Waverley. It is still "going strong" and achieved considerable notoriety recently when James Taylor, in a *Time* cover story, called it his alma mater.

GUNS

While the good women of the Neponset valley were weaving the cloth to be processed in the three fulling mills (identified by Colonel Hamilton) to satisfy the demands for uniform coats by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, in Stoughtonham (now Sharon) iron ore was being mined and heavy guns forged. This is another fascinating story of how the industrial complex of the Neponset mills mobilized to provide the means to fight the Revolutionary War. Once more, a third member of the Suffolk Resolves committee of five "to encourage arts and manufactures among us" (Article 15), Nathaniel Guild of Walpole, was active in the effort to provide the means to fight a war. Once more, we find a Vose, this time Thomas Vose, briefly involved in Sharon.

Most of the ore used for forging iron ore in Massachusetts was bog iron, dug from the sides and dredged from the bottom of ponds. Near the source of the Neponset, Massapoag Pond in Sharon, then called Stoughtonham, blacksmith forges were apt to be found as early settlements required a minister, a grist mill, and a blacksmith — food for the soul, food for the body, and tools needed for survival. Committees were formed, as in the case of Weymouth, to extract bog iron to provide the needs of the colonists preparing to fight a war. Most of the making of heavy weapons was centered in Sharon, although Nathaniel Guild of Walpole, already mentioned, owned a mine which provided ore furnishing iron for a furnace in Sharon. He was associated with Colonel Richard Gridley's activities in Sharon, shortly to be set forth.

Nathaniel Guild must have been a remarkable man, for in Sharon he manufactured large quantities of gun carriage wheels, shot, and other munitions of war. As early as September 1776, he could write to Richard Devens of the Provincial Congress that he was "making the wheels and the double-headed shot." About this time he also petitioned "that men in my foundry may be exempted from service in the militia service, so that they may be able to supply Garrison wheels and shot for the service." Under record of September 18, 1776, the prayer of the petition was granted: "it being of so great importance for the defence of this and the United States of America.

When he died in 1796, a man of great dignity and highly respected by his neighbors in Walpole, he was still following the early fashion of wearing a powdered wig and usually a blue coat.

But it was in Stoughtonham, or Sharon, as it became in 1775, that the manufacture of heavy ordnance on the Neponset for the use of the Continental troops really made a significant contribution. The only town on the South Shore designated a storage area for powder by the Provincial Congress (only nine towns in all were so designated), Sharon has the distinction, according to local publications, of having cast the first cannon in America. Colonel Richard Gridley of Stoughton, who had been an engineer in the Colonial Service and was thought to be the only American who knew anything about the manufacture of cannon, by 1775 had perfected the first cannon cast in America. Together with his associates, Edmund Quincy and Joseph Jackson, he acquired rights to the ore deposits in Massapoag Pond. By 1772 he was undertaking to drain the pond, assisted by his son, Scarborough, and by 1773, he was taking out large quantities of ore. By 1775 Colonel Gridley, though sixty-five years old, had become chief engineer of the American Army. That year, assisted by Captain Nathaniel Curtis, who had also acquired knowledge of gunnery in the French war, Colonel Gridley proved the guns at Massapoag Pond. They were later taken to the Roxbury fort where, following Lexington and Concord, Captain Daniel Vose served under William Heath, later a general and also a delegate to the Suffolk County congresses. Subsequently, they were used in fortifying Dorchester Heights, an event little known, as General Knox's guns, brought from Fort Ticonderoga under extreme difficulty, are usually mentioned in connection with the fortification of Dorchester Heights. The Colonel Richard Gridley Company continued the manufacture of guns, presumably in Sharon.

In the papers in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society of Robert Treat Paine, member of the Continental Congress (1774-1778), there is a letter, dated March 13, 1777, from Boston, from Richard Gridley. In the letter Colonel Gridley identifies (Uriah) Atherton, and (Nathaniel) Guild as participating in the iron-making undertaking at Stoughtonham (Sharon). The letter reads (language is modernized):

. . . I have not heard from the furnace this week. but expect to hear she is in blast; I had some conversation with Col. Knox and he was willing to give 105 dollars for each howitzer, but if the chamber is enlarged, the fortification must be increased in proportion which will occasion a new mould if the weight will be so much more; I can't at present say what they will be per ton as Mr. Guild and Atherton are at Stoughtonham, but I can assure you they will be made as cheap and as good, as can be made in America; I will advise with Mr. Guild as soon as possible upon the price per ton and let you know it; I wish you would let me

know the number you would have, and they shall be made with the greatest dispatch.

Though at the time this letter was written, Colonel Gridley was 67 years old and Nathaniel Guild was 65 years old, their vigorous activity at the Sharon foundry, as indicated by the final sentence in Colonel Gridley's letter, seems to suggest that the thought of an "eventide" existence had not occurred to them. "The Puritan Work Ethic," furthermore, must have provided them with the secret of long life, for both men had 19 more years of usefulness ahead of them, dying the same year, 1796.

Called by Thomas Fleming in *The Story of Bunker Hill*, "the most gifted engineer in the New World," Colonel Gridley was deeply involved in the Bunker Hill fortifications and was wounded in the battle. As it was Gridley's engineering skill which enabled General Wolfe, earlier, to drag two cannon up the perpendicular heights at Quebec, his reputation had already been made. At that famous action Gridley personally directed the fire of the guns which wreaked havoc in the ranks of the bewildered French. A few months before Bunker Hill, Gridley had held the rank of colonel in the British Army. When the letter came from England asking him who he would serve if the bitterness between the mother country and the colony of Massachusetts erupted, Gridley's answer was blunt: "I have never drawn my sword except on the side of justice, and justice lies, I believe, with my countrymen." Instantly the half pay he received from England stopped. A man with his background and training was of inestimable value to the new Continental Army. When he died in 1796, he was buried in Canton, and a monument, facing Washington Street now perpetuates his memory.

A FINAL WORD

Though the foregoing account of Suffolk County and the Suffolk Resolves appears to ignore Norfolk County such is not the case, for in 1774 all Norfolk County towns were a part of Suffolk County. Not until 1793 was Norfolk County created out of old Suffolk County.

All towns now a part of Norfolk County were originally a part of Suffolk County though many of them then had different names. Wellesley, for instance, was a part of Needham; Millis, a part of Medway; Quincy, Holbrook and Randolph, a part of Braintree; Norwood, Dover and Westwood, a part of Dedham; Norfolk and Plainville, a part of Wrentham; Canton and Avon, a part of Stoughton, etc. One town, Stoughtonham, has changed its name and is now called Sharon. Some Norfolk County towns still retain their original names: Dedham, Milton, Medway, Brookline, Cohasset, Bellingham, Wrentham, Medfield, Walpole, Needham, Stoughton, Braintree, and Weymouth. Two Suffolk County towns

in 1774 have joined Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester; two have joined Plymouth County, Hull and Hingham.

Some towns demonstrated their awareness of the proud "Freedom" tradition they shared by the names they adopted when newly formed. In 1778 two new towns were formed, Franklin and Foxborough. Franklin was named after the great American statesman and patriot, Benjamin Franklin. Foxborough was named after the great English statesman who supported the American cause: Charles James Fox. When Randolph became a separate town with the formation of Norfolk County in 1793, it chose to be named after the president of the First Continental Congress, Peyton Randolph (1721-1775). A Virginian, he was president when the Suffolk Resolves were adopted unanimously. One wonders if a native of Braintree, John Adams, a delegate to the First Continental Congress, might have suggested the name of Peyton Randolph for the newly formed town!

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One of the first acts of the Milton Revolutionary War Bicentennial Celebration Committee was to approve the publication of "The Story of the Suffolk Resolves." In due time, funds were recommended by the Milton Warrant Committee and voted by the Milton Town Meeting for this purpose. The original committee, appointed by the Selectmen of Milton were Charles R. Morris, chairman; Elizabeth R. Colt, secretary; Arthur W. Monks, Michael J. Cummings, and William P. Melley, Junior. From time to time the following have been added: Kenneth Lodge, Theodore S. Pina, Kenneth Recanzone, Herbert G. Stokinger, Edward Baker, Edward L. Duffy, and Richard Ryan. Others will be added as needed.

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Commissioners of the County of Norfolk, "The County of Presidents," and the Norfolk County Development and Tourist Council, John C. Nourse, Director, recognized that "The Story of the Suffolk Resolves" belonged, in a small context, to all Norfolk County, and in a larger context, to America's significant Revolutionary War history. The commissioners are James J. Collins, Milton, chairman; Thomas K. McManus, Norwood; and George B. McDonald, Quincy; John J. Sullivan, Jr., Executive Assistant.

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