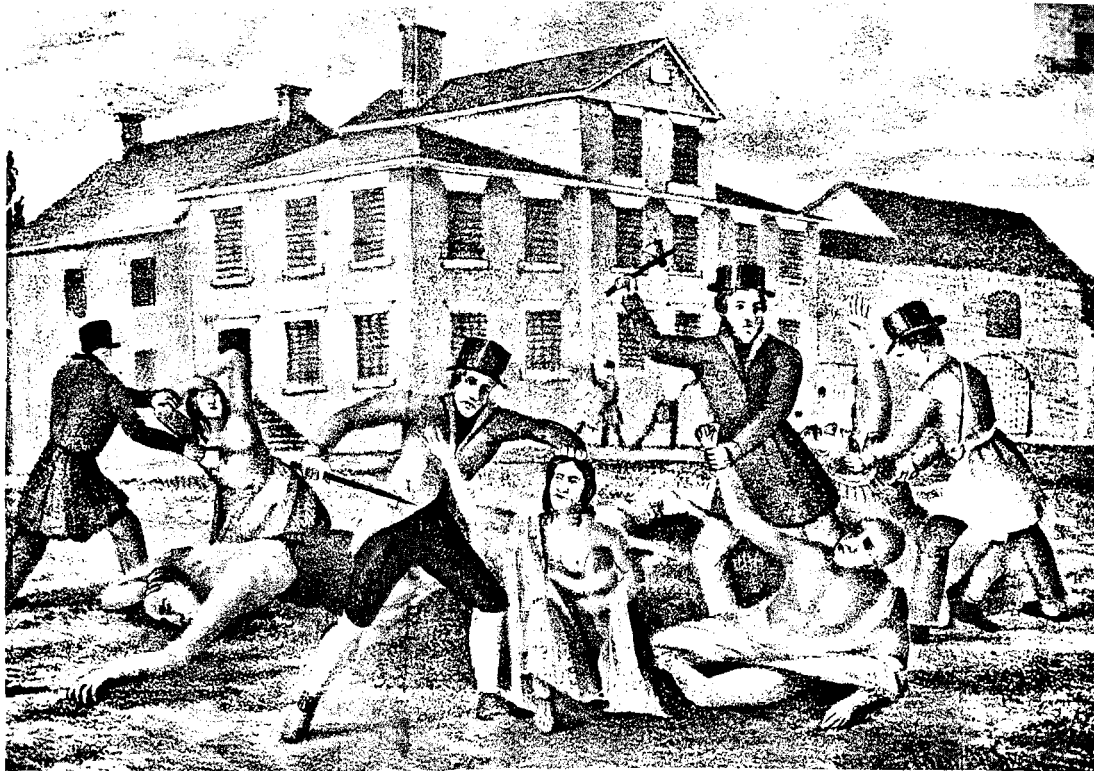


A Profile of the Paxton Boys: Murderers of the Conestoga Indians

By Frank J. Cavaoli, Ph.D.

The Paxton Uprising in Pennsylvania in December, 1763, to February, 1764, represents a singular yet significant event in American history. On its surface the event is simple, isolated and limited in its setting. Upon further examination the Paxton Uprising dramatizes the complex forces of the pre-revolutionary period. More important, the participants in this affair point up the issues and conflicts in the pre-revolutionary society, specifically Pennsylvania. After a brief analysis of the complex events surrounding the Paxton Uprising, the purpose of this project is to research *who* were the participants and what role these participants played in the American Revolutionary era? The last questions have not been attempted heretofore in any systematic manner.

On December 14, 1763, a group of men, estimated at 50 to 57, from the town of Paxton (or Paxtang) attacked and killed six Indians in the town of Conestoga in the county of Lancaster on the Pennsylvania frontier. The Paxton Boys returned to their homes believing their “work” had been completed. But not all the intended Indians had been present when the massacre took place. The surviving Indians were rounded up by the government and escorted to Lancaster for their safekeeping. On December 27 the Paxton Boys journeyed to Lancaster. broke into the workhouse and



In 1763 the last of the Conestoga Indians were massacred in the prison yard by Scot Presbyterians known as the Paxtang Boys from the Harris Ferry locale (Harrisburg). The Indians had been attacked earlier, and the survivors were put under protective custody in the Lancaster prison. The massacre took place on a Sunday morning when the townspeople and prisonkeeper were in their churches. Women and children were murdered along with the braves. This sketch by an unidentified Quaker was drawn with great artistic license.

murdered the remaining 14 Indians. Finally, during the first week of February, 1764, the Paxton Boys, this time numbering about 200, marched on the provincial government in Philadelphia in a show of force to present their grievances. After peaceful negotiations, a series of grievances were drawn up and presented to the Governor and the Assembly.¹

This brief episode was known as the Paxton Uprising, and its causes were many and complex. Occurring in the colony of Pennsylvania it symbolized the conflict and the ethnic diversity present in the pre-revolutionary society. Relative to this concept is Merrill Jensen's denial that the 13 colonies were a nation in 1763. Political, social and economic issues split the colonies and also produced intracolony conflict. Jensen challenges such concepts as American "maturity" or "nationalism" as "operative forces in the day-to-day politics of the period, even at the moment independence was declared. Once one goes behind the superficial word-screen of a common political language, unity is replaced by an amazing diversity of motive, thought, and local interests."²

In many ways America during the colonial period was a projection of European society. The ethnic groups who settled here "retained their

habits and customs long after they had left home. They changed gradually." Even though the English culture dominated, the ethnic groups were not a uniform people.³ In New York colony by 1646, for example, 18 languages could be heard along the Hudson River Valley among such diverse groups as Dutch, Flemings, Walloons, French, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Poles, Bohemians, Portuguese, Italians and Finns. In addition, Indians and Negroes increased the plural composition of the colonies. French Huguenots and Jews were also scattered about.⁴

It was Pennsylvania, however, that had the most diversified population.⁵ To a large extent it was this diversity that determined the development of this colony. Building upon the original groups of Native Americans, the settlers that followed were Germans, English, Scotch-Irish, Scots, Swedes, Finns, Dutch, French, Welsh, Swiss and Negroes. Numerous religious sects were also well represented, among which were English Quakers, German Quakers, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, Swiss Pietists, Mennonites, German Baptist Brethren, Schwenkfelders, Moravians, Lutherans and other Reformed Germans, Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Huguenots. The Scotch-Irish and the Germans were especially clannish and sought to maintain their distinct ethnic differences. The Germans comprised about one-third of the Pennsylvania population in 1776, or about 100,000, and in 1790 about 120,000. The Scotch-Irish comprised about 70,000 in 1776 and 80,000 in 1790. In 1774 Benjamin Franklin estimated the Scotch-Irish population at one-third the total of Pennsylvania's population. The English represented the largest element in 1790, estimated at 200,000. The three major ethnic groups then were English, German and Scotch-Irish with cross-currents of religious affinity and further overlapping of other ethnic and religious elements. Dr. William Smith, in a letter to Archbishop Secker of Philadelphia on November 27, 1759, estimated the population of Pennsylvania at 250,000. He broke down the figures in the following way:⁷

1. Church of England	25,000
2. Quakers	50,000
3. English, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, Covenanters, etc.	55,000
4. English Anabaptists	5,000
5. German Anabaptists, or Mennonites, and other Quietist Sects	30,000
6. German Lutherans, who are well inclined to be incorporated into the Church of English	35,000
7. Swedish Lutherans who use the Liturgy and Discipline of the Church in most articles	5,000
8. German Presbyterians or Calvinists, who style themselves Reformed	30,000

9. Roman Catholics, English Irish and German	10,000
10. Moravians and a small German Society called Donkers (Dunkers)	5,000
Total	250,000

“Pennsylvania was a miniature picture of the British Empire. The same differences of race, religion and economic interest which divided the empire into two nations, were prominent in the Quaker colony.”⁸

The original three counties in Pennsylvania were formed in 1682 when the first settlement was established. They were Chester, Bucks and Philadelphia and were created by William Penn. In 1729 Lancaster was created. There followed a heavy German and Scotch-Irish immigration which led to the formation of four new counties between 1749-1753. These four were York in 1749; Cumberland in 1750; Berks in 1752; and Northampton in 1752. As new counties were created they were formed from the already existing ones. For example, Lancaster County was formed out of Chester; York and Cumberland Counties were formed from Lancaster; Berks was formed out of Philadelphia, Bucks and Lancaster; Northampton had been part of Bucks County.⁹ The continued rapid migration to the western frontier led to the formation of more: Bedford 1771; Northumberland 1772; Westmoreland 1773; Washington 1781; Fayette 1783; Franklin 1784; Montgomery 1784; Dauphin 1785; and Luzerne 1786. This process continued until the last county was formed in 1860. Thus at the end of the French and Indian War there were eight counties; at the beginning of the Revolution there were eleven counties; just before the Constitution was written seventeen counties existed; in 1790 there were twenty-one.¹⁰ An understanding of the progressive growth of county history and the westward movement in Pennsylvania is crucial to a fuller understanding of the Revolutionary generation.

*T*here were several explosive ingredients present in the background to the Paxton Uprising. Merrill Jensen has stated that it was “the first challenge to Eastern rule.” Within this context emphasis should be placed upon the conflict between the democratic frontier and the conservative eastern government.¹¹ The western counties were severely malapportioned in 1760 and continuously to 1776. The three eastern counties controlled the government, although, if representation was fair, the western counties would have had more representatives. The inhabitants of the frontier were well aware of the situation. In the statement of grievances drawn up by the Paxton Boys at Philadelphia in early February, 1764, and submitted to the Pennsylvania government, it challenged the system of representation as being “oppressive, unequal and unjust.”¹² The following

table, as taken from *Votes and Proceedings of the Province of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1775), Volume V, Page 8, provides statistical evidence of the problem of unequal representation:¹³

**REPRESENTATION IN THE
PENNSYLVANIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 1760.**

	Actual Members.	Taxables.	Members by Taxables.
Philadelphia City	2	2,634	4
Philadelphia County	8	5,678	8 (Base)
Chester County	8	4,761	7
Bucks County	8	3,148	4
Lancaster County	4	5,635	8
York County	2	3,302	5
Berks County	1	3,016	4
Northampton County	1	1,989	3
Cumberland County	2	1,501	2

The three eastern counties (Philadelphia, Chester, Bucks) and the city of Philadelphia had 26 representatives when they should have had 21. The five western counties (Lancaster, York, Berks, Northampton, Cumberland) has only 10 representatives when they deserved 22. In 1776 when 11 counties existed the population of Pennsylvania was 300,000, and the eastern-controlled government attempted to continue its restriction of western representation, the revolutionary movement in Pennsylvania successfully altered matters through the creation of ten new counties from 1781 to 1790.¹⁴

This sectional conflict was compounded by ethnic factors. The Quakers and their followers controlled the government in the east. In their treatment of the Indians, the Quakers pacified the Indians with presents, treaties, missionaries and general leniency. A flourishing trade developed with the Indians. The Quaker policy towards the Indians was not to provide defensive measures for the frontier. The Major group on the frontier was the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who viewed Indian policy differently. The Scotch-Irish suffered during the Indian Wars of the 1750's and the 1760's and they made numerous appeals for protection against the Indians. The Quaker-controlled government was reluctant to provide such assistance. As frontiersmen the Scotch-Irish were a belligerent, rougher, impatient array of men. Agreement between Quakers and Presbyterians became impossible. The Germans on the frontier tended to share the sentiments of the Scotch-Irish, although their views were considerably more moderate.¹⁵

The Paxton Uprising polarized the state. The intensity of the debate could be seen in the 63 pamphlets written in support of or in opposition to the Paxton Boys. Even Benjamin Franklin joined in by strongly condemning the action. Governor Penn issued several proclamations calling for the seizure of those responsible for the Indian massacres. Sir William

Johnson and General Thomas Gage were kept informed of developments in Pennsylvania.¹⁶ The Pennsylvania legislature went so far as to pass a bill requiring those persons responsible for killing the Conestoga and Lancaster Indians should not be tried in the county where the acts were committed. This drew a violent protest by the Paxton Boys as an abridgement of the rights of Englishmen.¹⁷

Pertinent to these issues was the underlying aspect of ethnocentrism. Gradually, as the white men pushed further and further west, they forcibly thrust the Indians aside. The frontier Scotch-Irish considered the Indians as inferior and as obstacles in the way of a higher advancing civilization. The Indians were referred to as "heathans," "savages," "villians," "skulking," "perfidious," "ignorant," "barbarous."¹⁸ The history of the westward movement is one of conquest of an "inferior" people by a "superior" people.

What was the significance of the Paxton Uprising? For so brief a period that the event took place, its significance reflected the strains within Pennsylvania and beyond. "For all its killing, threatening, petitioning, and marching the frontier found itself with little concrete gain when the fury abated." But most of all, the leaders in power could no longer ignore the needs of the backcountry. Out of the conflict between east and west, English Quakers and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, the Paxton Uprising reflected the institutional weaknesses in Pennsylvania. "The march of the Paxton Boys paved the way for internal revolution."¹⁹

Charles H. Lincoln believed the revolutionary movement in Pennsylvania reached its peak in 1776 when a new government was formed which proclaimed American independence and equality. The dissensions over ethnic and sectional interests had threatened to destroy the colony. Even the city of Philadelphia witnessed the rise of a party from within and it joined with the emergent democratic west. Lincoln grasped the importance of the simultaneous development of the collapse of the Pennsylvania government and the achievement of American independence.²⁰

John R. Dunbar agreed that the Paxton Uprising served as the catalyst for reform. The western sentiment for reform became mobilized; the powerless in Philadelphia awakened to the call and realized their common aims. The Paxton Rebellion produced "the appearance of a people's movement against the rule of a small oligarchy; certainly this was true emotionally, if not literally." Dunbar viewed the "Paxton resolutions as a primary statement in the war for rights and representation which burgeoned into the Revolution."²¹

J. Franklin Jameson observed that the Scotch-Irish, unquestionably the fundamental group in the Paxton organization, influenced the state to such an extent that they generated the movement for revolution and independence. They broke the conservative eastern power monopoly in Philadelphia and produced a democratic state constitution in 1776.²² Most of the Paxton Boys joined the army at the beginning of the Revolution; most moved west of the Susquehanna when the war ended, and a little later beyond the Allegheny.²³

*I*t is not the purpose of this paper to present a narrative description of the Paxton Uprising itself. This task has been accomplished effectively in many of the sources already cited. With this brief summary background already covered, the central questions of this research project are: who were the Paxton Boys and what role did they play in the American Revolutionary generation?

It has been a challenging task to track down the members of the Paxton Boys. After the Indian killings at Conestoga and Lancaster, the perpetrators were sought after by the authorities. The Governor had issued proclamations offering 200 pounds in rewards for the arrest of any three of the ringleaders.²⁴ They were marked as fugitives. However, the friendly inhabitants on the frontier, and even the frontier itself, protected them. The Paxton Boys went unpunished.

The number of Paxton Boys involved in the Indian killings has been set at about 50. The band that marched on Philadelphia in early February, 1764, was estimated at 200. These figures have been agreed upon by the leading scholars who have carefully researched the events.²⁵ Continuing from this base and as a result of a careful investigation of the records, 5 men have been identified as being involved in the affair: William Boyd, John Elder, James Gibson, Matthew Stewart and Lazarus Stewart. In the implementation of this paper, a biographical sketch of each man will be developed, followed by an analysis of the relationship of these men to the American Revolutionary generation.

John Elder was born 1706 in Edinburgh, Scotland, and died 1792 in Paxton (Paxtang) Township, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. He studied for the ministry at Edinburgh University where he also received a classical education. He received a license to be a minister in 1732 and emigrated to America four years later. He settled in Paxton, about three miles east of Harrisburg on the Susquehanna River. The inhabitants of Paxton made Elder their minister of their Presbyterian Church in 1738; he maintained this position until his death. Residing on the frontier presented constant dangers, particularly from the Indians. The frontier communities such as Paxton suffered from numerous raids. During the French and Indian

War, Reverend Elder's congregation joined him in the fight against the Indians. He was made colonel of the Paxton Rangers whose responsibility it was to protect the settlers against such attacks. He constantly appealed to the provincial government for increased frontier defenses, and these appeals were usually ignored. He became known as the "fighting parson." His men frequently carried their rifles to church in times of peril.²⁶

It was never been proved that Reverend Elder was directly implicated in the plot to kill the Indians. One source states he tried to dissuade the Paxton Boys from attacking the Conestoga Indians. He yielded when harm was threatened on his horse: one of the men threatened to shoot Elder's horse from under him. Nevertheless, the Quakers did charge him in the plot to kill the Indians. The Quakers also charged the frontiersmen as "riotous and murderous Irish Presbyterians." As Elder sided with the frontiersmen in his statements and correspondence he condoned the actions of the Paxton Boys.²⁷ The following statement of Reverend Elder to Governor Penn of Pennsylvania on January 27, 1764, reflects his attitude: "The storm which had been so long gathering, has at length exploded. Had government removed the Indians from Conestogue, which had frequently been urged, without success, this painful catastrophe might have been avoided. What could I do with men heated to madness? All that I could do, was done; I expostulated; but *life* and *reason* were set at defiance. And yet men in private life are virtuous and respectable; not cruel, but mild and merciful. The time will arrive when each palliating circumstance will be calmly weighed. This deed, magnified into the blackest of crimes, shall be considered as one of those youthful ebullitions of wrath caused by momentary excitement, to which human infirmity is subjected."²⁸ Reverend Elder was relieved of his command in the west. Later in a letter dated February 7, 1764, he said he opposed the march of the backwoodsmen on Philadelphia to attack the Indians being harbored there. But the frontiersmen had grown impatient and resented the Quaker policies. He defended the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and insisted the charges against them were misrepresented. He closed by recommending conciliation between the opposing sides.²⁹

Reverend Elder was classified as an "active Whig" during the American Revolution which he supported at its inception. He became Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety for that part of Lancaster County which extended northward to the Northumberland County border. The back-country inhabitants expressed strong sentiments for revolution, and it was on the frontier that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were concentrated.³⁰ Reverend Elder took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania in Paxton before March 26, 1778.³¹ When the British overran New Jersey Reverend Elder held services at Paxton Church and he appealed to the men's

patriotism. In about 30 minutes, he got enough men to form a volunteer company.³²

The tax rolls of Lancaster County indicated Elder to be a comfortable and economically substantial citizen. He certainly was not excessively wealthy and his property holdings reveal no major changes over time:³³

Returns and Assessments for the Fourteenth Eighteen-Penny Tax for Lancaster County, 1771, Paxton:

Acres	Horses	Cattle	Servants	Tax
200	3	5	1	7.0

Returns for the Fifteenth Eighteen-Penny Tax for Lancaster County, 1772, Paxton:

Acres	Horses	Cattle	Servants	Tax
200	3	3	0	7.0

Effective Supply Tax for Lancaster County, 1779, Paxton:

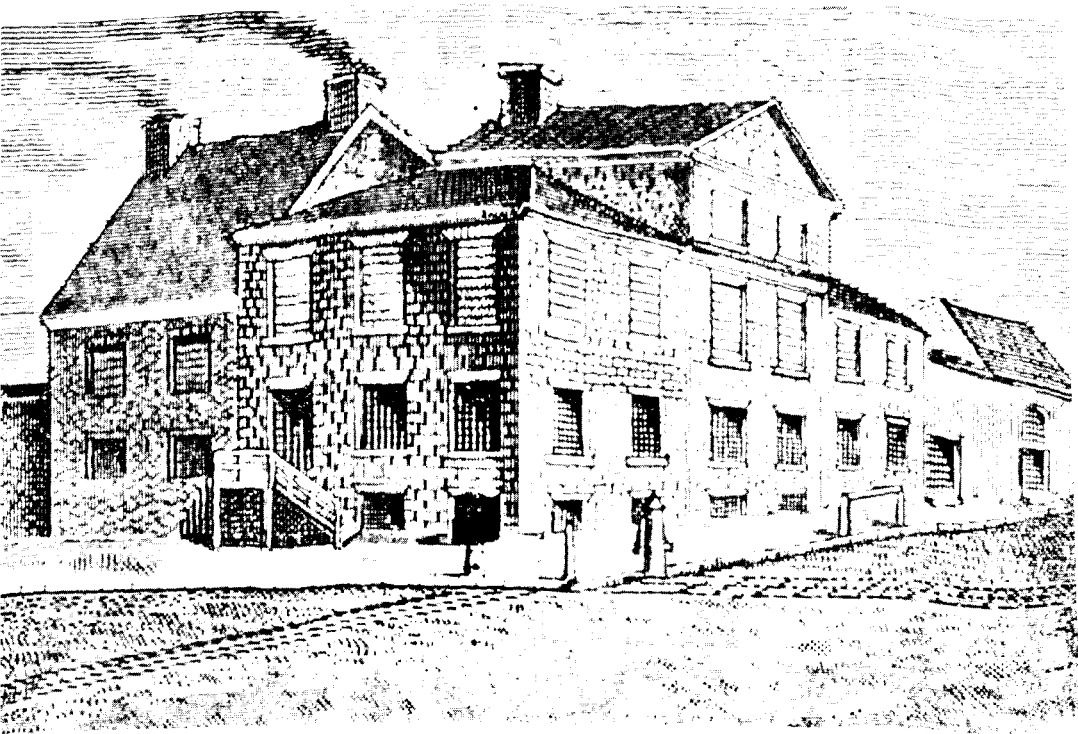
Acres	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Negroes
200	3	4	9	0

Returns and Valuation for Lancaster County, 1782, Paxton:

Acres	Horses	Cattle	Servants	Tax
200	4	5	0	12.22.6

Reverend Elder's name is included in the 1790 Census. In the column for "Free white males 16 years and upward including heads of families," five (5) persons are listed. In the column "Free white females including heads of families," three (3) persons are listed.³⁴ He died two years later.

William Boyd, a member of the Paxton Boys, was born 1733 in Derry Township which was then a part of Lancaster County, but now in Dauphin County. His grandfather and father had come from Antrim County, Ulster, Ireland, to settle in Pennsylvania. Boyd's occupation was farming. He served as an officer during the French and Indian War. He is listed as a lieutenant for officers of the new levies and dates of their commission, April 23, 1759.³⁵ Tracing his service during the Revolution posed a problem. Egle indicated that Boyd served as an officer, but there is no officer by the name of William Boyd under the heading of Lancaster County. However, there is a 1st Lieutenant William Boyd listed in the First Battalion of the Cumberland Militia, January, 1778.³⁶ To complicate matters further, the name of William Boyd appears on three different occasions in 1780, 1781, and 1782 as 8th Class serving in the 8th Company of the First Battalion Lancaster County Militia.³⁷ The possibility of a former officer serving in later life at the approximate age of 47 as an 8th class soldier is remote. The William Boyd of the Cumberland Militia has greater validity. Cumberland County is just west of Dauphin, to the northwest of present Lancaster. It is on the west side of the Susquehanna River.



First prison erected in 1730's at northwest corner of N. Prince and W. King Streets.

William Boyd appears in a consistent pattern in the tax lists for Paxton Township:³⁸

Returns and Assessments for the Fourteen Eighteen-Penny Tax, 1771:

Acres	Horses	Cattle	Servants	Tax
100	2	2	0	5.6

Returns for the Fifteenth Eighteen-Penny Tax Paxton, 1772:

Acres	Horses	Cattle	Servants	Tax
100	2	2	0	5.0

William Boyd is not listed for the "Effective Supply Tax" for Paxton, Lancaster County, 1779.

Returns and Valuations for Paxton, 1782:

Acres	Horses	Cattle	Servants	Tax
100	2	3	0	4.5.10

Boyd's name next appears in the 1790 Census for Pennsylvania for Dauphin County.³⁹ Earlier in 1783 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Lancaster County.⁴⁰ He became a charter member of Lodge 21 at Paxton and its second Master. He headed a committee in February, 1805 to "adopt such measures as would bring some relief to indigent widows, helpless orphans, and other persons in the borough who were in distress" because of the severe winter. Other committees were set up to collect and distribute aid. In his will he left a bequest to Lodge 21 for its

charity fund. He died in 1808 and is buried in Derry Church graveyard. He had six children.

James Gibson, who with Matthew Smith, was chosen by the Paxton Boys in the march on Philadelphia to draw up the list of grievances of the frontiersmen. The completed work, *A Declaration and Remonstrance*, was submitted February 13, 1764, to Governor John Penn and the legislature of Pennsylvania. This statement explained the reasons for the Paxton Boys' behavior. After they returned home, the provincial government ignored their grievances.

Of all the participants in the Uprising, nothing has been written about James Gibson. The only reference to him places him as the co-author of the grievances of the frontiersmen. No secondary information exists concerning birth, family, career, and death. Nevertheless, the researcher was able to gather some raw data from several available records which result in a brief biography of the man.

James Gibson appears on the list of the "Returns and Assessments for the Fourteenth Eighteen-Penny Tax" for Lancaster, 1771. His stated assets rank him as moderately wealthy. He owned 480 acres of land, 4 horses, 6 cattle, had no servants, and paid a tax of 3.0.0.⁴² Next he shows up in Cumberland County, just to the west of Lancaster, owning 300 acres of land. The date of the land survey was November 4, 1774.⁴³ He then travelled north, as so many frontiersmen did, to Buffalo Township in Northumberland County. While there he paid a state tax of 57.18.0 as the record indicates for 1778-1780.⁴⁴ He served as a "Ranger of the Frontier" in Northumberland as a lieutenant for the years 1780-1783. The list of Revolutionary War Soldiers who served as Rangers was taken from pay lists.⁴⁵

During this period he owned 300 acres in Northumberland, the date of the survey being September 9, 1784.⁴⁶ The following year Gibson owned 150 acres of land, one horse, one cattle, no sheep and paid a tax of 10.10. Apparently he experienced the hard times that other veterans went through. He then moved to Potter Township, Northumberland, in 1786. As the economic conditions worsened, he appears as owning no land, but has two horses, two cattle, no sheep, and paid a tax of only 2.6. In 1787, the year of the Constitutional Convention, he owned 200 acres, one horse, two cattle, no sheep and his tax increased to 6.6⁴⁷

The first evidence of Gibson's family situation emerged in the Census of 1790 for Pennsylvania. Listed in Northumberland County, he is the head of the family, with four children who are male and under 16 years of age, and also has one white female residing in the Gibson household, apparently his wife. He owned no slaves.⁴⁸ The final bit of information

shows Gibson owning 400 acres of land, the date of the survey being April 7, 1794.⁴⁹

Matthew Smith, a leading member of the Paxton Boys, was born 1734 in the Township of Paxton. A farmer, he received the limited education of the typical frontiersman, but he served in the French and Indian War in Bouquet's expedition, became an officer in the American Revolution, was vice president of the Pennsylvania government, moved to Northumberland County where he ranked as one of its leading citizens and served there as prothonotary of the County. He died in Milton, Northumberland, July, 1794. At his death, his body was carried in relays for 6 miles by volunteer soldiers. After burial three volleys were fired over his grave. He thus received a hero's burial.⁵⁰

Smith first achieved notoriety as a leader in the Paxton Uprising and as the co-author of *A Declaration and Remonstrance*, that had been submitted to the Pennsylvania government. The following statement, by Matthew Smith himself, represents a first-hand account of his involvement in the attack upon the Indians. Smith sent the statement to his son who then communicated it to Redmond Conynham and it appeared in the *Lancaster Intelligencer and Journal* in 1843:⁵¹

Smith's Narrative.—I was an early settler in Paxton, a member of the congregation of the Rev. Mr. Elder. I was one of the chief actors in the destruction of Conestogue, and in storming the workhouse in Lancaster. I have been stigmatized as a murderer. No man, unless he were living at that time in Paxton, could have an idea of the sufferings and anxieties of the people. For years the Indians had been on the most friendly terms; but some of the traders were bought by the French; these corrupted the Indians. The savages unexpectedly destroyed our dwellings and murdered the unsuspecting. When we visited the wigwams in the neighborhood, we found the Indians occupied in harmless sports, or domestic work. There appeared no evidence that they were any way instrumental in the bloody acts perpetrated on the frontiers.

Well do I remember the evening when — stopt at my door; judge my surprise when I heard his tale: "Tom followed the Indians to the Big Island; from thence they went to Conestogue; as soon as we heard it, five of us, —, —, —, —, —, rode off for the village. I left my horse under their care, and cautiously crawled where I could get a view; I saw Indians armed; they were strangers; they outnumbered us by dozens. I returned without being discovered; we meet to-night at —; we shall expect you, with gun, knife, and ammunition." We met, and our party, under cover of the night, rode off for Conestogue. Our plan was well laid; the scout who had traced the Indians was with us; the village was stormed and reduced to ashes. The moment we were perceived an Indian fired at us, and rushed forward, brandishing his tomahawk. Tom cried, "mark him," and he fell by more than one ball; — ran up and cried out, "it is the villian who murdered my mother." This speech roused to vengeance, and Conestogue lay harmless before us. Our worst fears had been realized; these Indians, who had been housed and fed as the *pets* of the province, were now proved to be our secret foes: necessity compelled us to do as we did.

We mounted our horses and returned. Soon we were informed that a number of Indians were in the workhouse at Lancaster, — was sent to Lancaster to get all the news he could. He reported that one of the Indians concerned in recent murders was there in safety. Also, that they talked of rebuilding Conestogue, and placing these Indians in the new buildings.

A few of us met to deliberate; Stewart proposed to go to Lancaster, storm their *castle*, and carry off the assassin. It was agreed to; the whole plan was arranged. Our clergyman did not approve of our proceeding further. He thought every thing was accomplished by the destruction of Conestogue, and advised us to try what we could do with the governor and council. I with the rest was opposed to the *measure* proposed by our good pastor. It was painful to us to act in opposition to his will, but the Indian in Lancaster was known to have murdered the parent of —, one of our party.

The plan was made. Three were chosen to break in the doors, five to keep the keepers, &c., from meddling, Capt. Stewart to remain outside, with about twelve men, to protect those within, to prevent surprise, and keep charge of the horses. The three were to secure the Indian, tie him with strong cords, and deliver him to Stewart. If the three were resisted, a shot was to be fired as a signal. I was one of them who entered; you know the rest, the Indians were left without life; and we rode hastily from Lancaster. Two of the Indians killed in Lancaster were recognized as murderers.

This gave quiet to the frontiers, for no murder of our defenceless inhabitants has since happened.

The “Returns and Assessments for the Fourteenth Eighteen-Penny Tax” for Lancaster in 1771 placed him as the owner of 100 acres of land, two horses, two cattle, no servants, and paying a tax of 6.0. This would classify him in the rank of comfortable yeoman farmer. Moreover, the returns for the Fifteenth Eighteen-Penny Tax the following year show him owning the same assets, but his tax increased to 7.6⁵²

As the revolution gathered momentum after the Battles of Lexington and Concord, Congress issued a call on June 14, 1775, to raise six companies of riflemen to join the army in Boston. Two each were to come from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. On July 11 Congress was told that Lancaster had raised two companies instead of its quota of one.⁵³ One of the companies was commanded by Captain Matthew Smith of Paxton. He was allowed a bounty of \$1.00 each for 80 men who enlisted. The other company was commanded by Captain William Hendrick. The entire rifle regiment was under the leadership of Colonel William Thompson of Cumberland County. The regiment marched to relieve Boston, arriving in Cambridge in early August, 1775. It performed well in the Boston area.⁵⁴

On September 5 Captain Smith and Captain Hendrick were ordered to join Colonel Benedict Arnold’s command and to advance to Canada. Arnold’s detachment went via the Kennebec and Chaudiere Rivers, eventually to meet General Montgomery’s army. Eleven-hundred men made up

Colonel Arnold's division. One account compared this campaign to Hannibal crossing the Alps. The army travelled in "a trackless wilderness for near 320 miles intercepted by the ponds, swamps and morasses, exposed to almost continual hunger, and at an inclement season of the year, over mountains covered with snow."⁵⁵ The army met the enemy at Quebec where a battle ensued on the morning of December 31, 1775. Captain Hendricks' was killed and his company surrendered. In Captain Smith's company the casualty rate amounted to four killed, four wounded, 16 taken prisoner, and 16 listed in the King's service. The prisoners were paroled in August, 1776, and upon being exchanged in 1778 for the St. John's prisoners captured by General Montgomery, re-entered the service.⁵⁶

A member of Captain Smith's company and an eyewitness in the campaign, John Joseph Henry, described Smith as loquacious but "good looking," and he had the air of a soldier, was illiterate, and outrageously talkative." Henry's narrative repeatedly implied that Smith lacked many of the good qualities a good officer should have, and he strongly implied that Smith did not take part in the battle. According to Henry, Smith's company was led by Lieutenant Archibald Steele because Smith was absent "from particular causes." Kenneth Roberts compiled the narratives of the campaign and concluded that this statement meant Smith was drunk.⁵⁷ Author Roberts described Captain Smith in *Arundel* in the following way:⁵⁸

Captain Smith—of the Pennsylvania riflemen stumbled in, kicking snow from his moccasins, and I thought to myself he was in liquor from the way he lifted his feet high off the floor.

He walked to a table where there were some of his own men, among them a young volunteer cadet officer named Henry, a good woodsman. Smith clapped Henry on the shoulder and said thickly: "We're going to attack! 'Bout time, too, if you ask me! If we hadn't got at it, those lousy Easterners would have left us flat on our backsides."

He swayed a little. "Going to attack; and when we do they won't forget it in a hurry! You know how we'll work it? Catch the women and priests and children an put 'em in with the troops and march up the steps into the Upper Town! Let 'em try to stop us *then* by God!"

We could hear, in the fireplaces, the hissing of sap boiling from the ends of logs. Young Henry's chair scraped on the sanded floor. He stood up, a fresh-faced, curly-haired boy, looking sorely distressed by his captain. "Sir," he said protestingly, "sir —"

Smith gave him a jovial slap that toppled him back into his chair. "Yesh! It'll be on you 'fore you know it! You know when we march? It'sh——"

He hiccuped, and seemed to bask in the unwinking stares of those around him.

Cap drained his cider mug, stood up quickly and threw it at Smith, hard and straight, but not quite hard enough. While the mug was in the air we heard the words "Tomorrow night!" Then it shattered against the back of that solid, round head, and Smith went down on the floor.

—ARUNDEL

There seems to be much validity in this assertion, because of the

lack of concrete evidence to the contrary. Sources used by this researcher do not categorically state that Smith was captured, and his "involvement" in the battle is not mentioned. Egle, whose works display great admiration for the Scotch-Irish, assumes Smith was captured, although Smith's role in the battle is not discussed and he states that "Captain Smith was probably exchanged in the spring of 1778."⁵⁹ But on October 6, 1776, he resigned from the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment because a junior captain was appointed major over him. Probably after some wrangling he was promoted to major in the Ninth Pennsylvania and this rank was retroactive to September 27, 1776, two days after the junior officer had been promoted. On February 7, 1777, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and then resigned February 16, 1777.⁶⁰

On May 29, 1778, Smith represented Lancaster County on the Supreme Executive Council of the Pennsylvania government. On October 11, 1779, Vice President Bryan resigned and Smith was elected in this position. Smith served in this capacity briefly until October 23 when he resigned.⁶¹ Smith's name appears on the "Effective Supply Tax" for Paxton for 1779. He owned 200 acres, two horses, three cattle, six sheep, and two Negroes. Significantly, the title "Esquire" stands next to his name for the first time. He is not listed in the 1782 returns because he had moved northwestward to Northumberland County. Smith is located in the First Census for Pennsylvania with two "Free white males of 16 years and upward including heads of families." He died in Milton, Northumberland, 1794.⁶²

Lazarus Stewart is the last of the Paxton Boys, a ringleader and perhaps the most violent and notorious of the group. He was born in Hanover Township, Lancaster, 1733, and married Martha Espy 18 years later. He served in the provincial army under General Braddock during the latter's defeat in 1755. Commanding a company of Paxton Rangers he served under Colonel (Reverend) John Elder in defense of the frontier. Stewart played a major role in the Paxton Uprising to the extent he was clearly identified. Rewards were put on him. But Reverend John Elder defended him as "humane, liberal and moral," and wanted Stewart to be tried at Lancaster in a fair trial.⁶³ The following statement represents Stewart's own defense and explanation of his actions:⁶⁴

"Declaration. Let all hear.—Were the counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton, protected by government? Did not John Harris of Paxton ask advice of Col. Croghan, and did not the colonel advise him to raise a company of scouts, and was not this confirmed by Benjamin Franklin? And yet when Harris asked the Assembly to pay the scouting party, he was told, "that he might pay them himself." Did not the counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton, the frontier settlements, keep up rangers to watch the motions of the Indians; and when a murder

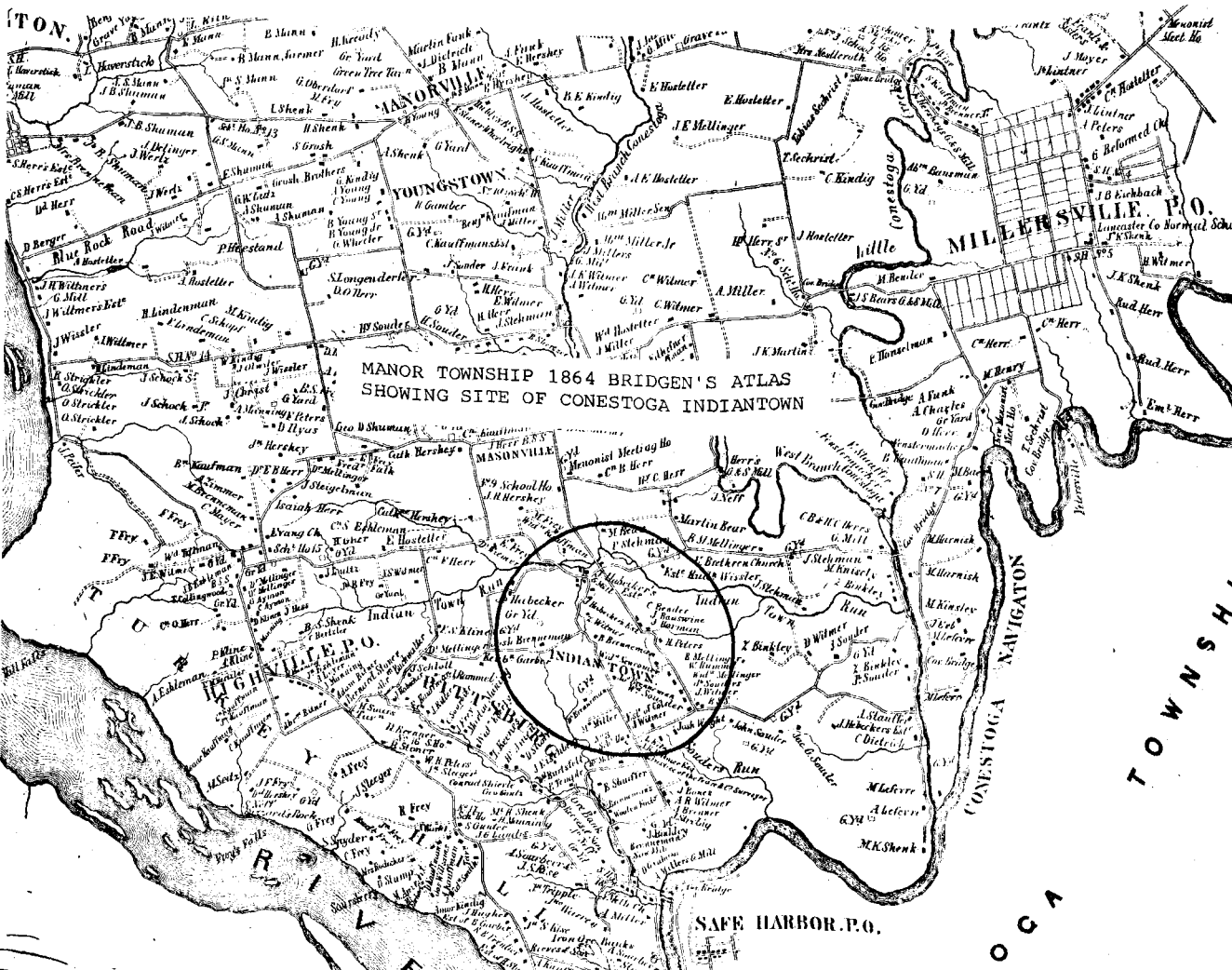
was committed by an Indian, a runner with the intelligence was sent to each scouting party, that the murderer or murderers might be punished? Did we not brave the summer's heat and the winter's cold, and the savage tomahawk, while the inhabitants of Philadelphia, Philadelphia county, Bucks, and Chester, 'ate, drank, and were merry?'

"If a white man kill an Indian, it is a murder far exceeding any crime upon record; he must not be tried in the county where he lives, or where the offence was committed, but in Philadelphia, that he may be tried, convicted, sentenced and hung without delay. If an Indian kill a white man, it was the act of an ignorant heathen, perhaps in liquor. alas, poor innocent! he is sent to the *friendly Indians*, that *he may be made a Christian*. Is it not a notorious fact, that an Indian who treacherously murdered a family in Northampton county, was given up to the magistrates, that *he might have a regular trial*; and was not this Indian conveyed into Bucks county, and is *he* not provided with every necessary, and kept secured from punishment by Israel Pemberton? Have we not repeatedly represented that Conestogue was a harbor for prowling savages, and that we were at a loss to tell friend or foe, and all we asked was the removal of the Christian Indians? Was not this promised by Gov. Penn, yet delayed? Have we forgot ten Renatus, that Christian Indian? A murder of more than savage barbarity was committed on the Susquehanna; the murderer was traced by the scouts to Conestogue; he was demanded, but the Indians assumed a warlike attitude, tomahawks were raised, and the firearms glistened in the sun; shots were fired upon the scouts, who went back for additional force. They returned, and you know the event—Conestogue was reduced to ashes. But the murderer escaped. The friendly and unfriendly were placed in the work-house at Lancaster. What could secure them from the vengeance of an exasperated people? The doors were forced, and the hapless Indians perished. Were we tamely to look on and see our brethren murdered, and see our fairest prospects blasted, while the inhabitants of Philadelphia, Philadelphia county, Bucks, and Chester, slept and reaped their grain in safety?

"These hands never shed human blood. Why am I singled out as an object of persecution? Why are the bloodhounds let loose upon me? Let him who wished to take my life—let him come and take it—I shall not fly. All I ask is that the men accused of murder be tried in Lancaster county. All I ask is a trial in my own county. If these requests are refused, then not a hair of those men's heads shall be molested. Whilst I have life you shall not either have me or them on any other terms. It is true, I submitted to the sheriff of York county, but you know too well that I was to be conveyed to Philadelphia like a wild felon, manacled, to die a felon's death. I would have scorned to fly from York. I could not bear that my name should be marked by ignominy. What I have done, was done for the security of hundreds of settlers on the frontiers. The blood of a thousand of my fellow-creatures called for vengeance. I shed no Indian's blood. As a ranger, I sought the post of danger, and now you ask my life, Let me be tried where prejudice has not prejudged my case. Let my brave rangers, who have stemmed the blast nobly, and never flinched—let them have an equitable trial; they were my friends in the hour of danger—to desert them now were cowardice! What remains is to leave our cause with our God, and our guns."

—LAZURUS STEWART

For the rest of his life Stewart defied the Pennsylvania government as he escaped northward to become involved in nefarious activities. He remained a fugitive from justice. In September, 1770, Justice of the Peace John P. DeHaas of Lebanon Township, Lancaster, swore out an arrest warrant for Stewart and several of his companions for burning houses and other misdemeanors said to have been committed in Northampton County. Governor



MANOR TOWNSHIP 1864 BRIDGEN'S ATLAS
SHOWING SITE OF CONESTOGA INDIANTOWN

INDIAN TOWN

SAFE HARBOR P.O.

CONESTOGA NAVIGATOR

TOWNSHIP

TON.

MANORVILLE

YOUNGSTOWN

MILLER'SVILLE P.O.

T U

BRIDGE

EGHNVILLE P.O.

BRIDGE

CONESTOGA

NAVIGATOR

Penn and the Assembly also agreed to grant a reward of 50 pounds for the arrest of Stewart. Governor Penn issued the proclamation for the capture of Stewart. He was captured but the constable failed to employ three men to convey Stewart, because of his turbulent character and fear of a possible rescue. Stewart did get aid from his gang, received an ax handle, knocked down and beat the constable. DeHaas received no assistance because Stewart had so many friends or the citizens were afraid of him. He chased the constable into his house in Lebanon and shouted that long ago there had been a 500 pound reward on his head. Later on the innkeeper at Lebanon told the constable that if he obeyed the orders of the constable Stewart "would cut him to pieces and have a Breakfast of his Heart."⁶⁵

Stewart and his men then journeyed to the Wyoming Valley to take forcibly a fort. The people were driven from the fort in December. When a sheriff and his posse demanded the surrender of Stewart, Stewart requested he be excused of his crimes and he demanded free land. These terms were rejected and during the negotiations a member of the posse was killed, January, 1771. During the fight Stewart and his men escaped. The following month a 300 pound reward was placed on Stewart and a 50 pound reward for each of his men. Governor Penn issued another proclamation⁶⁶

Stewart and his gang next joined about 70 men from Connecticut in Wyoming to repossess the land in the valley. The legal settlers were trapped in a block house with ten days' provisions. Aid was sought from the Pennsylvania government to drive out the illegal settlers and to capture Stewart. Only 25 men were sent out and the total government forces amounted to only 60 men. On August 15, 1771, the block house surrendered to Lazarus Stewart and Zebulon Butler. In the narratives of the events, there are constant references to Stewart as a "dangerous villian." The Pennsylvania government withdrew its forces because it did not have the money and the men to re-take the Wyoming Valley.⁶⁷

The territory known as the Wyoming Valley in this period included most of the counties of Lackawanna, Luzerne, Wyoming, and Bradford. This area was claimed by Connecticut, and her citizens had been settling there. It became the scene of a bitter civil war. The colonial governments of Connecticut and Pennsylvania attempted to resolve the land dispute. Constant dangers of Indian attacks complicated matters. The several thousand inhabitants were isolated and subjected to Indian raids from the Finger Lakes, a day's journey away. During the early days of the American Revolution the military forces were organized for protection against the Indians. In January 1777, the Continental Congress ordered the two regular companies to join Washington's army, thus leaving the region vulnerable. During the summer of 1778, about 800 British Tories and

Indians assembled in southern New York to attack the Wyoming settlers. A desperate appeal for help went out to Congress for the return of the two companies of soldiers, but Congress delayed. The Tories and the Indians attacked, destroying the area, killing about 200 men, women and children. Among the slain on July 3, 1778, at the Wyoming Massacre, was Lazarus Stewart.⁶⁸

An analysis of the lives of the five Paxton Boys reveal some interesting conclusions. Even though the sample under examination is about 10 per cent of those involved in the Conestoga and Lancaster massacres, it is apparently typical because a consistent pattern develops. To this extent then the prosopographical method presents newer insights on the participants in the Paxton affair. Common factors emerge in their lives.

They had common ethnic roots. In fact, the ethnic tradition in early Pennsylvania history has been a common theme and influence in the state's development. Each of the Paxton Boys was of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian extraction. The experiences of their ancestors, whether in Northern Ireland or on the Pennsylvania frontier, allowed them to relate easily to each other and similar attitudes emerged. The very fact they lived together at a particular time in history is so obvious that its significance eludes the imagination. They congregated together because of their ethnic heritage and they responded to the outside world in similar ways.

They all supported the American Revolution. This point has been generally agreed upon when considering the attitudes of the backwoodsmen. Elder, Boyd, Gibson and Smith clearly contributed to the revolutionary movement, probably a contribution that was neither more or less outstanding. Though Stewart's contribution may be questioned, he nevertheless was killed by the Tories and Indians in the Wyoming Massacre.

All five of the Paxton Boys shared military experience. They were also officers, which placed them in positions of leadership. The military experience extended to the Indian wars as well as the Revolution and the Paxton Uprising. However, they were unable to translate this military leadership into major areas of public affairs.

Most immigrants and migrants in Pennsylvania came from that part of the population that was assertive and ambitious. The highly successful European remained behind—the risks were too great in a wilderness 3,000 miles away. The very lowest levels in society also remained behind because of their tradition of failure and frustration. Thus the middle or lower middle classes of European society settled in Pennsylvania, and they brought with them certain skills and education linked with middle class or bourgeois values concerning economic and social success. Pennsylvania was known

as the "best poor man's country."⁶⁹

It is difficult to fit the Paxton Boys in the above model. With the exception of Stewart, because of the lack of data, the other four men owned assets that probably would classify them as economically successful. The lack of a feudal tradition and the wealth and opportunity offered by free land to the west made America attractive to these men. Owning several hundred acres of land and some farm animals was the envy of the European. Most of all, it allowed the farmer to be free and independent. Mobility was inevitable under these conditions.

The Paxton Boys were restless, often unpredictable, dynamic individuals. Impatient and sensitive to the injustices they experienced, they disregarded the rights of the Indians. They protested against their own system of unfair representation and complained about the denial of the rights of Englishmen. They were quick to take the law into their hands to use violence on a relatively small group of defenseless Indians. Though the rest of the civilized society condemned their actions, they received no punishment.

The influence of the frontier on the American character has been considerable. The traditions and aspirations of the Paxton Boys became modified by the environment. The frontier threw off the restraints of a more formalized society and tended to make men more individualistic. Even though the more democratic aspects of the frontier in American history have been emphasized, the undemocratic influences of intolerance and the ready acceptance of violence have made their mark. The Paxton Boys were certainly courageous in the sense of moving west into unchartered territory, and it was also this fearsome spirit that typified the American westward movement.

The relationship between the Paxton Uprising and the American Revolution is clear upon examination of the data available. The sample is small but significant. The revolutionary statement as summarized in *A Declaration and Remonstrance* signaled the drive for justice, democracy and due process—at least for the white men—in the movement for internal change and inevitably for independence in 1776. But beyond this the Paxton Boys themselves did not distinguish themselves. They did participate in and contribute to the American Revolution, but the level of achievement was minor.

Notes:

1. Brook Hindle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, Vol. III, (Oct. 1946), 467; John R. Dunbar, *The Paxton Papers*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), p. 3; William Henry Egle, *History of Pennsylvania*, (Harrisburg: De Witt C. Goodrich & Co., 1876), pp. 112-119.

2. Merrill Jensen, *The Founding of A Nation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 33-34.

3. Louis B. Wright, *The Atlantic Frontier*, (New York: Alfred H. Knopf, 1951), p. 6.

4. Wright, *The Atlantic Frontier*, pp. 7-11.

5. This point is repeated and accepted by numerous sources on colonial Pennsylvania. Cf. Hindle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," pp. 3-4; Wayland Fuller Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania*, (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1935), pp. 73-88; Charles Henry Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania 1760-1776*, (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania, 1901), pp. 3-13; Lewis Slifer Shimmell, *Border Warfare in Pennsylvania During the Revolution*, (Harrisburg: R.L. Meyers, 1901), pp. 41-42; Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), p. 113.

6. Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 73-88; Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, pp. 113-133. For estimates of Pennsylvania's colonial population Cf. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *America Population Before the Federal Census of 1790*, (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1932), pp. 113-119.

7. Guy Soulliard Klett, *Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), p. 35. Adapted from *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, (Albany, 1856-1887), (Vols. 1-15), Vol. III.

8. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement*, p. 3.

9. See Appendix for maps and table of Pennsylvania Counties.

10. Egle, *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 278; Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 238-239.

11. Jensen, *The Founding of A Nation*, pp. 27-29.

12. Matthew Smith and James Gibson, *A Declaration and Remonstrance*, (Philadelphia, 1764), p. 11.

13. Hindle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," p. 463. See Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement*, p. 47 for a similar table.

14. Dunaway, *A History of Pennsylvania*, p. 239; Egle, *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 278.

15. Shimmell, *Border Warfare in Pennsylvania*, p. 43; Dunbar, *The Paxton Papers*, pp. 3-8.

16. Leonard W. Labaree, editor, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. XI, (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1967), pp. 42-69; Alexander C. Flick, editor, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Vol. IV, (Albany: U. of State of New York, 1925), *passim*; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 29, 1763 and January 5, 1764.

17. Smith and Gibson, *A Declaration and Remonstrance*, pp. 12-13.

18. Smith and Gibson, *A Declaration and Remonstrance*, *passim*.

19. Hindle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," pp. 485-486.

20. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania*, pp. 233-234.

21. Dunbar, *The Paxton Papers*, pp. 48-50.

22. J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as A Social Movement*, (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1927), pp. 14-15.

23. Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia: George W. Gorton, 1843), p. 281.

24. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, Vol. IX, pp. 104-105; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 29, 1763 and January 5, 1764.

25. Dunbar, *The Paxton Papers*, pp. 3, 23, 25; Hindle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," p. 467.

26. William Henry Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969), (reprint 1886), pp. 187-189; Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 277-278; Dunbar,

The Paxton Papers, pp. 9-10.

27. Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, p. 188; Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 278.
28. As quoted from Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 278. The source of this information is from the *Lancaster Intelligencer and Journal*, 1843, by Redmond Conyham.
29. William Henry Egle, *Notes and Queries, Historical and Genealogical*, 3rd Series, Vol. I, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 330-332.
30. Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 1st & 2nd Series, Vol. I, p. 436.
31. Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 1st & 2nd Series, Vol. I, pp. 226-228.
32. Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, pp. 189-190.
33. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. 17, pp. 33, 315, 567, 734.
34. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families First Census of the United States—1790 Pennsylvania*, (Washington: G.P.O., 1908), p. 90.
35. Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, pp. 113-114; *Pa. Archives*, 5th Series, Vol. I, pp. 295-296.
36. *Pa. Archives*, 5th Series, Vol. VI, p. 31.
37. *Pa. Archives*, 5th Series, Vol. VII, pp. 32-34, 44-46, 69-71.
38. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVII, pp. 32, 315, 732.
39. *Heads of Families First Census of the United States—1790 Pennsylvania*, p. 90.
40. *Pa. Archives*, First Series, Vol. XIII, p. 542.
41. Egle, *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, p. 114; William Frederic Worner, "Relief of the Poor in Lancaster," *Lancaster County Historical Society*, Vol. XXXII (1929), pp. 141-143.
42. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVII, p. 97.
43. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XXIV, p. 680.
44. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XIX, p. 419.
45. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. 23, pp. 242, 353.
46. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XXV, p. 151.
47. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XIX, pp. 594, 702, 801.
48. *Heads of Families First Census of the United States—1790 Pennsylvania*, p. 193.
49. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XXV, p. 160.
50. Frederick A. Godcharles, "The Influence of Lancaster County on the Pennsylvania Frontier," *Lancaster County Historical Society*, Vol. XXIV, (April 16, 1920), 80-81; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, Vol. III, pp. 441-442.
51. As quoted from Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 299-280.
52. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVII, pp. 36, 318.
53. John Blair Linn and William H. Egle, *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, (Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, 1880), Vol. I, pp. 3-4.
54. Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, pp. 4-7; *Pa. Archives*, 5th Series, Vol. II, p. 43.
55. George Morison's eyewitness accounts found in Kenneth Roberts, *March to Quebec*, (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1938), pp. 589-510.
56. Roberts, *March to Quebec*, pp. 27-40; *Pa. Archives*, 5th Series, Vol. II, p. 43; Linn and Egle, *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, pp. 6-7.
57. Roberts, *March to Quebec*, pp. 302, 356, 300, note 1 on p. 300.
58. Roberts, *March to Quebec*, p. 296.
59. Egle, *Notes and Queries*, p. 441.
60. *Pa. Archives*, 5th Series, Vol. III, pp. 380, 391, 402.
61. *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. XII, pp. 127, 148.
62. *Pa. Archives*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVII, pp. 571; Egle, *Notes and Queries*, p. 441; *Heads of Families First Census of the United States—1790 Pennsylvania*, p. 185.
63. Bladen Clark, "Lazarus Stewart," *Lancaster County Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, (Dec. 2, 1910), 301-303; Day, *Historical Collections*, pp. 278-280; Dunbar, *The Paxton Papers*, p. 24, note 2.
64. As quoted in Day, *Historical Collections*, p. 280.
65. *Pa. Archives*, First Series, Vol. IX, pp. 681-688, 710-712, 750-759; "Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 36, 510-511.
66. *Pa. Archives*, First Series, Vol. IX, pp. 710-717.
67. *Pa. Archives*, First Series, Vol. IX, pp. 748-759.

68. Clark, "Lazarus Stewart," p. 303; Egle, *History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 891-905.

69. James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972), pp. 4-5, XIII.

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