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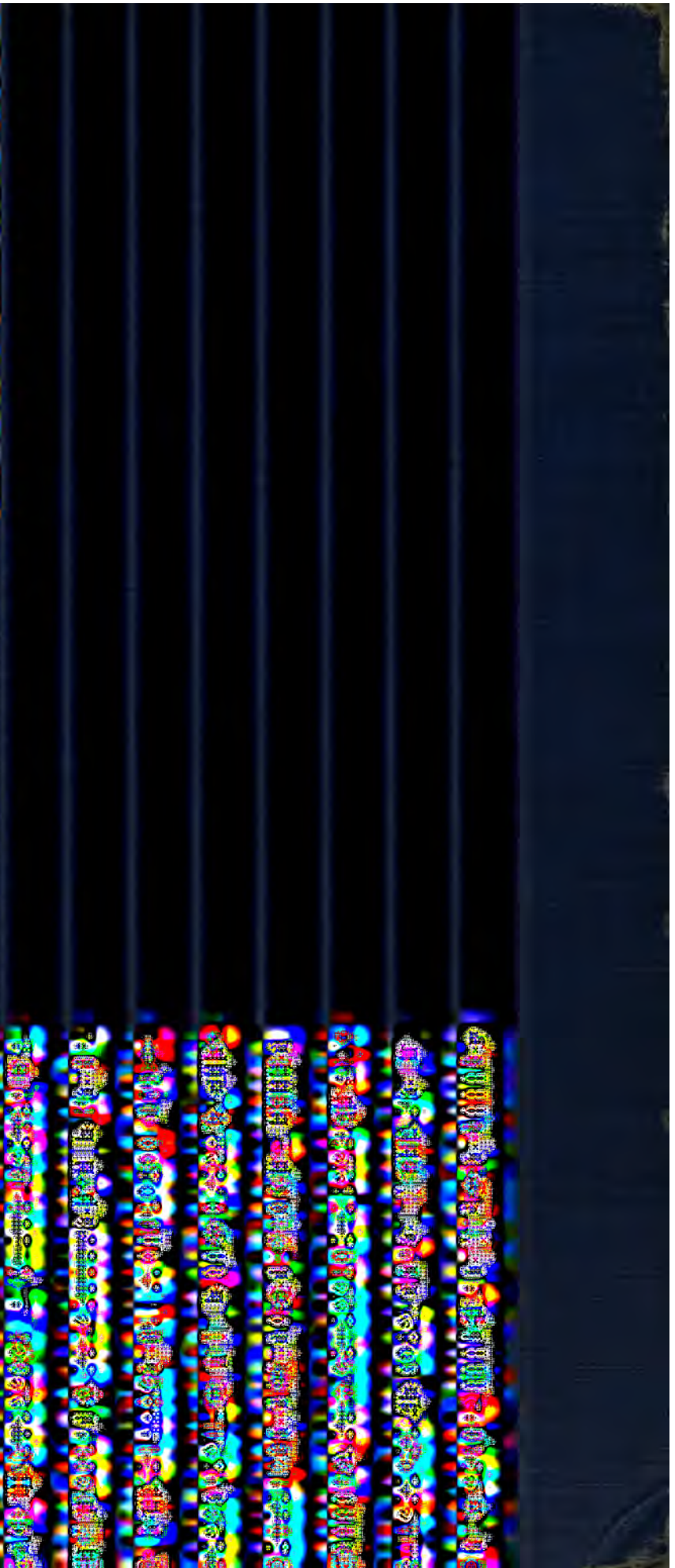
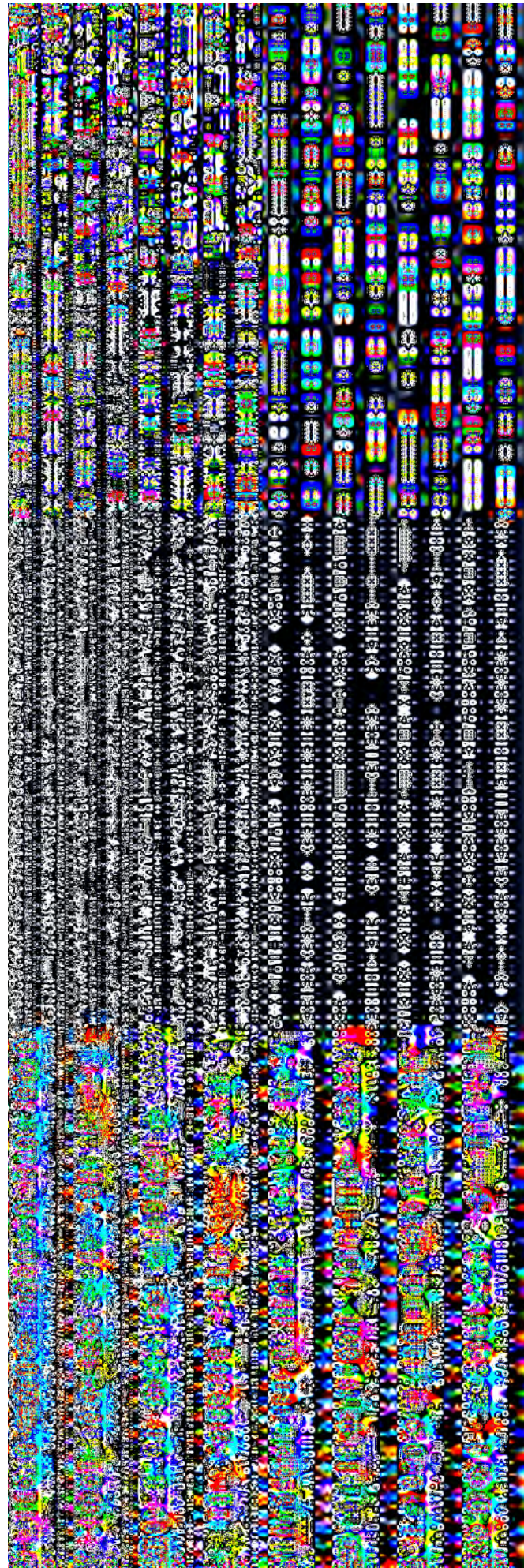
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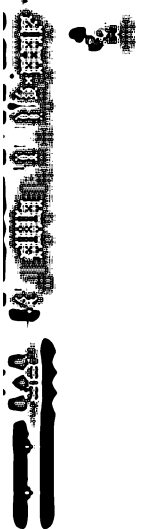
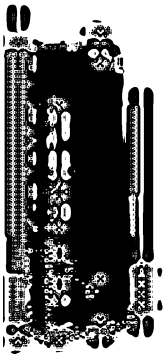
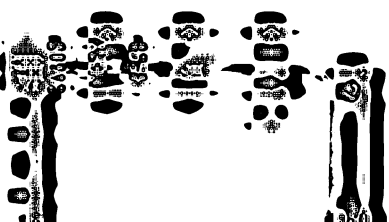
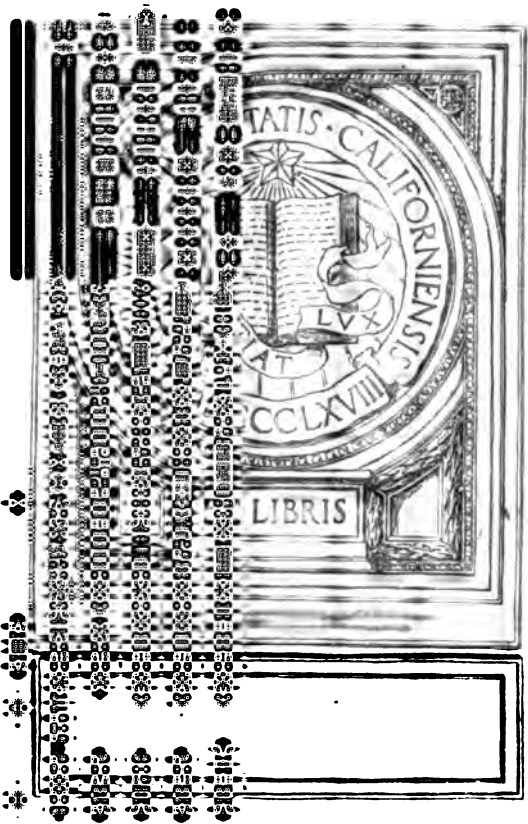
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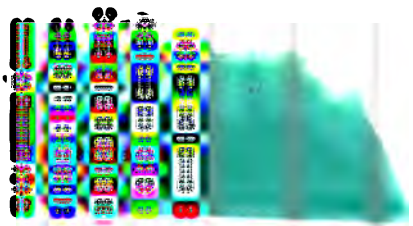
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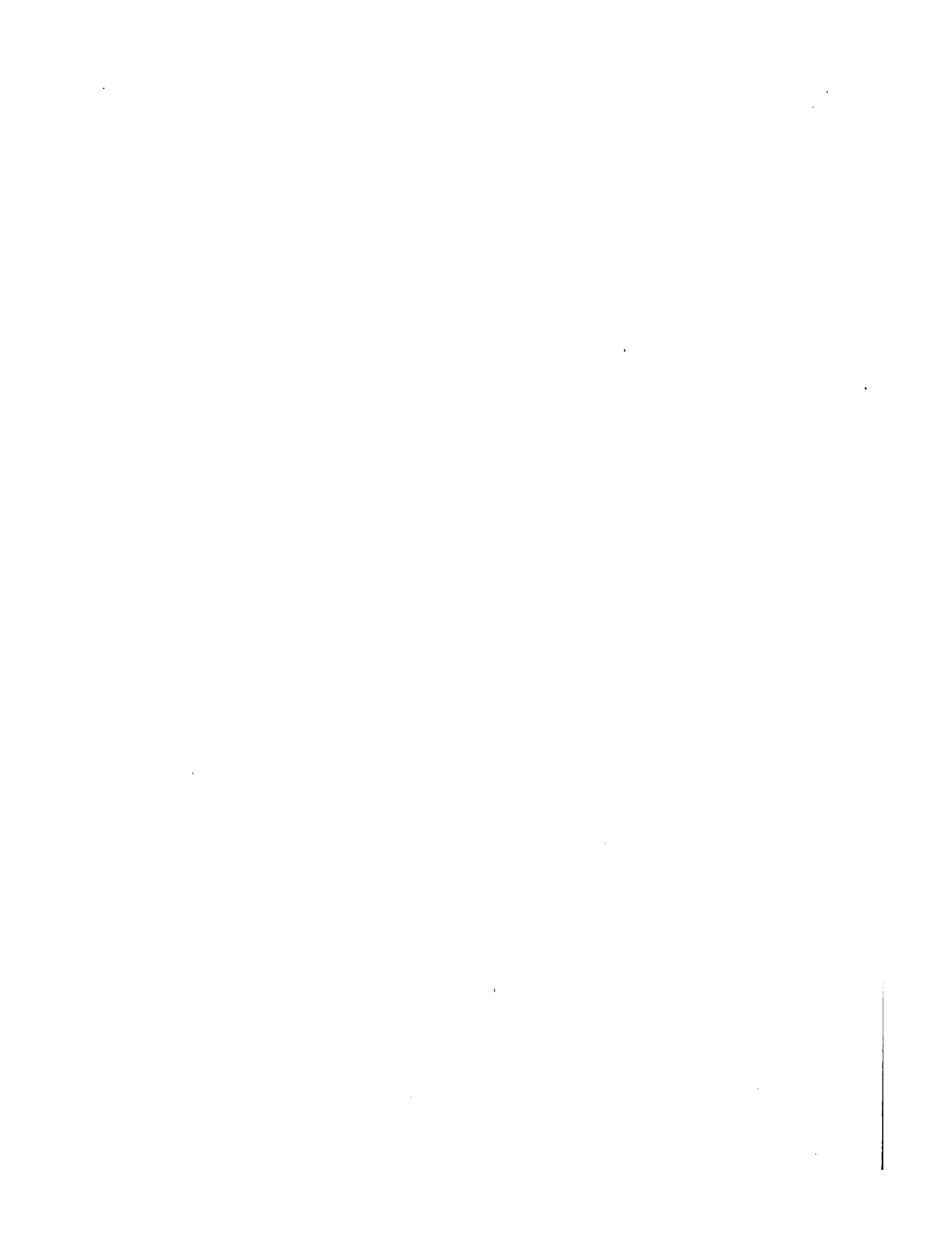
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THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 6

COMPRISING
ELIJAH FISHER'S JOURNAL WHILE IN THE
WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE AND CON-
TINUED TWO YEARS AFTER HE CAME
TO MAINE—1775-1784

WILLIAM ABBATT

141 EAST 25TH STREET,

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NEW YORK

1909

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WITH
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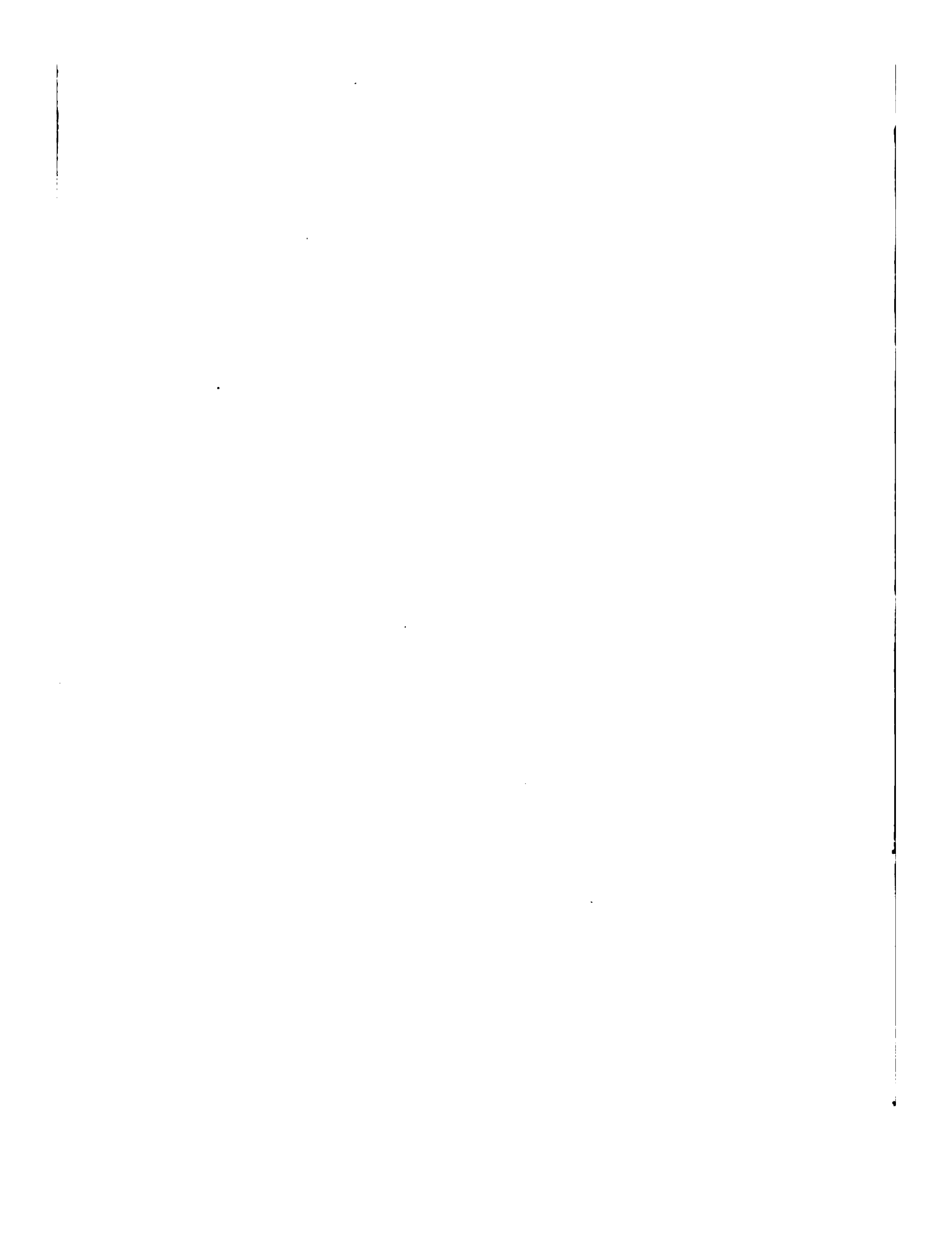
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WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Numbers 5-8

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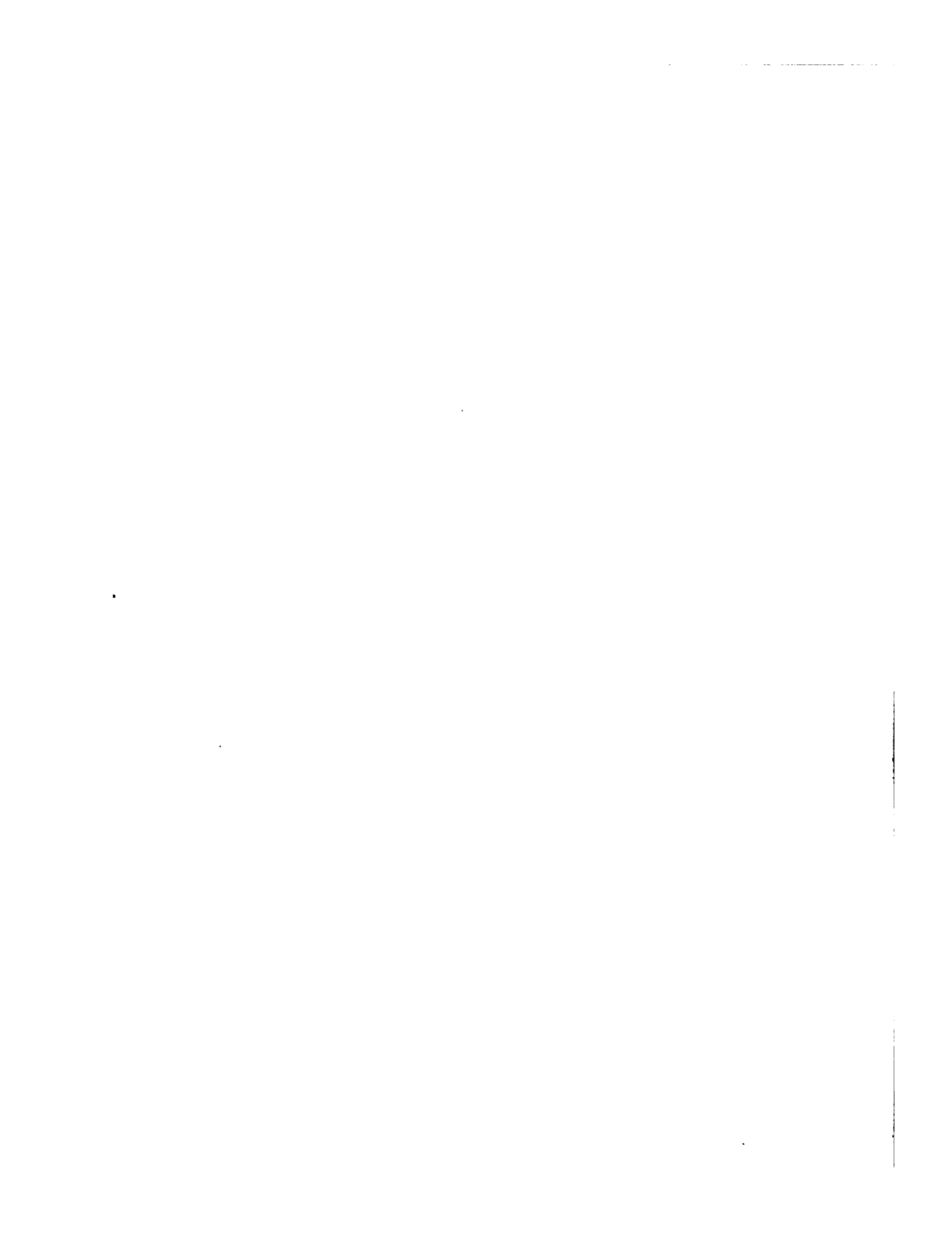


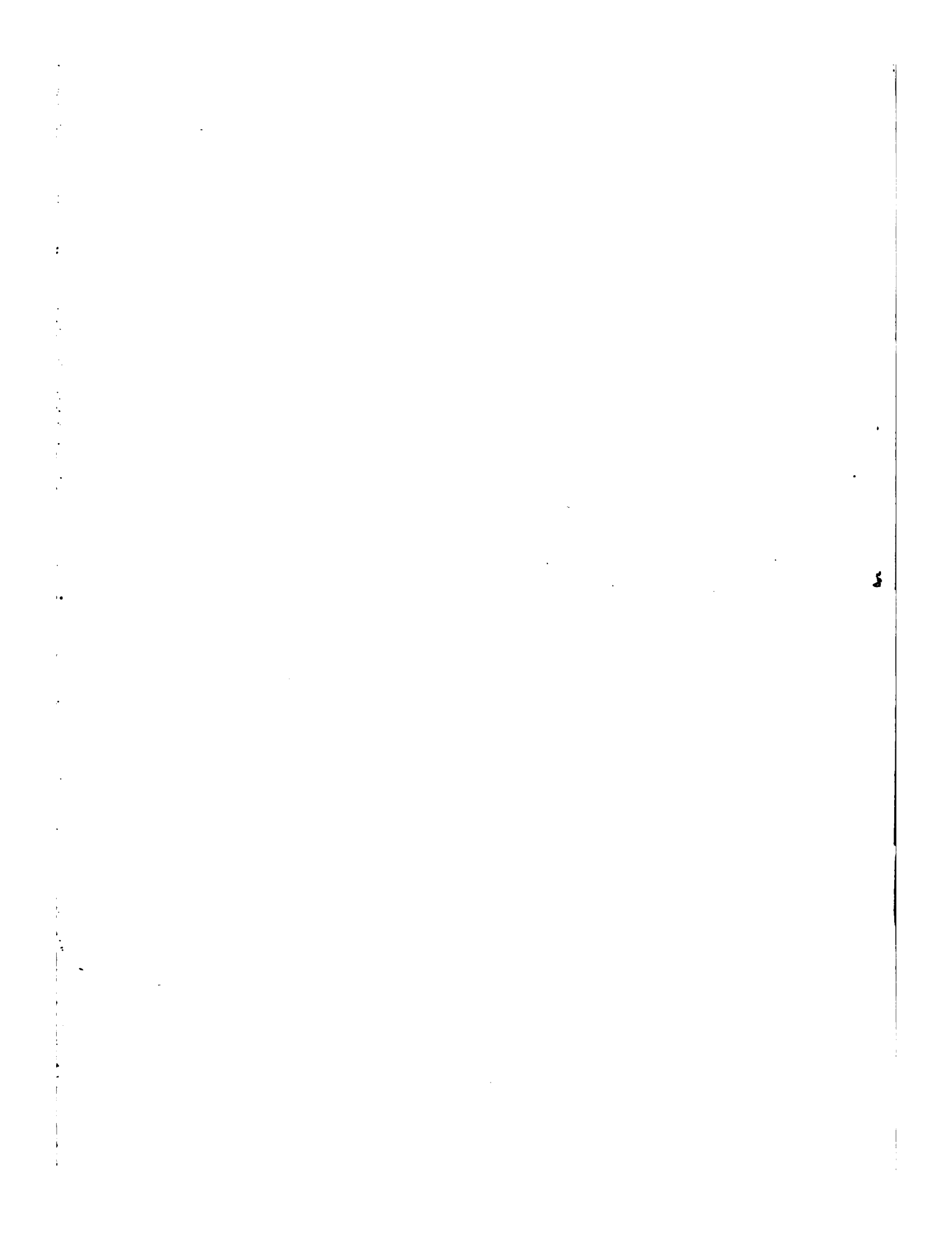
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ELIJAH FISHER'S JOURNAL
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**CONTINUED TWO YEARS AFTER
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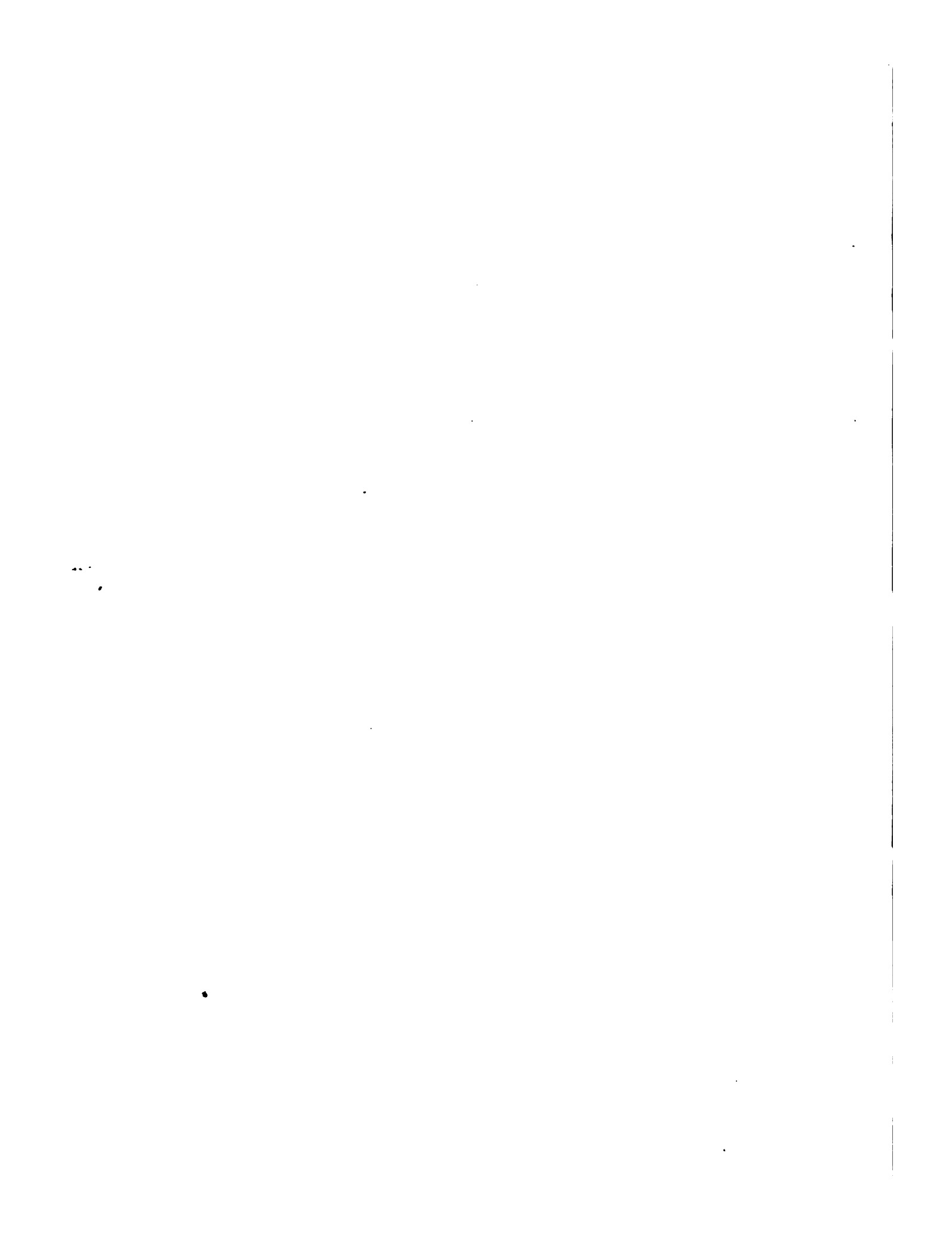
TO VNU
ABSORBIAO

ORIGINAL PREFACE

ELIJAH FISHER'S Journal, of which the following pages are a carefully copied transcript, is not, as might be supposed from the author's announcement on the fourth page hereof, made up from memory, but is a consolidation of several diaries which he kept from time to time. The consolidation was made by him in 1784, after he had settled in Sylvester, Canada, now Turner, Maine. The original Revolutionary Journal is in my possession, and is much dilapidated, and some parts hardly legible, but enough remains to show that he faithfully copied it into his "book." In preparing this copy for the press I have aimed at correctness, though I have not always felt sure that I had in all cases found the right word. The orthography I have not changed, nor made corrections in grammar, or otherwise, preferring to present the simple story of his experiences of nine eventful years, in his own way. It adds the testimony of another witness to the hardships of those days that tried men's souls.

WM. B. LAPHAM.

Augusta, March, 1880.



PREFACE

OF all war-records, that of the private soldier shows least of the "pomp and circumstance of war." It is usually a plain, straightforward record of fact, devoid of ornament but frequently dealing in no uncertain way with the shortcomings of superiors and comrades alike. This one is one of the very few such, dealing with the Revolutionary War, that have been preserved. The author was evidently a somewhat sickly youth, often on the sick list, yet not lacking in courage or patriotism. Though twice forced out by illness, he enlisted a third time and after that tried the Navy for a change, and soon had a taste of the prison-ship *Jersey*.

His matter-of-fact accounts of the various battles in which he shared, and the details of hardships suffered, are inimitable. As one of Washington's Life Guard, he did not see quite as much active service as others, and he seems to have escaped the suffering of Valley Forge altogether.

The story of his experiences after discharge is not the least important part of the Journal—showing as it does the hardships the soldiers encountered in their search for employment, the way in which they were frequently cheated of their earnings, and forced to sell their pay warrants for a trifle. Oddly enough he does not mention his marriage, though that day is not accounted for in the Journal. The entry under May 16, 1783, is characteristic of one who all through his trying experience seems to have been an even-tempered, steady-going, religious New England soldier—one of the rank and file for whom no monuments are raised but who, doing "the next thing" steadily, constituted the bone and sinew of our Revolutionary forefathers.

TO YOU
ALPHABETICALLY

6

PREFACE

For elucidation of the various phonetically-spelled names, etc.—I am indebted to Mr. William Nelson of the New Jersey Mr. Nathan Goold, of the Maine, Mr. O. G. Hammond, of the New Hampshire and Dr. S. A. Green of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as well as Mr. C. F. Read, clerk of the Bostonian Society.

W. A.

GENEALOGICAL

ELIJAH FISHER was born in Norton, Mass., June 18, 1758. His father and his grandfather also were named John. Elijah had seven brothers, all of whom served more or less in the War for Independence. From some statements in the Journal it would seem that the father had deceased previous to the war, and that the mother with her children, lived in Attleborough. Ebeneser, the older brother of Elijah, came early to Winthrop, Me., and had children born there. Two sisters also came to Maine, one of whom lived in Greene and the other in Monmouth.

Elijah Fisher was married to Jerusha Keen of Turner, Me., but born in Taunton, Mass., at Turner, Dec. 10, 1784. He lived a few years in Turner, then moved to Minot and finally to Livermore in 1799, where he spent the remainder of his days. His first visit to Maine was in May, 1782. The children of Elijah and Jerusha Fisher were as follows:

John, born Aug. 27, 1786. He removed to Parkman, where he died in June, 1858, leaving five children.

Jerusha, born June 1, 1788. Married in March, 1814, to John Keen of Turner.

Mary B., born June 28, 1791, died unmarried, in January, 1842, in Livermore.

Elijah, born July 16, 1798. He lived on the home farm and took care of his father and mother, and died unmarried, in June, 1855.

Grinfill, born June 29, 1795, married in December, 1823, had seven children.

Sarah, born June 17, 1798, married in December, 1857, to Moses Berry, who died in April, 1875. She lives (1880) on the old homestead, in Livermore.

Priscilla, born Jan. 1, 1801, married Isaac Briggs of Plympton, Mass.; lives in Winthrop and has four children. Her husband died in August, 1868.

Salome, born March 22, 1806, married Joseph Woodsum. She lives on the old homestead in Livermore and has two children.

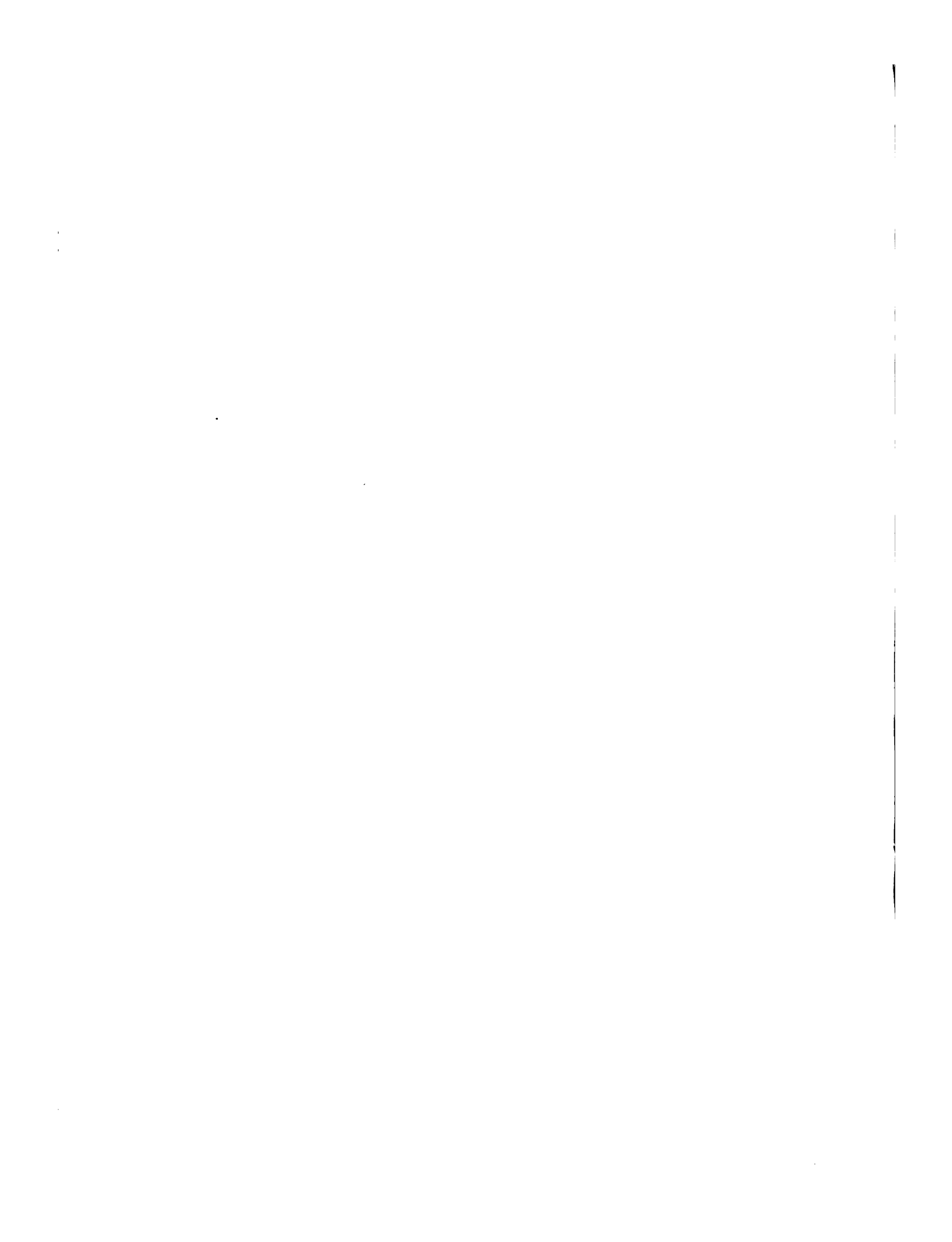
Elijah Fisher enlisted three times during the war, and served nearly

six years. At the age of seventeen he was at the battle of Bunker Hill, and helped build the works which were thrown up during the night and so astonished the British officers the following morning. He was for a while a member of Washington's Life Guard, under Capt. Caleb Gibbs. He received a pension for many years before his death. He quite early united with the church, and was a sincere and devoted Baptist.

The Journal begins with his first enlistment, in 1775, and closes with 1784, two years after he came to Maine.

*Elijah Fisher's Book, Where in is a Memarandum of His Travels
and Preseedings or Events that Was Wirthy a Remark that Has Not
Slipt Memmary Sence May, 1775, Until Now.*

SYLVESTER, FEBRUARY THE 4, 1784.



JOURNAL

1775

MAY 5th I begin my Jirnal with my first Enlisting with Capt. Moses Knapp of Mansfield for Eight Months.

29the. We Left Mansfield and March'd for Roxbury and Jin'd Colo. I. [James] Reed's¹ Ridgment and we had our Quarter's at Mr. Nepven's house on Jemaca-planes.²

Aug. 7. Brother Joel Fisher Come and³ took my Place for a fortnat and (I) went home.

29the. I returns and took his Place and he gos home.

Nov. 28. I Enlisted the second time with Capt. M. Knapp for a Twelvemonth.

The 25. I has a firghlow [furlough] to go home and as was on my way I meate a man that told me what would happen to me and what I had to meat with and which I have found true and which I have reported in the following.

Dec. 5. I returns and Jines my Company again.

1776

May 27. The Regelars Left Boston and our army took possession of the town.

1. James Reed's was the Second New Hampshire regiment.
2. Jamaica Plain. This town's name is a constant stumbling-block to our hero, and he spells it in many ways, all wrong.
3. This substituting business was an everyday occurrence until Washington got the army into something like military form.

Apr. 1st. The Army Left Roxbury and March'd for New York, by land to New London and then by water to York.

The 19th. We Come to New York and had our Quarters in the City.

July 29th. I was taken sick of the feaver and was sick five or Six Weeks and after that I gits better and returns to Jine my Company.

Aug. 29th. And as I was going. I was taken with a stitch of Pain in my rite Side (I being very weak) as I grue stronger the pain Inceast.

The 27th. The American army and the British army had the Battle on Long Island and the American Retretd and Left the Island.

Sept. 5th. Our army Left the City of York and Retired to Fort Washington and the sick to Kingbridge fifteen miles from the City.

The 24th. Capt. Knapp Comes to Kingbridge where the sick was and they that belong to his Company went with him to Bargain [Bergen] on the Jersey side.

Octo. 12th. I with the others of the sick belonging to the Ridgment were sent to the Hospiteble at Newark and had Leave of the Doctors to go and Quarter at some house in the neighborhood and I with two others went to Mr. D. Brown,⁴ where they used me very well, in which time I was in such a rack of Pain that I could not sleep a Nights nor rest a Days. Mr. Brown went to a Doctor of the Place (he being not at home) and was a telling his wife in what a Condition a sholger was at his house she said that by what he said she thought it was the gravels in the kitteney and if you took a Quart of ginn and a Tea dish of muster seed and a hand full of horseradish roots and steep them together and take a glass of that Every morning she thought it wode help me. I follow'd her Derections and found Benefit by it.

⁴ Probably Bruen, a well-known Dutch name in New Jersey.

The 21st. I received so much Benefit by the Directions of the Doctor that I with several others belonging to the Ridgment Left Newark to go and Jine our Ridgment at Newcassl⁵ in York State.

The 26th. I gos to See my Brother that was belonging to Col. Hichcok's⁶ Ridgment and coming there I finds my brother Abial and he told me that my Brother Enoch was Dead and that he Dyed the 11th of the month, which shook me vary much, for I did hope to have found him well.

The 27th. I being unable to Endure the fatages of the army has my Discharge from the army to go home.

The 29th. I Comes to Mr. N. Fisher's in New York a Cosen of mine and glad they was to see me and

Dec. 5th. Mr. Fisher let his son and horse go with me as far as Litchfield and Comes to a gentleman's house and brings them News that a Relation of theirs that was very sick was better it being on thanksgiving Day or at Evenin and they was at supper and the Parson' whose Name I had forgot and family was there (they give us an Envatation to take supper with them which we Excepted.) And after Supper the Preat Invited us home to his house to Lodge and when we Come there we was used Ex-treamly well.

The 6th. And in the Morning after brekfast I takes Leave of my friend and sets out for home.

The 12th. I arrives at Attleborough it being thanksgiving Day there and Come to Mother's jest as they set down to supper and after I Come home I was sick and was trubled still with that Pain in my side and was under Doctor Man's hand for five or six months and never got Intirely well of it.

⁵ New Castle, Westchester County, N. Y.

⁶ Colonel Daniel Hitchcock, 11th Continental Infantry (Rhode Island).

⁷ Rev. Judah Champion was then the Congregational pastor at Litchfield.

1777

Jenuery 27th. I Enlisted the third time with Capt. M. Knapp for three years though I was unwell then yet he said that as I got my sickness in the army it was no more than Right but I should have my support from the army and that I mite stay at home till I got able to Jine the army and draw my^s Pay all the time if it was a twelvemonth and I was at home seven or eight months.

July 18th. I having got Considerable well Leaves home and with Sarg't G. Grover sets out fore the Army and Comes to Boston and Draws a Sute of Clothes and a gun and Coutremance [Accoutrements] then we got orders to Proceed on for to Jine the army but by the reason of my traveling I found the Pain that used to freekent my side to be trubelsome so that I was not able to stand it to go through with the march so we had go to West Town to see Leutenant Taft to let him know that I was not able to go through with the march he said that if I was not able that if I got the Doctor that Doctored me to Certify that I was not able to go through with the feetigues of the army and would send it to him I mite stay till I was able.

The 21st. I gos home and gos to Doctor Man^o and he gave the Certify that I was not able to go through with the feetigues of the army and I sent it to Leut. Taft and he carried it to Capt. Knapp.

Aug. 21st. I having got prity well I Leaves home and sets out for the army and gos by the way of Springfield and so by the way of Albeny and so Jined the Regt. commanded by Col. Wm. Sheapard¹⁰ and my Company at Vansesaks¹¹ Island in York State where they had retreated before ye enemy.

^s A fair example of the slack methods in the army at the time, by which absentees drew full pay.

^o Doctor Besaleel Mann of Attleborough.

¹⁰ Colonel (afterwards General) William Shepard, Fourth Massachusetts.

¹¹ Van Schaick's Island, in the mouth of the Mohawk river.

Sept. 5th. We had orders to advance towards the enemy and we Come to Bemses house four miles from Stillwater and went to fortifying our places against the Enemy and the Enemy advanst within four miles of our army and went to fortifying so that the two armys was but four miles apart.

The 19th. The Enemy made an attact on the Left wing of our army and the Engagment was begun at half past two in the afternoon by Col. Morgan's Riflemen and Lite Infantry and so kept a Reenforsing on both sides till after sunset and begun to be Dark the Parler¹² was beet and so the batel was Ended but they Comanded our Dead. The next Day the Dead was Bured on both sides.

October 7th. We had the secent [second] Engagment begun at one in the afternoon and the Enemy got wosted and our army Drove them and took Gen. Bergoine's adecamp and the General's Doctor and five hundred tents and five hundred Prisoners officers and solgers and Drove the others and took Possession of their out Lines it being now dark were afraid of killing our one (own) men Retired.

The 8th. The next Day Gen. Gates gave the Enemy three Days to git off with themselves the meantime he sends a Party and Destroys there floating bridge and as they sent there provisions by water they Come across it and took thirteen hundred Barrils of Pork and Flower from them so they Retreated as far as Saletogue (Saratoga) and Gen. Gates sends a Party on the other side of the River to fortify and keep them from crossing the River.

The 10th. The army march'd and Come to Saletogue and lay on the south side and the river on the East where the party was sent and the wilderness on the west so they was in a three square run.

The 17th. Gen. Burgoin and his howl army surrendered themselves Prisoners of Ware and Come to Captelate with our army and Gen. Gates (five thousand seven hundred Prisoners be-

¹² Parley, announcing the cessation of hostilities.

sides the seven hundred toreyes that Gen. Gates would not take as prisoners of Ware that the Ingens garded to Canady) surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Then at one of the Clock five Brigades was sent for Albeny (for there come nuse that Gen. Clinton was a comin up the North river to Albeny) and all the stores belonging to the army was there and crossed the river at the New City we Come to Greenbush of agnst (over against) Albeny at Brake of Day in which time we march'd forty miles. Gen. Clinton having nuse that Gen. Birgoyne had capetlated and had surrendered his army prisoners of war he Returned back to New York. By reason of the hardships heat and cold and hard marches broght that Pain on in my side again.

The 30th. Our baggage Come and a little back of the Town on the hill we Incamped and Picht our tents.

The 31st. Then had orders to go twelve miles down the River to Partens overflow * and there to build huts (we had encouragements after we took Gen. Birguen's army that we should go to our one state for winter Quarters.) But in the lue of that we were sent another way.

Nov. 12. There Come orders from Gen. Washington to Gen. Gates to send his army to jine his. There was five Brigades and was sent by the way of mount holly and the Enemy Come out to Readbank fort and went after them and Come to Hartinfield.¹³ The Enemy had nuse of our Coming Retretd and went back and Crost the River Dilewar and went to Phildelphia and we returned to Mount holey [Holly] again in the Jersey State.

Dec. 1st. We Crossed Dilewar River and so going through the Crooked hills.¹⁴

The 4th. We Come and jined Gen. Washington's army at Whitemarsh in Pencilvania State. And the Pain in my side Continued to grow Worse.

* This is probably at Coeyman's, opposite the spot now known as the over-slough.

¹³ Haddonfield, N. J.

¹⁴ Crooked Billet, now Hatboro, Pa.

and beds. To the sixteenth we had no tents nor anything to Cook our Provisions in and that was Prity Poor, for beef was very leen and no salt nor any way to Cook it but to throw it on the Coles and brile it and the warter we had to Drink and to mix our flower with was out of a brook that run along by the Camps and so many a dippin and washin it which maid it very Dirty and muddy.

The 16th. The howl army had orders to march at sunset and about Dark it did begun to storm the wind being at the N. E. and the Artillery went before and Cut up the roads and the snow Come about our shows and then set in to rain and with all which made it very teges (tedious), and I was so unwell and such a pain frequented my side which made it very teges to bear. At twelve at night we Come into a wood and had order to bild ourselves shelters to brake of the storm and make ourselves as Comforteble as we could but jst as we got a shelter bilt and got a good fire and Dried some of our Cloths and begun to have things a little Comfurteble though but poor at the best thare Come orders to march and leave all we had taken so much pains for¹⁵ so we marches to the Gulfe-mills¹⁶ and bilt us Camps till the baggage Come up.

The 19th. Thare Come orders for all the sick to be sent the Hospital and I with the others of the sick belonging to the Reg't was sent to the hospital at Reddin [Reading, Pa.] but when we come thare the sick belonging to the other Right had taken it up so we was sent to Dunkertown to the hospital there.

The 26th. I with one more had leave to go and Quarter at some house where we Could find a Place and after we had taken a good Deel of Pains in seeking for a Place we Come at length to Mr. Miller's, which Place we staid a considerable time where we was used very well and Clever¹⁷ folks they were.

¹⁵ This concise entry is as graphic a picture of the daily hardships of Washington's army as I have ever seen. In none but the diary of a private soldier could such a record be looked for.

¹⁶ The Gulf or Gulph Mills, near Valley Forge.

¹⁷ Is it necessary to explain to our readers that "clever" has nothing to do with intelligence here, but means kind, helpful, obliging, etc., as the case may be? We shall meet with the word several times in our soldier's *Diary*.

1778

Jenuery 20th. At length I having got a recent Cold by which means the feaver set in I was carried to hospital and a sevear fit of sickness I had for a fortnate after that.

Februry 8. I gits better but a Number Dyed. Thare was between fifty and sixty Dyed in about a month.

The 16th. I gos back again to Mr. Miller's and stays there till I got well anoff to Return to the Ridgment again.

The 22nd. I with a number of others that belonged to the briggade Left Dunkerstown on the way to the army.

The 28th. We jined our Re't and Company and I was anoculated for the Small poxe and had it Prity favorable to what others had it.

March 19th. There was orders¹⁸ that there should be three Men sent from each Reg't to jine His Excelences Gen. Washington's Life gard and Seth Loyil was sent out of our Company but after being there a fue Days and Did not like to be there he said, but I sepose that he was afeard that the Regt would go to Rhodeisland which they did afterward and he Could not go with them and he Come back to the Compenny and I was sent in the room of him.

¹⁸ One hundred chosen men are to be annexed to the Guard of the Commander-in-Chief for the purpose of forming a corps, to be instructed in the manœuvres necessary to be introduced into the army, and to serve as a model for the execution of them. As the General's guard is composed of Virginians, the hundred draughts will be taken from the troops of the other States.

Description of the men: *Height*, from 5 feet 8 to 5 feet 10 inches; *age*, from 20 to 30 years; *robust* constitution, well limbed, formed for activity, and men of established characters for sobriety and fidelity. They must be Americans born.

H. Q. Valley Forge,

Mar. 17, 1778.

(Whiting's *Revo. Orders of Gen. Washington*, N. Y., 1844.)

The 30th. I joined the Life guard and liked being there much better than being in the Ridgment, let them go where they would.

April 4th. There Come nuse that Gen. [Charles] Lee was Come to the Lines and there was a Corpl, and Eight men sent to the Lines to guard his Baggage to Head Quarters.

The 5th. Gen. Washington with all his attendence went to the Lines to Meet Gen. Lee and to Accompany him to Head Quarters where they arrived at two of the Clock in the afternoon where they was receved with a kind salute of arms Drums fifes and Band of Musick.

May 6th. We had Rejoicing on the account of the French declaring for us Independent and the howle of the Continental army was ordered to three alarm posts in the senter and the army was all around us at there several stations (and there was a grand harber [arbor] bilt and all the Commissioners were Envited to dine with His Exelency) our guard gave the first fire then thirteen Cannon then the fire began at the rite of the army and went through the howl line and fired three rouns apeace the Artillery Discharged forty-four Cannon and it was followed with three Cheers for the King of France and three for the Friendly Powers of Europe and three Cheers for the Thirteen United States of Amarica and His Exelency gave orders that every Prisoner should have his Freedom that belonged to the Continental army that they might taste the Pleasur of the Day.

The 15th. The Ingen Chief Come to Head Quarters to Congratelate with His Exelency and also Dined with him.

The 18th. One hundred and two of the Life guard and three thousands of the army was sent as a Detachment under the Command of the Right Honorable Maj. Gen. Delesiale¹⁹ and we marched to Barronhill Chirch and there we made a halt and Formed a line of battle and our guard Lay in the Frunt of the Party by the Gen. Marques [Lafayette] Quarters, Sixteen miles from Valleyford.

¹⁹ Lafayette's name is as a great a stumbling block to Elijah as is Jamaica Plain.

The 20. This Morning at Nine of the Clock there Come Express to the General Quarters and brought Entelligence that the howl of Gen. How's Army was Advancing upon us in three Colloms one Collom Coming in the senter to meet us one Collom Coming Round on our Left wing Marching up by Delwar river and through the Crooked hills and so Crossing the Country towards Schoolkills River to Cute off our Retreat, the other striving to flank us on our right wing. The Nuse alarmed us Enstently and we took a road that lead to Jones' Forde at Schoolkill river (for we were obliged to retreat Enstently) and the Enemy was so Nigh on our right flank that we Could see them Plain and our howl Party Crossed the river and the warter was up to our middle and run very swift so that we were obliged to hold to each other to keep the Corrent from sweeping us away and all in a fluster expecting the Enemy to fire in upon us for we could see them Plain but the reason was they Could not git thare Cannon to bare on us but we got all Safe across without the loss of any save fore or five of our party that the Enemy's Lite horse Cut to pieces and our flanks killed three of there Lite Draghoons and four of there Granadears.²⁰ After we had Crossed the river we Retirred to the Gulf mills where we Remained till two in the afternoon and then we marched to Sweed's ford and there stayed all Night after a March of twelve miles.

The 21st. We Crossed Sweed's ford and Marching Down to the Same Place of ground where we was the Day before (barenhill Chirch) Nine miles.

The 22d. We at four of the Clock in the Morning, left barenhill Chirch and Marched Derect back to Sweed ford there stays till twelve of the Clock then returns to Camp after the March of twenty-two miles.

The 30th. I unhapely falls in to Schoolkill River and had Enliked to have been drowned one of my messmates havin gon over the River after some Milk and Comes and Calls for some one to

²⁰ For a spirited account of the attempt of the British to cut off Lafayette's detachment at Barren Hill, see *Sparks*, v. 545.

Come with the Canew and fetch him acrost but none would go after him. I told them that if none of them would go I would trye but I being not used to a bote and the Current being very swift and as I shifted the setting Pole on the other side to keep the head of the bote up it happened to Catch on a side of a rock and as I shoved the Pole slipped off and pitches me out the other side and being surprised and current strong with all, made for the shore but the current was so swift it Carried me Down Stream and every little while I Could tuch bottom and the warter being up to my middle but I Could not stand in Compereson more than I could stand on the side of an house then I would trye for shore but the more I strove the faster the Current would sweep me down stream and at Length being tired of trying for shore I tries to tuch bottom but I could not then I tries to git to the top of the warter and it seams as if something held me and after struglen for some minnets I felt as easy as ever I did in my life and it seems as though I was going to sleep and the first that I knew I stood on my feet Clost to the shore and seemed as though I waked out of sleep. Blake (the young man that I was going after) Come as fast as he Could swim after me (and the Current Carried me down faster than he Could swim) and Come to me and soon a number was there and they helped me home to the barrack and the Doctor blooded me, but I was very unwell for several days.

June 4th. There was a spye Hung on the grand parade from the Enemy he formerly belonged to our Army and was an Ensign in the Secund Pencilvania Ridgt. His name was Thomas Church.

The 9th. Lady Washington Left Head Quarter to Return to Virginey.

The 11th. Our army Left there huts and went into Tents.

The 18th. The Regelars Left Philedelphia and some Part of our army took Possession of the City and Gen. Lee's Division Marched for the Eastward.

The 19th. The Remander of the army Left Valy forde and

Marched and Crossed Solevan's Bridge²¹ over Schoolkill and Pitched tents.

The 20th. We Left Schoolkill and Marched and Come into Bucks County after Marching fifteen miles and Pitched our tents.

The 21st. We Left Bucks County at ten of the Clock in the four noon and after ten miles March we arrived at Carrell's²² ferrey and the Life guard Crossed at four in the afternoon and Marched to Mr. Haises in Hunberton's County where his Excelency had his Quarters and Pitched our tents.

The 23d. Capt. Gibbs, Leut. Grimes, four Sarj. and four Corpl. and seventy-two men of the guard jined Col. Morgan's Party and went Down to the Lines and the rest of the guard²³ went with the Baggage and Leut. Colsare had the Command and at four in the after noon We Left Mr. Haises and Marched all night and Mett with a good deal of Dificulty in giting along.

The 24th. We Come to Kittorn²⁴ and Pitched our tents after a very fetigeing March.

We Left Kittorn at Nine of the Clock A. M. and Marched and Come to Rockey hill and Pitched our tents there a while.

The 28th. On Sunday our army had the Engagement with the British at Monmouth Court-house where Gen. Lee went Con- trary to orders but our army Drove them and if that he had man- aged according to his orders it was likely in all probability we should have taken the howl or the bigar Part of there army. It was a vary hot Day and a grate many died a drinking water.

July 1st. We Left Rockey hill and Marched and Come to Brumsick [New Brunswick] where Head Quarters was pitched our tents.

²¹ General Sullivan built a bridge over the Schuylkill at Valley Forge.

²² Coryell's Ferry, now Lambertville, N. J.

²³ William Colfax, Lieutenant of the Guard, grandfather of Schuyler Col- fax, vice-president of the U. S., 1869-73.

²⁴ Kingston, a mile or two from Princeton.

July 4th. We Selebrated the Independence of Amarica the howl army parraded and at the Right of Every Brigade there was a field peace placed, then was the signal given for the howl army to fire and they fired one round apiece and the artilery Discharged thirteen Cannon we gave three Cheers &c. At Night his Exelency and the gentlemen and Ladys had a Bawl at Head Quarters with grate Pompe.

The 7th. We Left Brumswick and Come to Schots plains [Scotch Plains, N. J.] and there Capt. Gibbs and the rest of the guard that Left us at Carels [Coryell's] farrey jined us again after a March of Nine miles from Brumswick.

The 8th. We Leaves the Schots Plains we marched in the Morning Marching through Springfield and the township of York [Newark] and Come to the Stone house Picket²⁵ we pitched our tent after the march of twenty-six miles.

The 10th. We marched at three of the Clock in the morning and after Eighteen miles march we Come to Head Quarters two miles from Primmiss [Paramus] Chirch and there Pitched our tents.

The 14th. All the army but Gen. Marque's [Lafayette] Division Marched and Sargt. Edward and twenty-fore of the guard have still for his Exelency Remaned at Purmass; the rest of the guard Marched on and Come to Col. Haze's²⁶ three miles from Thing's²⁷ farrey and Encamped after the March of twenty-fore miles from Purmass.

The 16th. His Exelency Come up with us and jined us.

The 19th. We Left Col. Hazes and Marched and Crossed the North river at King's farrey and Marches bye Crumford²⁸ and

²⁵ Stone House Plains, now Brookdale.

²⁶ Colonel A. Hawkes Hay, in the present town of Haverstraw. The house has disappeared. See *The Crisis of the Revolution* for a full account of him.

²⁷ King's Ferry, just above Stony Point, N. Y.

²⁸ Crompond, Westchester Co., N. Y., east of Peekskill.

after thirteen miles march we Pitched our tents Cotalan's [Cortland's] manor.

The 20th. We marched at three of the Clock in the afternoon and Crossing Cotalan²⁹ Bridge and after twelve miles March we Come to Mr. Right's³⁰ mills on the age of the White Planes.

The 27th. Head Quarters moved Down to the White Planes and the guard likewise and pitched our tents and there Remaned some time.

Aug. 17th. There was a man shot Near Head Quarters for Enlisting seven times and taken bountys.

The 21st. There was sixteen men to be Executed some for Desarsion and some for Enlesting Numbers of times, but for there former good Conduct and the Enterseding of there officers his Exelency was pleased to pardon them.

Sept. 16. We Left the White planes and Marching through North Castel and after sixteen miles March we Come to Mr. Ragemand's in Bedford.

The 18th. We Left Bedford and Marched and Come to Fredrexburg³¹ after the March of fifteen miles and Pitched our tents.

The 19th. We Left Fredericksburg and after thirteen miles march we pitched our tents at Mr. Reed's field in Oblong.*

The 25th. Head Quarters and likewise the guard Left Oblong and Come to Mr. Cain's³² in Fredrexburg four miles and pitched tents.

²⁹ Now Cortland's Bridge over the Croton River.

³⁰ (Reuben) Wright's Mills, near the present Kensico. Washington had his headquarters here at one time; and the Wright dwelling (still standing) is one of those to which his captors took Major André (Sept., 1781).

³¹ Fredericksburg, then in Dutchess Co., N. Y.

* The Oblong—A tract still known by that name, due to its peculiar shape.

³² "Cain" was John Kane, an ancestor of Dr. E. K. Kane, the Arctic explorer.

The 20th. A large Detachment under the Command of Gen. Lord Starling [Stirling] Marched for the Jarseys Capt. Levenston²² his adde-camp.

The 30th. His Exelency with his adde-camps went to Fishkills.

October 1st. I had a pass for five Days to go to New Milford (Mr. N. Fisher) to see a Relation of mine.

The 5th. As I was returning from New Milford, Missed my way which Detaned me.

The 6th. I Returned and jines the guard again and at my Return I finds an alteration in the Dress of my mates I asked one of them I. Herrick it seams as though there had been an alteration since I have been gon. He said that he had that Money sent to him that he sent for (Now I know that he had sent for som Money from his father) I said that I was glad off it for I hoped that we should not be so puttout for money to bye things with now and that you will be able to pay me that trifill you owe me (Sixteen Dollars) he said he hoped he should. Presently in comes one or two more I said have you had money sent you from home too, I fear that you have taken some other way to git it than that; then Harrick said that as I. Herrin was out after things for the General's famely (now Herrin was one that was sent after to bye things for the Genearl's Famely and he had a horse and a pass to go where he Could git such things as was wanted for the General's Famely) he Come to an old Tory's house and they would not Let him have any thing and he see several things that he wanted so when he Come home he gos to his messmates and tales them and they gos and robed him of several things. I said that Whether he be a tory or not If it should be found out (which such things as Robery seldim is) some or all of you will be hung which surprised them Vary much but there was no more heard about it.

The 8th. His Exelency and Addecamp returned from Fishkill to Mr. Cane's.

²² (W. S.?) Livingston.

The 17th. In Remembrance of Gen. Burgoin's Defeat the Day was celebrated with the firing of Canon and in throing of skilokets [skyrockets] in the are thirteen Canon was fired then they begun to through [throw] the skilokets and a merry Day they had too at the Park of artilery. At night some of the Guard was a going to the park Col. Harrison's waiter²⁴ was a coming from there under swift way run over one of them which hurt him so that he died the same Night.

The 18th. John Lovjoy the man that was killed by the horse was Desently Buried. There was them four that was said that Robed the Tory brought to an Exemanation Viz.: John Herron, John Herrick Moses Walton and Elias Brown. The same Day John Stogdel one of the guard was to Mr. Howlens and he was a telling him how that he had been Robed so and so at such a time and that the liver (livery, uniform) that the men had on that Robed him was a round hatter with a peace of Bare skin on it but they ware all blacked and that he had made Enquirey through the army but Could not find any that wore such hats but the guard asked him if he had seen any of the guard more fuller of money than usuel he said he did not know but he had but Did not know how they Come by it. The man said that he Did not want any man hurt upon his account for he knew that they would be hung if they were found out and told Stogdal that if he would find the things and put them where he mite find them he would say no more about it. Stogdal gos home to the guard and was Consulting with one of his messmates about it for they had Destroyed a Part of the things and if they did anything about it it would bring it all out. In the meen while there Come Mr. Howage to the offisers of the guard on suspicion that some one had Robed him (for they Robed one on Friday Night and the other on Monday Night) and as they was a talking about it one of the watters (waiters—officers' servants) Come and told them that Stogdal knew something about them. He was Called and Exemened but he tryed to hide what he Could but they told him that if he Did not tell all he knew about it he would be taken up on suspicion and fare accordingly then he thought it would be

²⁴ Mounted servant.

known and if he Did not tell what he knew it would bring him into Difficulty so he up and tells all that he knew Consarning the affare when they sends and Confined Herrick and Brown and sends Sarjt. Harris with two Lite horse men into the Country after Walton that was not well and he was abed and asleep and they tells the wooman that they wanted a Candle and so they gos up Chamber and stands over him with there swords drawn in there hands and awakes him and told him that he was there prisoner and he gits up and had a pare of Dearskin Breeches that they had got to Mr. Howlens so they feches him to the gard and Confinds him with the others, and Herrin was out and having a genral pass they were afrade that he would hear of it so they sends to a Place where he Did sometimes Reside but he being not there they Returned.

The 19th. The Next Morning Leut. Livinstone was to the Park of artüery (Herrin in his return from the Country Come by there) sends a man with him for fear he would make his Escape so he was garded to Head Quarters and Confind with the others. The same Day they was Examend and Herrick said that he was loth to go after they had set out and gon a little way he would fane have had them gon back but they told him that if he did not go that they would Despach him for they would not have him Enform aganst them so he was obliged to go so he turned State's Evedence aganst the others so after Examination was found guilty and what things that Could be found that they had not Desposed of was Restored to them again that they belonged too and where they had Payd any Dets they was obliged to Restore it to them again and they to the ones they got it from, then the Same Day they was all sent to the purvey [provost] guard.

The 22d. They all had ther Tryel and Herrin, Walton and Brown was sentenst to be hung and Herrick to have a hundred Lashes. Walton made his escape from the purvey gard and Herrin was hung at Fishkills and Brown made his escape from the gard that was sent to gard him to the Place of Execusion to New Millford to the part of the army that lay there. Herrick was Carried to Fredrixburg and had a hundred Lashes.

The 28d. Gen. Patersons, Gen. Huntington and Gen. Nixon's Brigades Marched to Hartford save Col. Parsons Regt and that went onward.

The 24th. The Gard Marcht down to Fredrixburg to see a man hung for Robing he was Executed at Eleven in the fournoon Thomas Glover by Name and there was five Whipt one hundred Lashes apeace all save one for Robing two of them belongd to the Gard Viz. John Harrick and Joseph Timberlek was for striking an offiser.

The 25th. The Pensilvania Troops Marcht for the Jarseys.

The 26th. Gen. Nock's [Knox] Parke of Artillery Marched for the Jarseys.

Nov. 28th. His Exelency and also his Gard Left Fredericksburg and Marched for the Jarseys and at Night we Pitcht our tents by Clane's tavern in Philipspatten³⁵ after the March of sixteen miles.

The 29th. We left the Patten at seven of the fournoon and at five in the afternoon we pitcht our tents by Mr. Lent's in Piekskill two miles from the King's farrey after the March of seventeen miles.

The 30th. Gen. Nock's Park of artillery Crossed at King's farrey. We lay still.

Dec. 1st. The guard Left Piekskill and Crossed at King's farrey Marched on to Col. Hazes and Encampd after Marching two and three is five miles.

The 2d. We left Col. Hazes and after seventeen miles March we Come to Mr. Jones Baggat in Romepawe [Ramapo, N. Y.] and Picht our tents.

The 3d. We left Romepawe and after twenty miles March we Come to Mr. Goods in Prequannackit [Pequannock, N. J.].

³⁵ Phillipse Patent.

The 4th. We Left Mr. Goods and after twenty miles March we Come to Mr. Lott's in Troy [Morris County, N J.] and Pitcht our tents.

The 5th. We left Troy and Marched and Come to Morristown.

The 6th. We left Morristown and after twenty-three miles March we Come to Mr. [William] Wallase^{oo} where His Exelency had his winter Quarters and likewise the guard built huts and had there winter Quarters in Barringtown [Bernardstown].

The 9th. We begun to git the timber for the huts and to work on them.

The 16th. We finished our huts and we left our tents and moved into them.

Ther 30th. There was a Continentall thanksgiving Day ordered by Congress.

1779

Feb. 10th. I makes an agreement with Mr. I. Wallais for to Clear a peace of Land for him, the Condishons are as follows, I was to clear so much land fitt for mooing [mowing] and in my full-filing my oblegation Mr. Wallais was to give me one hundred Dollars Paper Currincy but if Head Quarters moved before I had finished it he was to Pay me for what I had Dun according to the agreement.

Apr. 22d. The French and Spanish Embasendor arived at Head Quarters and they was received with the selute of arms and Drumes and fifes and band of Musick and wellcomed by his Exelency.

The 30th. The army was revewed by the two Embasendors on the grand parrade.

^{oo} About four miles west of Middlebrook, or in the present Somerville. The house is still standing (1909) and is owned and maintained by the New Jersey Revolutionary Memorial Society.

May 2d. Both the French and Spanish Embasendors left Head Quarters at five in the morning for Philedelphia and as they past our army (they being on the grand parrade) they was seluted by the firing of thirteen Canon and a Desent selute of arms by our army and his Exelency accompanied them on there way.

The 6th. There was a farst [fast] ordered by Congress and there was a Sermon Preached by Mr. Armstrong²⁷ at Head Quarters.

The 12th. The King of the Ingens with five of his Nobles to attend him Come to Head Quarters to Congrattulate with his Exelency.

June 1st. I settels with Mr. Wallas and he gave me Eighty Dollars.

The 4th. The guard left Berington [Bernardstown] at twelve o'clock for New Winsor and after twenty miles march we Come to Mr. Kimballs in Morristown.

The 5th. We left Mr. Kimball's and after fourteen miles March we Come to Potewonick [Pequannock] and pitched our tents.

The 6th. We left Petwonick and after twenty miles march we Come to Gen. Arskell's²⁸ at Ringwood and Come up with his Exelency.

The 7th. We left Ringwood and Come to Smith Clove at Head Quarters after a march of twenty-five miles and picht our tents and staid till

The 21st. We Left Smith's Clove and after fourteen miles march we Come to Mr. Ellis in New Winsor where the Gen. had his Quarters and picht our tents and staid there till

The 27th. Was Sunday and there was a Sermon Preached at

²⁷ Rev. James F. Armstrong, at this time chaplain of the 2nd Maryland, and after the war, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Trenton, 1786-1816.

²⁸ Robert Erskine, the Revolutionary geographer.

Head Quarters by Mr. Hitchcock^{**} and he took his text in the twenty-seventh Chapter of Job at the fifth Verse you may find the words.

July 6th. There was one man killed and twenty wounded by thunder in Gen. Patterson's Brigade.

The 16th. At Night Gen. Wayne with a party of the Infantry surprised the Enemy and took Stony Point fort from them and betwixt five and six hundred Prisoners.

The 20th. After putting all the baggage aboard the sloop we left New Windsor at four in the afternoon and went by water to West Point and staid aboard that Night twelve miles.

The 21st. We unloaded the baggage and pitched our tents at Morse's Colley [Moore's Falls] a little Distant from West Point Fort.

Aug. 6th. There were two more Deserted from the Guard Viz. Timothy Smith and Levi Deen. Sarjt. Edwards was sent after them but found them not.

The 15th. We had a Sermon Preached at Head Quarters by Mr. Armstrong and he took his text in the one hundred and twenty-sixth psalm at the fifth Verse you have these words—" they that sow in tears shall reap in joy."

The 29th. We had the Resolves of Congress of the Nineteenth Instant Read to us that the Soldiers wages should be ten Dollars more added to their wages and what Clothes they had not Received that they should have them and Confirmed by General orders.

Sept. 15. His Excellency Gen. Washington and Gen. Green with their Addecamps went to New Windsor the honourable Chevalier Le DeLuzerne and Embasender from the Court of France and accompanied him to Head Quarters at West Point and When they arrived they were Received and wellcomed with the salutes of

^{**} Enos Hitchcock, of Massachusetts, was brigade chaplain of Patterson's Mass. Brigade, Aug. 27, 1778, until the close of the war.

Drums and fifes and the gard present there arms. They arrived at three in the afternoon and at five there was thirteen Canon fired from the fourt on account of his arrival.

The 16th. His Exelency and the Embasendor went and Vewed all the fourt and battery that were on West Point and Sarjt. Harris and ten of the guard went over the River to Gen. DePotaies [Duportail] and carreys a markee and several other things and piched the markee and at five of the Clock in the afternoon Gen. Washington and Embasendor and several other Gen. and offisers with them arrived there and Dined.

The 17th. The Embasender left West Point at eight of the Clock in the fournoon for Philadelphia and was accompened by his Exelency and addecamps as far as New Winsor and returned.

The 23d. Leut. Colefax⁴⁰ and the part of the guard that left the guard at Barington for East town they arrived there the six Instant with the Baggage and left there the twentyth of Sept. and after the march of an hundred miles they Come to New Winsor the twenty-third and left the baggage and Come to West Point.

Oct. 1st. The North Carolina troops left West Point and Come to New Winsor and Incampnt.

The 15th. One of the Guard, viz. John Piller Deserted from the guard at West Point.

The 19th. All the Carolina men that belonged to the guard jined there Ridgments and the Carolinian troops left West Point on there way to Gorja [Georgia].

The 21st. There was threë men to be hung for Robing and one Whipt for Mr. King's house. Two of them had there repreave, the other two hung. They belonged to the Carolina troops and five others Whipt.

The 30th. His Exelency and likewise the guard left West Point and Come to New Winsor and Encampnt.

⁴⁰ Lieut. William Colfax.

The 31st. We left New Winsor for Morristown and Come to Smith's Clove.

Dec. 1st. We left Smith's Clove and Come to Ringwood Eighteen miles.

The 3d. We left Ringwood and Come to Mr. Good's in Reading (Rockaway) N. J.

The 4th. We left Rocheway and Come to Morristown where Head Quarters was and Picked our tents.

The 6th. We begun to git the timber for our huts and to work on them.

The 9th. We finished our huts and left our tents and mooved into them.

The 23d. The man that was sent after our Clothes the seven-teenth Instent returned.

The 31st. Lady Washington arrived at Head Quarters at Morristown.

1780

Jan. 7th. I had my Discharge from the Corps of Guards.

The 9th. I leaves Morristown and gos to Mr. Wallises in Baringtown [Bernardstown].

The 10th. I agreas with Mr. Wallis for a month for four Dol-lars, where I stayed and was vary well used and vary Clever folks.

The 22d. Gen. Starling [Stirling] and a Party of our army went on to Staten Island and brought us some Cattle and some Clothing.

The 25th. A Party of the Enemy Come over to Elezebeth-town and took of several offisers and sholgers of our army.

Feb. 9th. I finishes my month that I Engaged with Mr. Wal-lais there.

The 14th. I stayes there and follows my Riting and sifering

the same as I had Dun the Evnings before (for Every Evning from six of the Clock till Nine I used to follow my study and Mr. Wallais was as Desirus of my learning as myself and used to showe me) and as Cleaver folkes (or that used me the best) that I found in my travels. The same Day at twelve of the Clock I leave Mr. Wallaises and after Eighteen miles travel I Come to Col. Jackson's Rignt and found some of my Townsmen and staid with them that Night, Tomas Thatcher and Obidiah.

The 15th. I left Col. Jackson's Rignt and Comes to Head Quarters—five miles in Morrystown and Draws four Days provisions at Com. Caines.

The 16th. I leaves Head Quarter and after Nine miles I comes to Wingat's Tavern in Rockingay [Rockaway] worss walking.

The 17th. I leaves Mr. Wingats and after twenty-five miles travel I Comes to Col. Sworeds within fourteen miles of Worweck [Warwick] and Lodged.

The 18th. I leaves Col. Sworeds and after thirty miles travel I Comes to Mr. Cirtes [Curtis] in Blooming-groove and Lodged.

The 19th. I leaves Mr. Cirtes and after twelve miles travel I Comes to Mr. Lowdens in New Winsor and stayes and gos to New Burg and Draws Eight Days provisions and Returned to New Winsor again.

The 20th. I leaves Mr. Lowden's and Crosses the North River and Comes to Fishkill and gos to a offiser to git an order to Draw provision and he hapened to be there that I Drue provision on the Day before he said Did not you Draw Eight Days yesterday? (I found I was Cached). I said yes, but that was to Carry me to Boston. He said how I Could draw at Litchfield and at Hartford. I said I did not want to Draw it there to have to Carry it therefore then I Come to Fishkills Town and Drue two Days' provision and Come to Mr. Lanston's sixteen miles Ditto.

The 21st. I left Mr. Lanstons and after sixteen miles travel I Comes to Mr. Hunt's in Oblong and Lodges.

The 22d. I Leaves Mr. Hunt's and after sixteen miles travel I Come to Mr. N. Fishers in New Milford, and a stormy Day very.

The 24th. I leaves my Cossins and after twenty-five miles travel I Comes to Mr. Mebulick's in Harrington⁴¹ (Drue two Days provision at Lichfield.)

The 25th. I left Harrington and after thirty miles I come four miles after crossing the farrey at Hartford where I Drue two Day's provision.

The 26th. I left East Hartford and after twenty-eight miles travel I Comes to Mr. Yonges within four miles of Windham.

The 27th. I left Mr. Yonges and Draws three Days provision at Windham and after twenty-two miles travels I Comes to Mr. Hases in Volinstown [Voluntown.]

The 28th. I Left Mr. Hases in Volinstown and Comes to Providence and Drue two Days provision and then Comes to Mr. Sulses in Ditto thirty-four miles.

The 29th. I leaves Landlord Sulses and after thirteen miles travel I comes home to Attleborough three hundred miles from Baringtown.

Apr. 18th. I Engages with Mr. Stephen Pond for six months and he was to give me Sixty Bushel of Corn.

May 22d. I was taken lame with a breeding sore in my Rite hand till the 5th of June.

July 1st. The Company was Called together to hier men for six months and I Engages for Attleborough the forth time of my Engagement.

The 4th. I leaves Attleborough and gos to Boston to git the Depreseation of my Wages for the three years sarvis and when I Comes there I was Deredcted to the Commita [Committee] of Inquiry to see what bounty I had Received and when I Come there I

⁴¹ Harwinton, Conn.

found that the selectmen of Attleborough had sent in to the Cort that I had Received fifty-four pound which to a triful would balance the Depreciation of my Wages. I said I had never Received that and the twenty-four Pound I Received without the Depreciation and at most I had never received more than Forty-nine Pound and if that was the way they ment to use the sholgers if I had anone [known] of it before I had Engaged I never would have gone the six months. But jest so they use the sholgers. They will promise them that they will give them so and so and after they have got them to Enlist they are Cheated out of one-half they ought to have by one or another of the offisers if the state gits it for them and sometimes they are too Neglectfull. One of the Comita start up with his grate wigg said the sholgers had been used very well, sometimes these things were not to be got and then we Could not have them as soon as we should wish. I was rong in acusing and talking as you do. Then spake up another that set a little Distance and heard what was said (a black haired man) in my behalf and said that the sholgers had been used very ill as this man said and that they are cheated out of a good deel that they ought to have, then turns to me and says if your selectmen have used you ill in respect of sending in the account of what bounteys you have received; it may be there is a mistake made and if you git them to certify what bounteys you have received you shall have your Depreaseation maid up accordingly and send it Down by your Representative and you shall have it. I thanked him, Mr. Coffern, and so left them.

I leaves Boston and Comes to Mr. Pond in Mansfield and settled with him for the time I had worked for him for I did not Live with him the time I Engaged on the account of my Enlisting and found Due to me Nineteen Bushel and an half of Corn then Returns home to Attleborough.

The 7th. I has Mr. S. Pond horse to go to Tanton to pass Muster. Mr. Lennard Master; then Returned to Norton and stais.

The 8th. I returned home to Attleborough and gos to the selectmen and git them to certify what bounteys I had received and they certifies that I had securities for fifty-four Pound in the year

one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven. I Did not receive the year Eighty without the Depresecation so I sent that with an order to the treasurers by Col. Daggett and they sent the Notes.

The 9th. I takes my Departer from Attleborough with Mr. Levi Maxey and with a horse for to jine the army at West Point and after twenty-three miles March we Comes to Mr. Wesills in Mendshame.⁴³

The 10th. We left Mr. Wesills and after twenty-two miles March we Come to Mr. Jenkenses in Liester [Leicester].

The 11th. We left Mr. Jenkenses and twenty-three miles we Comes to Landlord Chapmans in Springfield Plains.

The 12th. We left Mr. Chapmans and Comes to Springfield five miles and was Mustered for the State serves, then at seven of the Clock at Evening we left Springfield and set out with a party consisting of one hundred and twenty-five and Crost the Jarseys and after five miles march We Come to the feeding hills and stopt.

The 13th. We left the feeding hills and after twenty-two miles march we Come to Landlord Dudley Case and stays.

The 14th. We left Dudley Cases and after twenty-foure miles March we Come to Litchfield and Drue three Days Provision.

The 15th. We left Litchfield at three in the afternoon and after twelve miles march we Comes to Landlord Boles in Washington.

The 16th. We left Mr. Boles and after twenty-three miles march we Come to Luestons Patten [Livingston's Patent] in York state.

The 17th. We left the Patten and after Eighteen miles march we Come to Fishkill Barraks and Drue two Days Provisions.

The 18th. We left the Barraks at ten of the Clock and after thirteen miles march we Come to West Point.

⁴³ Mendham.

The 19th. We was Mustered and detached into Regiments and I jined Col. Tupers Regt. and the Company that Leut. Frances Commanded.

The 23d. We was Enspeted by Gen. Barren Stuben and I was drawn out to jine the Lite Infantry (Lafayette's Corps) and jined Capt. Abbitts Company.

The 25th. We had nuse that the secund scuadron of the French arrived the twenty-third of this Instant, the first the tenth Instant.

The 26th. There was two men shott for Enlisting severill times and for Deserting. They Come up with the six months men and was taken.

The 31st. The army left West Point and Crossed the river, the baggage gos down by warter in botes and I being unable to bare the fateges of the march went in the botes with the baggage. We left West Point at seven in the Evening and (that night?)

Aug. 1st. We Come to Peekskills Landing and Gen. Washington's Head Quarters was there and I gos to see some of the gard and the Baggage was Carried two miles from there where the army lay Incampt in the woods and half the Baggage was ordered to be sent back to West Point again, and I was so weak there was another sent in to the Infantry in my room.

The 2d. I being sick with the plurisee was sent to Varplanks Point having a Violent Pain in my side.

The 4th. The howl army Crossed at Kings farrey with the Infantry.

The 5th. Gen. Nasons Brigade and Gen. Glovers and Gen. Starke's and all there Baggage and one botte overset and five men and five yoke of oxen was Drowned and the other Brigades Crossed all rite.

The 7th. All the sick that was at Varplanks Point was sent

in a botte up the river to Robeson's⁴³ house to that hospital and the army was ordered for Staten Island.

The 8th. We left Robesons farmes and was ordered for Fishkills and Come to Fishkills Landing and staid that Night.

The 9th. We left the Landing and Come to the (A) Cademy six miles which makes thirty-five miles from Verplank's Point to the hospitals in Fishkills where we was.

The 13th. I with severil others left the Cademy and Come to the yalow Chirch⁴⁴ which was Caled the recovering hospitle.

The 19th. I rote a part of the larger Caticism taken out of a book Entitled the Confission of faith, but having orders to go and jine my regt I had not time to rite no more.

The 21st. There was Ten of us had our Discharge from the hospitale and gos to the Barrack, and jined a Party with Capt. Mills which made twenty-foure. We left Fishkills at Eleven of the Clock and marches six miles and Comes to the Landen⁴⁵ and at five of the Clock we went aboard the sloops to go to Kings farrey and at Night we Cast ancre by West Point and kept aboard.

The 22d. We left West Point at seven in the Morning and at two we Cast ancre at Kings farrey and at five in the afternoon we took a bote and went down to the Hook within five miles of Tappan at ten at Evening and went ashore.

The 23d. We left the hook at seven and Come to Tappan at Nine in the Morning and left our bote and at three in the afternoon we Marched from the state being Tapansburg and Come to Clester [Closter, N. J.] within three miles of the army which is called the English Naberhood being Nine miles more. The army left Oringetown and Come to the English Naberhood.

The 24th. We jined our respective ridgments and Companys

⁴³ Beverly Robinson.

⁴⁴ The Dutch church in Fishkill Village.

⁴⁵ Fishkill Landing, opposite Newburgh, N. Y.

at twelve o'clock and the army had not Drawn no Meet for four or five Days.

The 25th. The Infntry went down to the Enemys Lines and took Considerable of Cattle and other articles from them.

The 30th. I was ordered for Morn gard and when we Come on the guard parade there was a Maj. and three Capt. and three Leut. and nine Sarjt. and Eleven Corpl. and one hundred and twenty privits for special guard.

Sept. 4th. The drums was beet and the tents were all struck and loded into waggons and at Eleven the army left Teaneck Planes and Come to Strumpee⁴⁶ and incampt five miles.

The 8th. Gen. Poor Died, he received his wound by fiteing a duel with a Major. He Commanded the Infntry and belonged to New Hampshire.

The 12th. The howl army was Enspeted by Gen. Washington and others of the French Gen. and a number of Ingun Chiefs. They went through the whole army and when they Come to the Park of artillery they seluted them with thirteen cannon and when they passed a brigade they presented there arms to them.

The 14th. Gen. Washington and Gen. Nocks [Knox] and Gen. DeMarkene [Lafayette] with there Addes set out from Head Quarters for Hartford to meet the French troops that was a coming to jine our army.

The 20th. The whole army had orders to March, the gard was beat, the tents loded into waggons and at ten in the morning the army left Strumpee [Steenrapie] and after Eleven miles march we Come to Oringetown or Tappan and Encampt.

The 25th. The whole army was praded and formed the line of battle, the two Brigade of Infntry In the frunt, the Pencilvania, Jarsey and York Brigades and Connecticut and Rhode Island and New Hampshire Brigades formed the main body and the Massachu-

⁴⁶ Steenrapie, about three miles northwest of Hackensack, N. J.

setts troops in the rear. The twenty-third Day the trechery Plan of Gen. Arnel was Discovered. Maj. André, Adj. Gen. of the British was taken up a maken his askape by three of the military they lying in ambush wating for some of the Refugees that had taken some of the Cattle from them when Maj. André Come along amaking his askape to the British army. He took them to be some of the Refugees and begd of them that they would gard him within there Lines for fear some of the Americans should Come athought them. They told him they would and starts up and surrounded the horse and told him that he was there preasener whan he Come to hear that he told them that if they would let him go he would give them his horse, saddle and bridle and a present of fifty guineas Each. They told him no, they set more by there Country. Then so he told them if they would let him go and go along with him they should have Each of them Commissions and a large Reward. They did not want any of his Rewards that when they had brought him to Gen. Washington he would reward them but as [to] him they Did not now what he would do when he got within their Lines so they brought him to West Point. When Gen. Arnel heard that Maj. André was taken and his Plans was like to be found out which some tory brought to him the nuse, he Calls for his barge and gos Down the River under a Pretence of taking a Recess and so makes his askape to the British shipping that lay against Wchester (He had Envited Gen. Washington to Come and Dine with him at his Quarters on West Point) and Gen. Washington arrived at West Point a little after Gen. Arnel made his askape, and Joseph Smith our foragemaster Gen. was brought out by Maj. André as being Confedrate with Arnal in the plan of Resining the fort at West Point and Gen. Washington to the Enemy so they was brought to Head Quarters at Oringetown and they was garded by sixty men and Eight Commishened offisers and Eighteen sentreys.

Oct. 2d. Maj. André was Executed at twelve of the Clock, there was a gard consisting of sixteen Commishened offisers, twenty-six sarjts. and one hundred and Eighty Rank and file and twelve Drums and fifes.

The 7th. The army left Oringtown the genl. was beat at seven of the Clock in the morning and we Marched at Nine and after twelve miles march we Come to Puramas [Paramus] at half past ten in the Evening and a tegas N. E. storm we had and suffered much with the Cold and rane.

The 9th. We left Puramas and Come to Quackit [Kakiat] and Encampt.

The 17th. I agreed with Sarjt. Sm. Whipels to stay one month with him after my time was out and so do his Duty and he was to larn me to Rite and sifer and what other larning would be eassy &c.

Nov. 2d. I begun my sifering and followed it till we left Puramas.

The 28th. We left Puramas and Come to West Point five miles.

Dec. 2d. We marched two miles back from the Point and went into huts.

The 4th. I begun to do ordetly Sarjt. Duty for Whippel and he went home.

1781

Jan. 2. We left the York Huts and Come down to the Point and Went into the Barraks and Sarjt. Smith did orderly Duty and I did Sarjt. duty till he went home.

The 23. I was on Mainguard and there was a Command Cald for to Send after the Jas'y troopes⁴⁷ that had risen far they said the Could not have there Cloths nor wages that they was Promisd and the Com'd Serrounded them and Come upon them unawares with their field peses and they found it in vain to stand out so Come to tarmes.

Feb. 8th. Sarjt. Smith went home as a recruting Sarjt and I did orderly duty till Sarjt Whippel returned. Capt. Lunt was at home on furlow and one of the Leut was at home recruting the

⁴⁷ This was the mutiny of the New Jersey Line at Pompton.

other on Command so I had to take the howl Care of the Comp'y and all the returns to Sine and Clothing to git and State stores and the like.

Mar. 1st. The time being out and Whipple not returned I begin to think that he had given us the slip and that I should have to stay During the ware in his room (as well as others) but Leut. Buckman said that I need not be Conserved, Whipple will return.

Apr'l 6th. Sarjt Whipple returns and jines his Comp'y and releases me.

The 10th. I has my Discharge and order to draw provision —and Sarjt. warrant.

The 11th. I Leaves West Point and Crosses the River for attlebrough.

The 20th. I Come to Mr. Wm. Titus in Rheboth.

The 21st. I Left Mr. Titus and Comes to Mr. Allans in Parmersriver.

The 23th. I returns home to Attleborough.

The 26. I Leaves attlthor' and Comes to Dighton to Mr. Traffurns.

The 28. I Left Mr. Graffurn and Comes through Parmersriver and rest.

The 30th. I Returns to attelbor'.

May 5. I engage with Doctor Jonson of Norton for six months for Nine Dollars a month which makes fifty four.

June 7th. I Leves Norton for Pantown after a hors for Doctor Jonson.

The 9th. I arrives there after a March of sixty mild and gets the hors and returns and Come to Norton the leventh.

The 14th. I Leaves Doctor Jonsons and we throes up the

bargon and he pays me for what time I had work'd for him (so we Parted) for he said that Nine Dollars was too much I told him I Could not aford to work for less the same Day I Engages with Mr. Morey for five months for the same that he was to give, so I gos to work for him.

Aug. 18. I had a sute of Cloths Made besides a great Cote and westcot and breeches by Mrs. Traffurn, my sister at Dighton.

Octo. 4th. I had Mr. Moreys horse to go to Parmersriver to Brother Abial Fishers wedding and returned back through Attlebor.

The 14th. Dr—Come to me and said that he wanted to hire me. I said I was Engaged with Mr. Morey and the time is not up he said he had seen him and he said he had hired you for four months and that your time is up to Night I said I engaged with him for five months he said he Did not now anything about that but if my time was up with Mr. Morey he should be glad to hire me the same Night I had a Despute with Mr. Morey I told him that when I engaged with him it was for five months I agreed for When I Come to Live hear and I told you then that I must have the same a month if I work'd with you that I was to have at Doctor Jonsons (Wich was Nine Dollars) and you said wall, go to work and there will be no Difficulty you Did not think about it so I gos to work he said we talk'd somthing about it and you said that Doctor Jonson would wage[r] his hors that you could not git so much so I Calld it so on that account. I told him it was a farm [firm] bargain and that I ment to hav it he said he Did not want to hire much now but if I was amento [a mind to] go to work he would give me five Dollars for another month but no more than eight for each of the other four. I told him I Did Detarmen to have what I agreed for at first so I gos to work again till the time was out and says no more about it till then.

Nov. 14. So when the time was up (the five months) and Coms to settle with him he said that he Did not Engag to give me no more then Eight Dollars for Each of the first four months

and five for the Last. I told him we agreed for five months and he was to give me Nine Dollars a month, he said it was not, and I having no witness of the barging and was Ignorent of the law whether there was any way to git it or not Did not no what to Do so after a long Despute I like a fool settles with him and took up with what he said a month and he made me give as much a Day for every Day I Lost as he gave a man that he hired by the Day and would not Let me work to make the time up that I Lost and what I had his hors which was severl times he made me give two shillings old tenner [old tenor] a mild [mile] so I settles with him and took a note of him for the remander which was thirty Dollars and have been redy to tare my hair off I have ben so angry with myself for being such a fool to settle with him as I Did.

The 15th. I Leaves Norton and Comes home to attlebor--ough.

The 17th. I has my Br. horse and gos to Norton and settles with the Constable Mr. Willard for my notes and returned.

Dec. 4th. I with Br. Abial Left Attleborough at five in the morning for Boston and on our way to Putney in the New State [Vermont] and Comes to Boston and Lays out thirty od Dollars for things to Carry with us then Left Boston we Comes to Landlord Bakers in Brookline after the march of thirty saven miles.

The 5th. We Left Landlord Bakers at Six of the Clock and a bad storm we had which hendred us and at Nine at Evening we Come to Mr. Puffers in Sudbury and Lodged—twenty two mild.

The 6th. We Left Mr. Puffers at seven and after twenty-five mild travel we Come to Landlord Fullars at eight in Lemenster [Leominster].

The 7th. We Left Landlord fullers at four of the Clock in the morning and at seven at Evening we Come to the Shew-makers in Pitts-William [Fitz-William, N. H.] after the march of thirty-one miles and Lodge.

The 8th. We Left the Shewmakers at five and traveling through Thuen⁴⁸ and Westernland⁴⁹ we Crosses the River into Putney [Vt.] and Comes to Mr. M. Quishmens after thirty-two milds travel and—

The 9th. We Left Mr. Quishmans and after meeting we gos to Mr. Allans at Evening after four miles travel from the meeting house.

The 10th. We Left Mr. Allans it being a stormy Day and Comes to the Briggs three milds and Lodge.

The 11th. We left Mr. Briggs at three in the afternoon and after Nine milds travel we Come to Landlord Armes in Bratelbury and Lodge.

The 12th. We left Landlord Armes and Crosses the river [Connecticut] at Mr. Willards fary and after twenty Nine milds travel we Comes to Mr. Taskett in Warwick.

The 13th. We Left Warwick it being thanksgiving Day we Comes to Pantown [uncertain] after thirty-five miles travel and Lodges.

The 14th. We Left Pantown and Comes to Mendum [Mendon] and there we partd, he went for Rehoboth and I for Wrentham and Comes to Dea. Thirstens in Franklin after thirty-five milds travel.

The 15th. I left Decken Thirstens and Come to Mr. Hunts in Wrentham—eight miles.

The 17th. I Leaves Mr. Hunts and return home to Attleborough five milds.

The 19th. I Leves home and Comes to Mr. Wm. Tituses in Rheboth Nine milds.

The 21st. I with Mr. Wm. Tituses Leaves Rheboth and Comes to Mr. Allans in Parmesriver to see our Brother Abial and to settle with him.

⁴⁸ Keene, N. H.

⁴⁹ Westmoreland, N. H.

The 22. He left P'River and I returned to Attelborough eleven miles.

The 27th. I had Mr. Wilkinson hors and Carred Mother to Wrenthem and returned.

The 31st. I Leves Attleborough for Smithfield after laber but could find none. I goes through Comberland but found none and Smithfield and North Provedence and go into Providance but found non that wanted to hier me and Comes to Majr Thares and staid that Night in Providance.

1782

Jan. 1st. I Leaves Ma'jr Thares [Thayer] and had enquired of severel but found none that wanted. I was on my return to Wrentham I Meetes Mr. Wm. Randel and agrees with him to work a month for five Dollars.

The 30th. I being a Cuting wood four mild from Mr. Randels in the age [edge] of Smithfield and a very Cold Day I had the hard fortен of freeing both my feet. I coms at night to Mr. I. Randels.

The 31st. I Leaves I. Randels and coms to Mr. Wm. Randels and had my feet doctered.

Feb. 1st. I leaves Mr. Randel and returned to Attelborough.

The 4th. Abial Fisher was to attlebor' and cared [carried] mother home with him.

The 12. I begun to keep School at attelbor'.

The 22th. I has Mr. P. Fishers Mars [mare] to go to Rheboth [Rehoboth] and on my way I Meetes Br. Wm. Fisher from the army so I returns back again.

The 23th. I Leaves Attelbor' and go to Rheboth then to P'River to pay them a visit at my Brother Abial Fishers before they left us.

The 26. My Br. A. Fisher and wife [with] all his things Left P'River for Putney in the New State where he and I had been Dec'r last, so I returned to Mr. Wm. Tituses the same Day.

The 28. I Left Rheboth and Come to Attelbor'.

March 12th. I Leaves Attelbor' in pursute of somewhere that I could find to Engage myself six months gos through Rhoboth and stays in P'River.

The 13th. I Leves P'River through a part of swamp and into Dighton I com to Mr. Traffams and stays that Night.

The 14th. I Leves Dighton and through Tanton and Norton I comes to Attelbo' but foun no Place to Engag myself at.

The 18th. I Leavs Attleborough on the same arrant as before and gos through Wrentham and Franklan so through a part of Medfield into Midway and meet with No Success I Returns and Comes to Capt. Baker's in Midway four miles and stays.

The 19th. I Leves Capt. Bakers and Comes to Mr. Hunter in Wrentham.

The 20th. I Leave Mr. Hunter with two more and returned to Attleborough.

The 21th. I Leves Attlebor' at six of the Clock in the morn- ing for Boston and three in the afternoon I Comes to Boston thirty-three mild, and Byes some Dear skines for one of my ten pond Notes then returns an' Comes to Colo. I. Williames in Rox- bury three mild, and an half and found that he wanted to hier a hand and I agrees with him for six months for fifty Dollars and stays that night.

The 22th. I Left Colo. Williames and returned to Attlebor'.

The 24th. I had a Pare of Dears Clothe Britches made by John Daggetts in Rheboth, six shills.

The 29th. I Left Attleborough for Roxbury and Come to Colo. Williames and he had hired another hand beside me, one Lu- ther Gaye from Dedham, and we Lived vary Pecible till—

Apr. 18. As Gaye and I was a plowing to sowe wheat we chanced to brake one of the old Cols plowes which put him in in a grate Rage he said the way you goe on you will Destroy all I have in a little while and if we Did not take better Care of our one [own] things—we will never be worth a goat. I told him I Did not see where in we was to Blame worthy for I ment to take as good Care of his things as any one.

The 29th. We gites up som time before Day and I gos and fodder and takes Care of all the Creatur and fetches number of pales of water for the young women to wash with the old Colo, gits up and askes me if the oxen ware Carded I told him that I seposed that Gay had Carded them he said I said I trusted to Gaye to do all. I told him I did not thought you had no Reason of fining any folt for I have ben and took Care of all the Creturs besides fetching water, he said not only now but other times and that I wanted two or three men to wate on me. I told him I Did not Care if he hired thirty more if that he was a mint too, he said that he Could fifty and pay them when he had Dun. I told him I was glad off it and hoped that he would pay me for the month I work'd then. (Now I was to work one month on trial) he said he ment to when it was up. I told him it was this morning, he said it was not before Wensday, and there was Fast Day too. I told him I thought it more reasonable and Jest for him to alow me for the Day I Come hear then for me to alow him for Fast Day. he said it was more reseneble I should alow him for the Night I staid there when I Come to Engage with him then for him to alow me for the Day I Come hear, I told him that I was willing too and asked him how much it was, he Called me A Dirtey mean Low spirited——because I asked him how much he Charged me for the two Nights and one super. I told him I had ben about the world and in jentleman's Compeny and Naver heard that Carecter of myself before and I had (I would be Judge by any one that know what good behaver was) behaved myself hansom to him I thought, tho' he had not to me in this affore. He aded that he would not pay me a peny unless I work and maid up the two Days. I told him I would work to make up the Day I Come hear tho' I Don't think I ought too but

as for fast Day I should not unless I see I am obliged too. I told him I was Chieted anoff Last sommer by Mr. Sm. Morey. I Did not Entend he should if I Could help it, and that I was a going to Boston and If You will Pay me Vary well, he said he never would pay me unless I worked another Day. I told him—

The 30th. I should Not and if youve a mind to pay it you may, if not I shall not ask for it any more, the old Lady his wife tells him he had better pay him. I said the Colo. said he naver would pay me unless I work another Day (which I naver Detarmen too not for Fast) and I Loved to see a man up to his word but he got his money to pay me and I Refused taken of it, reminding him of what he had said, but after he see that I would not work and that I was a goin he pay me the money and I takes it and offers him pay for the Nights I staid there but he refused so I Leavs Roxbury and gos to Boston and sees Major Knap and settels with him and takes an Note of him for Nine Dollars then returned and Come through the uper part of Roxbury and they told me that Mr. DeVallnay a frenchman, wanted to hire a man at the J. Planes.

May 1th. I gos to Mr. DeVolnays and agrees with him for six months for sixty dollars, so then I gos to Colo. Williams and gits my Cloth and returns to Mr. DeVolnia and gos to work.

The 5. I sendes five Dollars as a venter by Hanesy Quinby Brother to Mrs. DeVolnia to See. he set sail from Boston the sixteenth Instant for the West Inges, he returned the twenty Nineth of July and brought me a Barrel of oringes.

June 19th. Mr. Wm. Tituss was agoing with a Lode to Boston and Come to Mr. DeVolnia and stayed with me that Night.

July 4th. I Received by the hand of Mr. E. Foster severil things from Mother Fisher and on his return I send her a Duzzen of oringes and the Day was selebrated on the Count of the Independency of america and there was fireworks and skelockets throd in the are and the Guvener made a supper and had wine and punch for all that would Come at Jemakah Plains.

The 19th. I Leaves the Planes at Eight of the Clock in the Evening and travels the biger part of the Night. I Comes to Mr. Hunts in Wrentham at six of the Clock Next Morning.

The 20th. I Leaves Mr. Hunts at five in the afternoon and Come to Attlebor'.

The 22th. I gos to Colo. S. Hichinsons and settles with him for Notes and takes of for Mr. D. Fisher three Pound three shilling, and farther Fisher one Pound eleven shilling and from there Mr. Willkinson and had his hors and Come to Mother then from there to Mr. Titus in Rheboth.

The 23th. I left Mr. Tituses and returned and Come to Mr. S. Morey in Norton to git som Money but got none then to Attleborough.

The 23th. I Leves Mothers in Attlebor' at seven in the Evening for Jemakah Planes and traveled till twelve a Night I Come to Landlord Daggett in Dedham and Lodged.

The 24th. I Leves Landlord Daggett and returns to J. Planes to Mr. De Volnay.

Aug. 20th. The french fleet arived at Boston harber, they run one of there ships of savinty fore guns ashore and lost her.

The 28th. There was a grand Entertanment at Mr. DeVollnays and there was forty odd French and Amaracan Jentleman there both the Admeril of the fleet [and] Governor Handcock was there and Dined, and the table was set in the grandest manner and all kinds of varits and Dantes [dainties] and with wine of all sorts and punch and the like.

Sept. 26th. I was to Boston and Bought a blue Broad Cloth for a sute of Cloths and saveril other articales then returned to J. Planes to Mr. Volnay.

Octo. 8th. I settles with Mr. DeVollnay for the five Months I had work of him, he sends for me into the parlor and he askes me how long have you ben with me. I told him five months the

first of this Instant, beside what time I had lost, he said how many days have you lost. I told him five. he said so I had more, at the least ten. I told it 'twas but five, three Days and an half the Nineteenth of July and when I was to Attlebor' to see my friends and one Day to Boston the twenty-sixth of Sept. and half a Day the second of this Instant, he said how much have you Received of me. I said two months Pay, which was twenty Dollars then he takes a paper out of his pocket and said that he agreed with me the first of May Last for six months for Nine Dollars a month. I said it was true we Did agree for six months but it was for ten Dollars a month, which is sixty Dollars, he says it was but for Nine Dol. in his Book. I said it was for ten Dols. in mine, he said that it was but Nine Dol. and he should not give me no more then, that I told him that I would have what I agreed for if I had anything, which was for ten Dollars a month. he said how have you the empedence to look me in the faice and tell such lye. I told him that I was not afraid to Look him or any other man in the faice in a good cause and that I told no Lyes but the truth asking his parding and what we agreed too and that I had ben to you and asked you for a months pay and he gave me me ten Dollars. He said that you shall go before a Jestes in take your oath of it. I told him I was redy to go before any Jestes that he Pleased, so after Consedereble Despute I tels he mite Do as he liked, for if I did not have ten Dol. I would have nothing, and as I was Leaving the room he Cald me back and said rite a recate and he Paid thirty Dollar, and twenty before made fifty, which was for the five month. I told him in the meenwhile that I Lost ten Dollars Last Somer that Mr. Sm. Morey Cheated me out off that I Did not Entend to be Cheated now if I Could help it that ten Dollars worth of witt ought to be practesd some, so I makes up what time I had lost.

The 6th. I Left Mr. DeVolnays and went to Boston and Look round and Inquired to know if I Could hear of any Place that wanted a hand but Could find none. I Comes to Governor Handcock and Staid there that Night. Mrs. Handcock was Mrs. Vollnay's aunt.

The 7th. I Leaves Boston and returns to the Plains and has a sute of Cloths maid by Mr. Thayer that Lived at the governors.

The 11th. I Engages to work one month for Capt. Lemuel May for Eight Dollars and Longer if we agreed and he would give as much as I Could have aleswhere so a fue Days before my month was up I heard that Mr. Marson Bremmer [Martin Brimmer] wanted to hire a hand vary much so I gos over and sees him, he asked me how Long I had agreed to work with Mr. May. I told him one Month and that would be up in a fue Days, he said he wanted to hire a man, and if that I would Come and work for him a month he would Give as much as anybody had. I told him that Mr. Volnay had hired a hand and he gives ten Dollars. So I toles Capt. May that Mr. Brimmer wanted to hire a hand and If that you will give as much as he I will stay longer, if not I will go there after the month is up, he said he should not give no more than Eight Dol. where I staid or not, so after Considerable Despute about it I told him we agreed for one month and it is out to Night.

Nov. 8th. I Leaves Capt. Mays and Come to Mr. M. Brimmers and makes an agreement with him for one month for ten Dollars, and a very Claver Place.

Dec. 9th. I settles with Mr. Brimmer and he pays me for the month I had worked with out one word of Despute or any Dificalty all the time I was there and Left Mr. M. Brimmers at the Planes. I gos home to Attleborough.

The 15th. I Leaves Attlebor' and gos a visiting first to Norton to Mr. Morey, then to Dighton to Mr. Traffurn, then to Rheboth to Mr. Tituses.

The 20th. I Leaves Mr. Tituses and Returned to Attleborough.

The 24th. I Leaves Attlebor' with Mr. Wm. Fisher for Boston and Come to Mr. Brimmers, then he Leaves Mr. Brimmers and gos to Boston.

The 25. I Leaves Mr. Brimmers and goes to Boston and Re-

turns at Night, and so followd for savel Days In hopes of giting into some Employment but mett with no sucksess. At Length I heard of a ship that was fitting for the sees, and wanted men, and as I Could not git into any bessness I would try the sees.

1788

Jan. 1. I gos on bord the ship *Tartar*, Caman'd by Capt. Kithcart⁵⁰ which was bound a tript to Virginia to take her cargo on bord, then to Holland, then back to Boston, but was to Cruse first three weeks, so I entered on bord and received one months wages, which was ten Dollars, and I stays at Mr. Lamborts by speles till we saild, where I had got aquanted while I lived at Mr. Brimers, and they were very kind to me.

The 4th. I Leves Boston and Comes to Mr. Brimers on the Plain.

The 5th. I has a horse of Capt. May and gos to Attelborough.

The 6th. I Left Attlebor' and gos to Mr. Tituses in Rheboth.

The 7th. I Leves Mr. Tituses and comes through Attlebor'. I Returns again to Mr. Brimmers in the gemakah Plain, in Roxbury.

The 8th. I Leves Mr. Brimmers and gos to Boston to Mr. Lambarts.

The 11th. I Leaves Boston and had an opertunity of riding in the shais [chaise] to Mr. Brimers where my chist and cloths was.

The 18th. I gits what things I was in want of and returns to Mr. Lamburtes in Boston, and bought a Chist of him to cary with me.

The 19th. In the Morning I goes on bord the ship *Tartar* and the Capt. would not suffer a man to go ashore for there ware

⁵⁰ The *Tartar* was a Massachusetts vessel, commanded by Captain John Cathcart.

agoing to sail. I went to him and told him that my Chist was on shore at Mr. Lambarts. he said he did not care I mite get them on bord before, so we hald of from Handcocks wharfe and Leut. Pillsbury⁵¹ staid on shore so I requested of him to go to Mr. Lamburts by the sine of the two Revarues⁵² and git my Chist and things and see them on bord. he said he would so we set sail and Come and Dropped ancer in Nanetaskt Rood [road] and Mr. Pillsbury gos to Mr. Lamburts and they gits all my things that was not in the Chist and—

The 20th. He sendes them all to me on bord the *Tartar*.

The 24th. Waid ancre and set our sails and put out to see with the wind at the N. W., and a find wind all that Night and we steard our cose for Burmuda, but we had bad wether the bigger part of the time.

Feb. 11th. We was chast by the *Lyon*, a ship of sixty-four guns but Night come on and a bad storm so she lost site of us.

The 18th. The ship *Tartar* and the ship *Alexander*⁵³ being together we Discover a sail to the windard and we maid for it, but soon discovered it to be a large ship, so we attact [tacked] and run from her, when she preceved that she gave Chase and the *Alexander* commanded by Capt. Williams hald hur wind and Left the *Tartar* which Cepte⁵⁴ hir wind when the sail see that she gave

⁵¹ Lieutenant George Pillsbury.

⁵² The Salutation Tavern, situated at the junction of Salutation and North streets.

"The Salutation had a sign of the sort that is said to tickle the popular fancy for what is quaint or humorous. It represented two citizens, with hands extended, bowing and scraping to each other in the most approved fashion. So the North-enders nicknamed it 'The Two Palaverers,' by which name it was most commonly known.

This house also was a reminiscence of the Salutation in Newgate street, London, which was the favorite haunt of Lamb and Coleridge,"—"Old Boston Taverns," by Samuel Adams Drake, Boston, 1886.

⁵³ The *Alexander* was a Massachusetts privateer commanded by Captain John Foster Williams.

⁵⁴ Kept on her course.

Chaise to the *Tartar* at seven in the Morning, and followed us all Day and the *Tartar* hove out a Signal for the *Alexander* to Come and we would Engage her but she hove out another that she thought the ship was to large for us to Encounter so left us. The sail that had Given Chase to us at seven in the Morning followed hur Chase till Eleven at Night and we maid all the sail we Could and set all our studen sails and fired sharp Chases at them, but the wind being small she out run us and at Eleven at Evening she Come up with us. Our Capt. haled them but they gave us no answer, then we gave them a copel of guns, then the action begun and we fitte hur thou [gh] unequal forse above three glasses.⁵⁵ Our forse was fifty men and ten peses of canon nine pounders and six muskit men. The *Bellerserus* [*Belisarius*] the ship we engages, had two hundred and fifty men and twenty-eight peces of cannon from eighteen to six poulder and a hundred of them was muskitmen, they had twenty men in there topes and we had but four, they had twelve men to two gunes and we had but four, and when the action was over we had two killed and three wounded and one of them died of his wound. The *Bellerserus* has six killed and Eight wounded, and two died of there wounds, and after we struck they cared us all but the wounded aboard there ship and put us all in to Irons (but the offisers) two togather and we fared prity hard. I lost my Chist and bed and a good meny of my Cloths and betwext twenty and thirty Dollars that some of our one (own) ships crue stole from me, broke open my Chist and got it out, and after they

The 14th. had taken pursession of the prize and taking Down top galont yards the ships being much Damedged in the action they lost three men off the yards that was Drowned and one that fell on the deck that was badly hirt and we was capet on bord in Irones till the first of March.

March 1. We got Into New York and was all put on bord the presen ship *John*.

The 14th. There was a number of the prosenors sent away in

⁵⁵ A "glass" (nautical) is a half-hour sand-glass, hence three glasses would be an hour and a half.

Carteels, and I drue the provision from on bord the *Jarsey* for what men belonged on bord the *John*.

The 22th. We had orders to leave the *John* and to go on bord the old *Jarsey* ship.

The 25th. There was a number of the preasoners sent away in Carteels [cartels] and among the rest one of the Stuards [steward] (Now there was two stuards that Isued the provision to the preasoners, there was five hundred of the Amarican preasoners and three hundred French which they Isued provision to besides two hundred of the British Troopes.) The stuard Comes down where the proseners was and Inquires for one that understud Doing the Stuards Duty, and was a good hand with the pen that was amint to go into the stuard room, now he was at a good distance from me and Numbers of the Preas. betwoxt us, but there was one that had a very good regard for me Comes and says, Dond you want to go into the Stuard room, there are Inquering for one now, so I Comes to Mr. Wood the other Stuard and says, are you the man that was Inquiring for one to assist in the Stuard sarvis, he said he was and asked if that I understood it. I told him that I had been an orderly Sargt. in the Contental army and I Did not take it this was worse. he said no, your the man, Come go with me, so I Did and not long after before there ware Enuff that would have been glad to hav had the berth. So continued in that besness till the preasoners ware all desmest and sent home to there States.

Apr. 6th. We had the procalamation for peace read on bord the old *Jarsey* and it was proclamed through the British that all preasoners on both sides ware to be desmest and no more hostaletys to be committed on ether side, nither by see nor land, and all the preasoners gave three howzas on bord the preasen ship.

The 8th. The preasoners were all put on bord Carteal and sent to the Difirent states bord the P. ship and in the City.

The 9th. After setteles the stuard offis I Left the old *Jarsey* went ashore in the City of N. York and after a good eel of dificulty it being evening to find Lodging, I Comes at length to the City

hall taven. I staid all night and they used me extremely kind and gave me a shirt and I staid there that Night and by Degreas we found we had sen one another before, and past the evening very agreable and he told the time so meny of our preasoners were in the shuger house that ware taken at fourt Washington that he used to go onbenone to the British and Carey them provision, and when he Come there some time the sentreys would overset it on the ground and the poor prisners would lick it up, som times the Britons they would Come past with a piece of meet or other provision kind and would hold it up to the solgers that was almost starved to agravate them.

The 10th. I Leaves Mr. Franceps⁶⁶ and so goes about the City to see it and went in to Nombres of there shopes and would say your servent gentlefolks, I wish you much Joy with the nuse of peace, I hope it will be a long and a lasting one, some of them would be Very well pleased with it and would wish me the same (and others would be on the other hand) and said that their surcomstances poor at present but now they hoped they would be better. I said what then do you think of us poor prisners that have neither Money nor frinds and have ben long absent from our homes, then some of them would pity us and would give something, some half a Dollar, some a quarter, some less, some nothing but frowns.

The 11th. I gos on bord the Carteel for Boston (but byes Considerable of one thing or other and gives to them that ware in want and aspecily the sick). We Leaves N. York at one of the Clock in the afternoon and after we Come through hellgate we was fired on by the British ship that arrived, the Capt. had to go on bord and shose his pass, then we proseded on for Boston with a gode wind, but was becalmd some which dtarrd us.

The 15th. The men that bolonged down East ris⁶⁷ and Carred the sloop into Marbelhead and I with a nomber of others went by land to Boston and I Come to Mr. Lamburts and stays that Night

⁶⁶ Samuel Frauncea.

⁶⁷ Seized the vessel.

and Glad they seemed to see me and were sorry for my hard fortune, but hoped it would be better.

The 16th. I Leves Lambarts and Comes to Mr. Brimmers at Jemakah Plain, but they Did not seem to be so sorry for my hard fortune as the other was.

The 18th. I Left Mr. Brimmer and gos home to Attleborough.

The 21st. I gos to Col. Steph. Richardsons Constable and from there to Capt. Tyler then to Col. Moreye's, selectman, so to have part of my notes abated for I had paid them at Norton and brought a Resate so they Did and I Returned again to Col. Richardson and had my notes crost, then from there to Mr. Sm. Moreys in Norton, to git that Money he oed me but Could not so I returns to Attleborough.

The 24th. I gos to Mr. Tituses in Rheboth and returned.

The 25th. I gos again to Mr. Moreys to git my money as he had promised I should have it then but when I Come there he was wont to put me of with part; I told him I would have it all, and tho prity poor if there was any way to git it for I had ben offen enoff after it and there being a number in the room I begins and relates how he had used and ronged me out of one-third of what I ought to have had, and now was a-trying to keep me out of the other if he Could, and allso told him there was a nave and a fool mett when I settled with him, he for Cheeting me and I for Letting him, and after some Descose more on the affare he gits the money and pay me and I gives him up his note and I takes my Money (thirty Dollars) and returns to Attleborough.

The 30th. I takes my leave of my friends at Attlebor' and returns to Mr. Brimmers.

May 1. I Left Mr. Brimmer and gos to Boston and stead there till—

The 5th. Leaves Boston and going through Roxbury and Brookline and Little Cambradge in to watertown but Could find

nobody that wanted to Emply me there, so I returned and goin through Jem'a Planes I gos to the uper Part of Roxbury and Springs street to the rge [edge] of Dedham—

The 6th. But mett with no sucess then I returns and Come to Mr. Brimers and gos to work for him till the thirteenth and makes a bank and sodes it in the yard at the end of the house which pleased them much.

The 14th. I Leaves Mr. Brimers at the Planes. I gos through Brookline and in to old Cambridge from there to the Ten-hills and then to Charlston, and then Cross the farry in to Boston but there was so meny that Come from the army and from see that had no homes that would work for little or nothing but there vitels, that I Could not find any Employment, so stays in Boston till the seventeenth in the meenwhile one Day after I had ben Inquiring and had ben on bord severel of there vessels but could git into no bisnes neither by see nor Land.

The 16th. I Com Down by the markett and sits Down all alone allmost Descureged and begun to think over how that I had ben in the army, what ill success I had met with there and allso how I was ronged by them I worked for at home, and lost all last winter and now that I could not get into any besness and no home which you may well think how I felt, but then Come into my mind that there ware thousands in wors sircumstances then I was and having food and rament be these with Content, and that I had nothing to reflect on myself and I to do my endever and leave the avent to Provedance, and after that I felt as contented as need to be.

The 17th. I gos to the town house and there was one Mr. Stodder there that wanted to by [buy] my State suretes so I sells them all for Eighty Dollars (which was seventy pound) and takes the meney, then leving Boston I returns to Mr. Brimmers where my chist and things was and put the money in the chist.

The 19th. I with one I. Peneman gos and agreed with Mr. T. White to make a peace of stonewall and was to have three shillings

and six pence a rood, and he find us, and we lays twelve rod for him, and I maid it my home there and worked some for him after ward.

Jan. 10th. I Left Mr. T. Whites I comes to Mr. Brimmers and takes what Cloths I thought I should be in want of and lockes the other in my chist. I left Mr. Brimmer go through Roxbury into Dodgester [Dorchester] then to Dodg'r Neck then visit towns, go through Boston to Charlston, then returns and crosses Wimismet [Winnisimmet] farrey I comes to Landlord Newills in Lyn[n].

The 12th. I Leaves Landlord Newell and coming through Danvers, Salum, Bearsley, Winham,⁵⁸ Ipswich, Rowly and Newburyport I comes to Landlord Gays in Salesburey [Salisbury, N. H.] after thirty-eight milds travel.

The 13th. I leaving Landlord Gays going through Seebrook, Hampton falls, Hampton,⁵⁹ Northhills, granla, Porchmoth and old York, I Com to Landlord Clarks in Ditto, thirty Nine mild.

The 14th. I left Landlord Clark, going through Wells, Kenebunk, Arandes,⁶⁰ Saco, Scarboro, and Falmouth, I comes to Landlord Riggess in Ditto, after the travel of forty-two mild.

The 15. I Leave Landlord Riggess and Comes through New Boston.⁶¹ I comes to Landlord Chanlers and after twenty-one milds I Comes to Mr. I. Brigges (my Brothers in Law) in Sylverster.

The 19. I leves Mr. Brigges and he with me gos Down to the falls at Luistown [Lewiston] and I Croses the farry for to go to Wintrupt [Winthrop] (and he gos Down to Hirescit)⁶² and Comes to Mr. Timothy Wights in Wailes⁶³ thirty-three milds travel from Sylverster.

⁵⁸ Salem, Beverly, Wenham, all in Mass.

⁵⁹ Seabrook, North Hampton, Greenland, Portsmouth, all in New Hampshire.

⁶⁰ Arundel, Me.

⁶¹ Gray, Me.

⁶² Probably Freeport, Me.

⁶³ Wales, Me.

The 21th. I leves Mr. Wight's and gos to Mr. Sm. Tituses in Wintrupt six 1-2 milds.

The 22th. I with Mr. Titus and his wife comes to Mr. Wights.

The 24th. I Leaves Mr. Wights accompaned by my two Cosens a little way, they returns and I procedes on to Mr. Herrikes then to Mr. Sotherbees, then through the woods Down to the river, there being now Crosing I gos up the river and a sad jant I had too, over mountains and valys and cruel bad way, so I comes to Mr. Gillburts and could not crose, so I staid at Mr. Gillburts.

The 25th. I Leves Mr. Gillburt and crosses the River and Comes to Mr. I Brigges in Sylverster.

July 2th. I Leves Mr. Brigges and has his horse for Boston on besness, in hopes to have better sucksess than I had mett with of late, so I coms to North Yarmouth and Comes to Mr. Ellwels and Enquired of him If he knew of any vesel a going to Boston, he told me Capt. John Drinkwater was agoing to-morrow, and I gos down and sees him and having an oportunity of going with him I leaves my hors at Maj'r Browns and gos and stays at Mr. Drinkwaters that Night.

The 3th. We went abord at sunrise and maid sale for Boston and come to—

The 5th. Marvelhead, when the sloop onlodod and I with Capt. Boney Left Marvelhead and went to Boston by land and I Comes to Mr. Lamburts and gos about town and finds out the prises of things and byes severel articales.

The 7th. I gos to Jemakah Planes and has a chist maid by Mr. Stone, then gos to Mr. Brimmer and gits what Clothes I thought I shood want and puts them in the Chist and sent them to Boston.

The 8th. I gos to Boston and lays out Eighty Dollars for articales to Convey with me to Sylvester at the Eastword.

The 9th. I finds an oportunity to Carry them in Mr. H.

Hill's bote and puting them all on bord his schooner at Night we set sale.

The 10th. We Come into Capan [Cape Ann?] harbor and Lay there all Day watting for one Mr. Baker but it being late when he Come and likely to be a Storm we did not sale so I gos and Lodges ashore and before I Could get aboard the Next morning they saled and left me and the man was the fastest for Leaving me that we wated for the Day before so I had to travel by Land to North Yarmouth one hundred and thirty miles and one Dollar in my pocket and of that I lost four Shillings at Newbury.

The 11th. I Left Capan at seven and after fifty miles travel I Comes to Mr.—six Miles from Porchmouth and Lodges.

The 12th. I Crosses the farrey at Porchmouth and having no money I tryes at severil houses to git some Vuitels at Length at one house I gits a little Cold haste puden and Milk and after fifty-two milds travel I Come to Saco at half past ten at Evening and there gits one more Vitels being tired and fant [faint].

The 13th. I Leaves Soco and after thirty miles travel I Comes to Mr. Ellis in North Yarmouth but my things being not there I hires a bote and gos to Mr. Hills on the Island and staid that Night the Next Night he brought them.

The 14th. Mr. Hill and Mr. D. Briggs with two others gos a fishing and at Evening he brings the schooner to the falls in N. Yarmouth at Mr. Ellwell's Landing.

The 15th. We onlodes my things and Carrys them to Majr. Browns and stores them there and settles with Mr. Hill for bringing them from Boston and gets my horse and at twelve we sets out for Sylvester and at two in the morning we arrived at Mr. I. Briggs.

The 16th. Mr. I. Briggs Rased his Barn and a fine own [one].

The 21st. I With Mr. D. Briggs having his horse and A.

Phillepses and Dr. Briggs oxen gos to Yarmouth to fetch up my things from there and has Mr. Dillinghams Waggon.

The 24th. We Leves Majr. Browns for Sylvester With some Difficulty We gets there.

The 26th. We arrived at Mr. I. Brigges and unlodes and stored them.

The 28th. I gos to work for Mr. J. Briggs and Works for him till the Eighth of September.

Aug. 16th. I bargins with Mr. Benj. Alden for an half Lott of Land (Lying the West side of the Road and my Br-in-law the East) for two hundred Dollars (Sixty achers more or Less.)

The 20th. He gave me a Deed of the Lot and I gave him two Notes one to be paid in Eighteen months from Jenuary next the other in one year after.

Sept. 8th. We Began and hoed in little short of three Bushels of Rye for me on my Lot and then gos to Work for Mr. Briggs again.

The 26th. I has better than two Bushels of Rye soed on Br. Briggs Lot and we be-acutting of the alders on my lot and Clear two achers.

Oct. 8th. I Leaves Sylvester at Nine of the Clock in the morning and Comes to Majr. Browns in N. Yarmouth and stays that Night.

The 9th. I Comes to Mr. N. True's and stays there with a friend of myne till

The 12th. at Evening I gos with Mr. Elwell, Doctor Jones and Mr. True with Capt. Gray too Boston and a fine passage.

The 14th. We Come to the Wharfe in Boston and I helped him onlode the sloop for my passage.

The 15th. Mr. Ellwel wanted me to help him bye his things

to Carry to N. Yarmouth (he kapte a shope there) so I assisted him to buy them.

The 16th. I Leaves Boston and Comes to Mr. Brimmer's and stays.

The 17th. I Leves the Planes for Attleboro and Come to Mr. Hunts.

The 18th. I Returned to Attlebor and Come to Mother Fishers.

The 24th. I Leves Attlebor and Comes to Mr. Wm. Tituses in Rhoboth.

The 25th. I Leavs Mr. Tituses and Crosses the farrey and Comes to Providence and agrees with Mr. Harry Keen for one Duzzen of axes on Mr. J. Fisher's account and he promised to Make me good ones and then returns again and Crosses the River and Comes to Mr. Tituses.

The 30th. Leaving Mr. Tituses I Returns home to Mothers at Attlebor.

Nov. 3d. I gos to Mr. Ross and speaks to him to make me half a Duzzen of small Stillyards and Eight axes on Mr. D. Fisher's account then I gos to Mr. Eb. Tiffenys and bespeeks a Duzzen of Wool Cards on Col. Richardson's account and then returns home.

The 5th. I now bespeeks to Mr. S. Jackson to newlay four or five axes and several other articales and I would see that he was satisfied.

The 8th. I has Mr. White's horse to go to Mr. Traffans in Dighton.

The 11th. I Leaves Mr. B. Traffarns and returns and stays to Mr. S. Fishers.

The 12th. I then returns to Mother Fisher's in Attlebor.

The 18th. Mr. J. Fishers gos over to Providence with a Lode of Coles and I gos to Mr. Wm. Tituses and stays that Night.

The 19th. I gos over to Provedance and Comes to Mr. Haz. Keen's and gits that Duzzen of axes that I had bespoke and he took Cole for his Pay and after giting some other articales I returns to Mr. Tituses in Rhoboth.

The 20th. I returns home to Attlebor.

The 21st. I gos to Mr. Ebenezer Tiffiney and gits the Duzzen of Cards that I had bought.

The 22d. I gos to Col. Richardson's and setles with him and he payes Mr. Tiffiney.

The 24th. In the morning I gos and setles with Br. I. Fisher and found what articales he had got for me Come to three Pound fifteen Shilling and Nine Pence and he gave me a note for the remander to Mr. I. Wilkingson and settle with him and found that the articales that he had got for me Come to with himself and horse and Carte to Boston two Pound Eighteen Shillings and six Pence and the remander of the Note he Paid me the money one Pound seven Shillings and six Pence and then to Mr. Jackson and found what articales I had of him Come to two Pound fourteen and Six Pence and then to Br. D. Fisher's and found that the articales he had got for me with the two orders one for Mother Fisher and the other for Mr. I. Woodcock Come to six Pound and he gave me a note for the remander then I setles with Br. P. Fisher and found the articales he had got for me Come to four Pound fifteen Shillings and six Pence and he gave me a Note for the remander then gos to and gits some Clothes that I had making by Mrs. Woodcock then after gitting all my things ready I with Mr. I. Willkings

The 15th. Leaves Attleborough and Comes to Mr. L. White's on J. Planes and putes up the horse and stays at Landlord Fuller's.

The 26th. We Leaves the Planes and Comes to Boston and I found a Chance to put my things aboard Mr. Yorke's sloop so then Mr. Willkings returned home so I helps them onlode the sloop after giting some things to Carry with me we lay in Boston harber till

The 30th. We histed sale and left the harber at four in the morning it seemed so likely for a storm we put into Squam⁶⁴ harber and lay still and a severe storme of wind and rain there was and a number of sloops and schooners was Drove ashore ten in number and two lost.

Dec. 2d. We Left Squame harber to pursue on our Way but the Wind being Contrary we was obliged to put into Purscatway harber⁶⁵ and Cast anchre.

The 4th. We Waid anchre and Left Purscatleway harber for N. Yarmouth but the wind shifting when we was off against the Nubble⁶⁶ we was obliged to return to Purscatway harber then lying there till

The 6th. We Waid anchre and set sale and left Purscatleway harber and Landed at Mr. Drinkwater's wharfe at ten in the morning and onloded my things and I had his oxen and sled to Convey them to Majr. Browns at the folls two milds and I staid at Mr. Nath True's till

The 11th. Was Thanksgiving Day and I gos to Meeten and at Evening Colo. Mitchell to Supp with him (it was Mrs. True's father) accordingly I did and a Number of his friends.

The 18th. I Leaves Mr. Trues and Comes to Mr. Waggs in Rylestown.⁶⁷

The 14th. I Left Mr. Waggs and Comes to Brother Briggs in Sylvester.

1784

Jan. 1. I Left Briggs for N. Yarmouth and Come to Mr. Trues.

The 8th. I Leves Mr. Trues at Yarmouth and Returns to Sylvester.

⁶⁴ Squam Harbor, at Gloucester, Mass.

⁶⁵ Portsmouth Harbor, N. H.

⁶⁶ Probably an island.

⁶⁷ Durham, Me.

The 15th. I and E. Briggs Left Sylvester and went on snow shoes through the woods and Come to Mr. T. Wight's in Wales fourteen milds.

The 16th. Mr. Wight and his wife was gon to his Br. Tituses and we Come there in Winthrupt.

The 19th. We Left Mr. Tituses and Come to Mr. Wight's again.

The 21st. We takes our Leave of our friends and Returns to Sylvester.

The 24th. I gos to those that I had trusted to bring in the Corn according to Bargaen.

The 28th I Engaged to Ceep an Evening Scool for ten Days work a month and we begun School at Evining.

Feb. 16th. The howl town turned out and brake the track through the woods to Mr. Dresser's ten mild and Returnd.

The 20th. Mr. Waight the high Sherive Come to Sylvester with an Execusion for negleting of Sending alternates of men for the three years sarvis &c., but [as] he got Securities for a short time he Did not Sarveit this being the first.

The 24th. I had Mr. J. Briggs oxen and sledd and Carres sixteen Bushels of ye Corn to N. Yarmouth then after Desposing of my Corn and giting my things

The 27th. I gits the things I left at Majr. Browns and Returned.

Mar. 25th. I Left Sylvester and Comes to Mr. Wm. Gilburts in Likilsbury.⁶⁸

The 26th. I left Mr. Gilburts and Come to Mr. S. Tituses in Wintropt.

The 27th. I Left Mr. Titus and Come to Mr. Wight in Wales.

⁶⁸ Leeds, Me.

The 28th. I Left Mr. Wights and then through Luiston and Crost the farrey and then through Ryelstown then through Brumswick⁶⁹ then to maire pint⁷⁰ Come to Landlord Chase in flying point.⁷¹

The 29th. I Left Chases I gos through hardsicikit⁷² and North Yarmouth and N. Glosester.⁷³

Apr. 2d. I Comes to Mr. J. Parkers in the age of Bakers-town.⁷⁴

Apr. 3d. I Left Mr. Parker and going through Sheppards-field⁷⁵ and Buckstown⁷⁶ or the twenty mild river I Comes to Sylvester at home again.

The 5th. I had Mr. J. Briggs horse to go to Gloucester and I paid a Deat of two Dollars to Mr. I. Wood for him and got the money I left there.

The 7th. I had two pounds seven shillings Endorst on the Back of one of the Notes to Mr. Benj. Alden on Mr. Chas. Bradford's account that he oed me.

The 8th. I Reckened with Mr. J. Briggs and found Due to me for things he had of me Come to Eighteen pound four shillings and what I had of him Come to Nine pound five Shilling at Bord-ing $\frac{6}{8}$ per week.

The 10th. I Left Sylvester and Come to N. Yarmouth.

The 11th. At Evening we set sail from Yarmouth with Capt. I. Drinkwater and Come to Marvilhead at 2 of the Clock and went for Boston.

⁶⁹ Brunswick, Me.

⁷⁰ Called also Mere and Muir. Now Mare Point in Brunswick.

⁷¹ Flying Point is in Freeport.

⁷² Freeport.

⁷³ New Gloucester.

⁷⁴ Now Poland, Me.

⁷⁵ Now Hebron.

⁷⁶ Now Buckfield.

The 13th. I Left Marvilhead at 2, and Come to Mother's at 9 in the Evening in Attleborough.

The 14th. I gos to Provedance and agrees with Majr. C. Keen for two Duzzen of Siths [scythes] and two of Axes on Col. Richardson's account paid by the way of Clark & Nightingill six Pound Twelve Shillings.

The 24th. and onward I Chopt wood for Mr. Ross Sixteen Cord and 5 that Mr. D. Fisher Chopt for him on My account and 4 of the Cords on which I had thirteen hows [hoes] and I had two pair of Stilards [steelyards] one pound that Mr. D. Fisher anward on my account all Come to 3£ 3s 0d.

May 8th. I gos to Provedance and meets Col. Richardson and gits the axes and Siths of Mr. Keen that I had ergreed With him for and he Settles with him for the same and agrees with Mr. G. Blackinton and he Carres them for me to Mr. J. Fishers.

The 10th. I after Cutting one 1-2 Cord of wood I takes the two pare of stillards and the thirteen hows on my back and Carred them to Whare my axes and siths was, then Mr. George Blackinton Carred them all on his horse to Mr. N. Fisher's in Wrentham and he agreed to Carray them all to Boston all Cost me Nine s. and 6 p.

The 11th. I settled with them that I had dealings with.

The 13th. I Left Attelborough and Come to Boston and found one of the Coasters Bound for N. Yarmouth and put my things aboard her Mr. I. Gray's sloop

The 18th. and set sail from Boston.

The 14th. At 1 of the Clock p. M. we arived at N. Yarmouth and left my things at Mr. I. Gray's and stays at Mr. True's.

The 15th. I arrives at Sylvester and Come to Mr. J. Briggs.

The 16th. I begen to Bord with Brother I. Briggs for Six Shillings and Eight Pence a week and begin and fell a fence Round ten achers which took me ten or Twelve Days.

The 28th. I sowed my flax and pease and otes and had D. Briggs Cattle to Harrow $\frac{1}{2}$ a Bushel of rye.

The 29th. I sent for my things by Mr. S. Andruess that I left at Yarmouth.

June 1st. I planted my Corn one acher and an half.

The 10th. I sowed three Bushels of otes on two achers of my Entervail [intervale].

The 16th. I hoed my Corn the first time at least to kill the weeds.

The 21st. I Begun to fall and fill seven Achers in twenty-five Days.

July 3d. I finished felling trees and I hired all but twelve Days.

The 5th. I how'd my Corn the second time and had a sithe snath maid.

The 8th. I Cutt what Clover I had besides that I had left for seed.

The 18th. I Leaves Sylvester and Comes to Mr. Parker from there to Mr. Norses in Glorshester and there I found Mr. Parker.

The 14th. I gos with Mr. Parker to N. Yarmouth after his mother and goods that he brought from the westward and loded them ito the Cart

The 15th. and Mrs. Parker and her Daughter rid in the Cart and Left Yarmouth.

The 16th. We arrived at Mr. Norses after some Dificulty

The 18th. I gos by the way of Mr. Parker's and Returned to Sylvester.

The 20th. I took Care of the Corn that I had taken in the winter before now I let go things for Corn and Engaged to take in

Corn at three and four pence a Bushel and lying to gather a Quantity it was like to hurt and I tuck it and stored it.

The 28th. I began to Digg the Suller for my house and Vary bad Digging I had too which Cost me a good deel for I was Eighteen Days a Diggin of it and Come to a Solid Rock all on the Botom of it which we tried to blow but Could not make any hand of it so I Dugg it the biggness of the house which was thirty-two foot.

Aug. 2d. I mow'd my hay seed and Raked and stacked it.

The 3d. I Begun to Reep my Rye that I sow'd of Brother Jothem.

The 6th. I Secured it in his Barn which Cost me five days work.

The 12th. The same Day I Reept the Rye I sow'd on my lot.

The 13th. I had a lode of hay of Wm. Haskell and Carred my Rye to Mr. Bradford's barn that grue on my lot.

The 16th. I Cutt and Secured my otes and had that grue at the low land of my lot on the Entervail.

The 23d. I had Mr. Bradford's horse and went to Yarmouth and got some things and Returnd to Sylvester.

The 26th. I gits my otes and flax and had a meeten to agree with Mr. Stricklen.

Sept. 2d. We had a town meeten to agree with the Reverent Mr. John Stricklen⁷⁷ to settle with us and they agree to give him fifty pound a year Salary and to Clear two achers.

The 8th. Br. J. Briggs Stons my Suller and the Stoning and

⁷⁷ Rev. John Strickland, the first settled minister of Turner, Maine, first called Sylvester. He was installed September 20, 1784, dismissed May 18, 1797. A native of Hadley, Mass. Wife, Patty Stone, who died May 4, 1805. A Presbyterian. He died Oct. 4, 1823, leaving 14 children. Graduate of Yale, 1761; first settled at Oakham, Mass., April 1, 1768; dismissed June 24, 1773; installed at Nottingham, West, N. H., July 15, 1774; dismissed in 1783; March 12, 1806, installed at East Andover, where he died.

the giting the stone Cost me twenty-four Days work and I Rased it four feet from the ground and the banken that up Cost me two Days &c.

The 17th. Cosen Timoth Wight and his wife Come to visit us. I Cut my stolks [corn-stalks] and tuck Care of them.

The 20th. Mr. John Sricklen was Reinstold at Sylvester.

The 22d. I agrees with Mr. Benj. Jones and Mr. Harry Gilburts to hew the timber and frame my house.

The 23d. We begun to git the timber for the house and it Cost me forty-Eight Days work to git the timber and frame the house.

Oct. 2d. We Rased the frame a Saturday in after Noon.

The 6th. I begun to gather my Corn and Crib'd it by my frame.

The 11th. I Dugg my Powtatos that I planted on Br. Briggs lot.

The 12th. and also them I planted on my lot and Carred them to Mr. Bradfords.

The 16th. I thrasht my stack of hay seed $\frac{1}{2}$ a lod and some Rye at Br. J.

The 18th. I sow'd four Bushels of Rye which Cost me Eight Days work.

The 20th. I began and junked⁷⁸ on my fell trees which Cost me six Days work.

The 22d. I had a Shote of Br. J. Briggs which waight was seventy-one lb.

The 26th. I worked for Brother Barker which Come to one $\frac{1}{2}$ Bushel of Wheat.

⁷⁸ To "junk" means to trim felled trees and prepare the lot for burning over.

The 28th. I Worked In my Entervail which Cost me five Days work.

The 30th. I gathered my Cabbage and french turnups that I raised on Br. J. Briggs lot and put them in his suller.

Nov. 6th. The first snow storm.

The 18th. I Plow'd $\frac{1}{2}$ an acer by my frame which Cost me five Days work.

The 20th. I was taken lame and Remaned so for a week with a sore on foot.

Dec. 2d. I junked and pil'd the logs where I plantēd and Cleared and burnt them which Cost me ten Days work.

The 4th. I thrashed my Rye at Mr. Bradfords and Carred it to Mr. Briggs.

The 11th. I gos and Borrow Mr. Morrell's Croscut sawe, but after a good deel of Dificulty in trying to git it put in order and Could not make out.

The 13th. I fell trees for shingle stuff and junk'd on my fell trees.

The 14th. I Left Sylvester and Come to Mr. Parker's in Bakerstown and after doin my besiness with him I Comes to Mr. Winslow's in Glosester.

The 16th. I Left Glosester and Come to N. Yarmouth then to Capt. Bagley's in Ryelstown then to Capt. Neckels and then after Doing my Bisness

The 18th. I Left Ryelstown and Crosed the farrey then through Luiston I Come to Mr. T. Wight's in Wails then to Mr. Fairbanke's in Winthropt.

The 19th. I Comes to Mr. L. Tituses in Wales and then Returns to Mr. Wight's in Do.

The 26th. I Left Wailes and Comes through Luiston I Comes to Sylvester.

The 27th. I gos and Carrys that saw and gits Mr. B. to put it in order.

The 30th. I sawed and bolted and had a part of the shingles stuff that we had ben giting hald to Mr. Bradford's Barn to make them.

1785

Jan. 3d. I sawed the boltes that we had Drue there to make shingles of.

The 6th. I had help and we split and shaved about 4 thousand I had.

The 12th. I had about 2 thousand not shaved and after secured them I left.

The 18. I Reckened and settled with Br. Jotham Briggs from the time I first Come there untill this Date both for bording and other things.

The 19th. Was Thirsday and I Left Sylvester for the westward and I Come by the way of Mr. Parker's in Ryelstown and through Glosester I Come to Landlord Hunt's in the town of Grey being twenty-Eight milds.

The 20th. I Left Gray and Come to Falmouth town [Portland] 37 milds.

The 21st. I Left Falmouth and Come to Landlord Clark in Wells 37 milds.

The 22d. I Left Wells and Come to Mr. Williames 3 mild from Derhamfalls⁷⁹ 26 miles.

The 23d. I Left Derhamfalls and Come to Landlord Cambels $\frac{1}{2}$ mild from Haveril farrey, and I had mett with a miss fortain of renchin my foot.

The 24th. I Left Haveril Come to Mr. Farnam's in Andover and after Doing business with him for Mr. Marker

⁷⁹ Probably Durham, Me.

The 25th. I Left Andover and going through Boston I Come to Mr. E. Wells on Jemakah Planes in Roxbury after traveling 82 milds.

The 26th. I Left J. Planes and Come to Mr. E. Hunt in Wrentham 25 milds.

The 27th. I left Wrentham and Come to Mother Fisher's in Attleborough.

The 31st. Brother Abial Fisher Left Attleborough for Putney with his sloop.

Feb. 7th. I Left Attleborough and Come to Dighton from there to Rheboth then to Provedance then returns to Wrentham then to

The 19th. Mother's in Attleborough to Visit my Relations and other bisness.

The 23d. I gos to school and followed it pritty stiddy while it cept.

FINIS

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 7

COMPRISING

A SHORT NARRATIVE OF MISCHIEF DONE
BY THE FRENCH AND INDIAN ENEMY
ON THE WESTERN FRONTIERS OF
THE PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHU-
SETTS BAY - - - *Rev. Benjamin Doolittle*

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE HON-
ORABLE JOHN HABERSHAM, OF
GEORGIA - - - *Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL. D.*

WILLIAM ABBATT

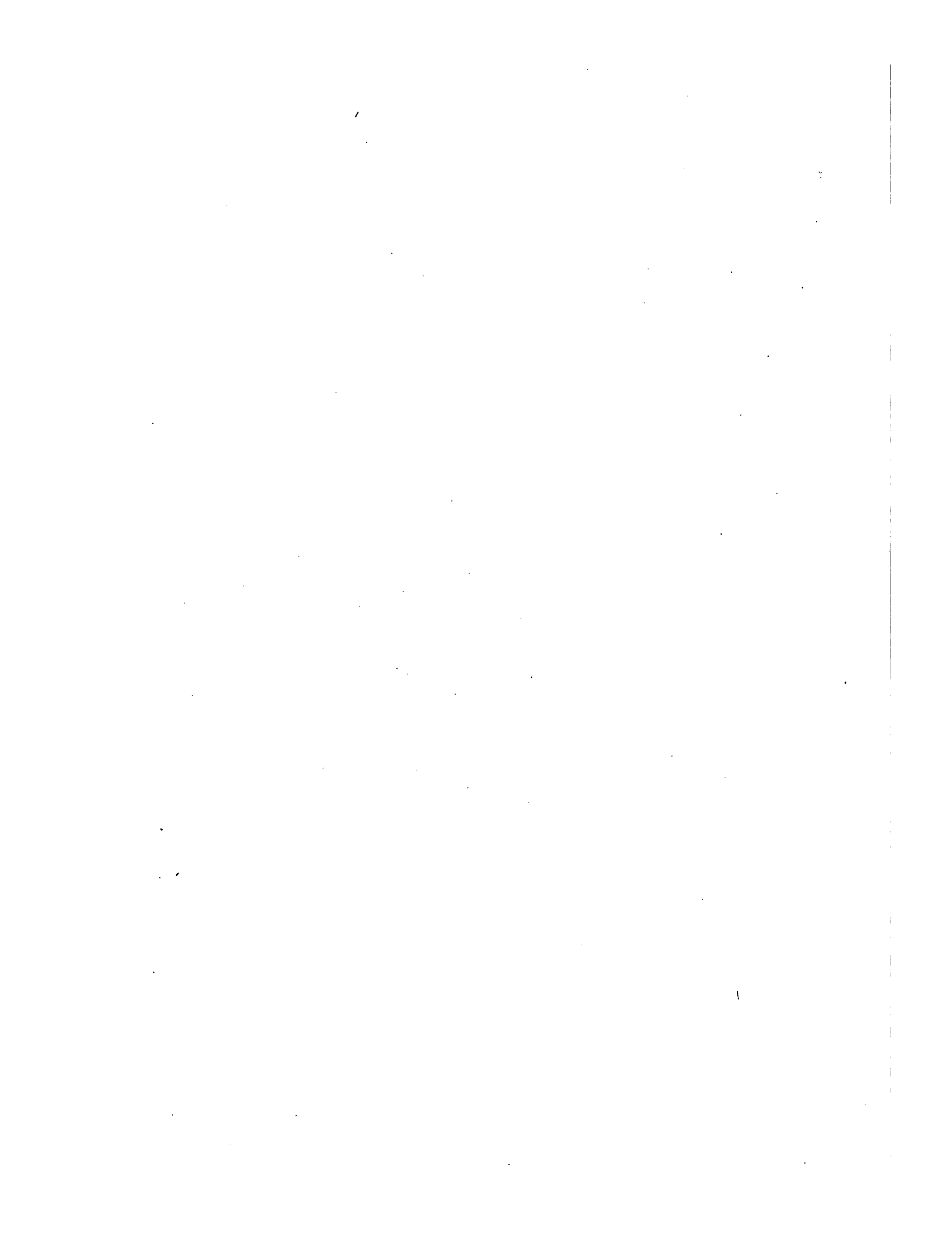
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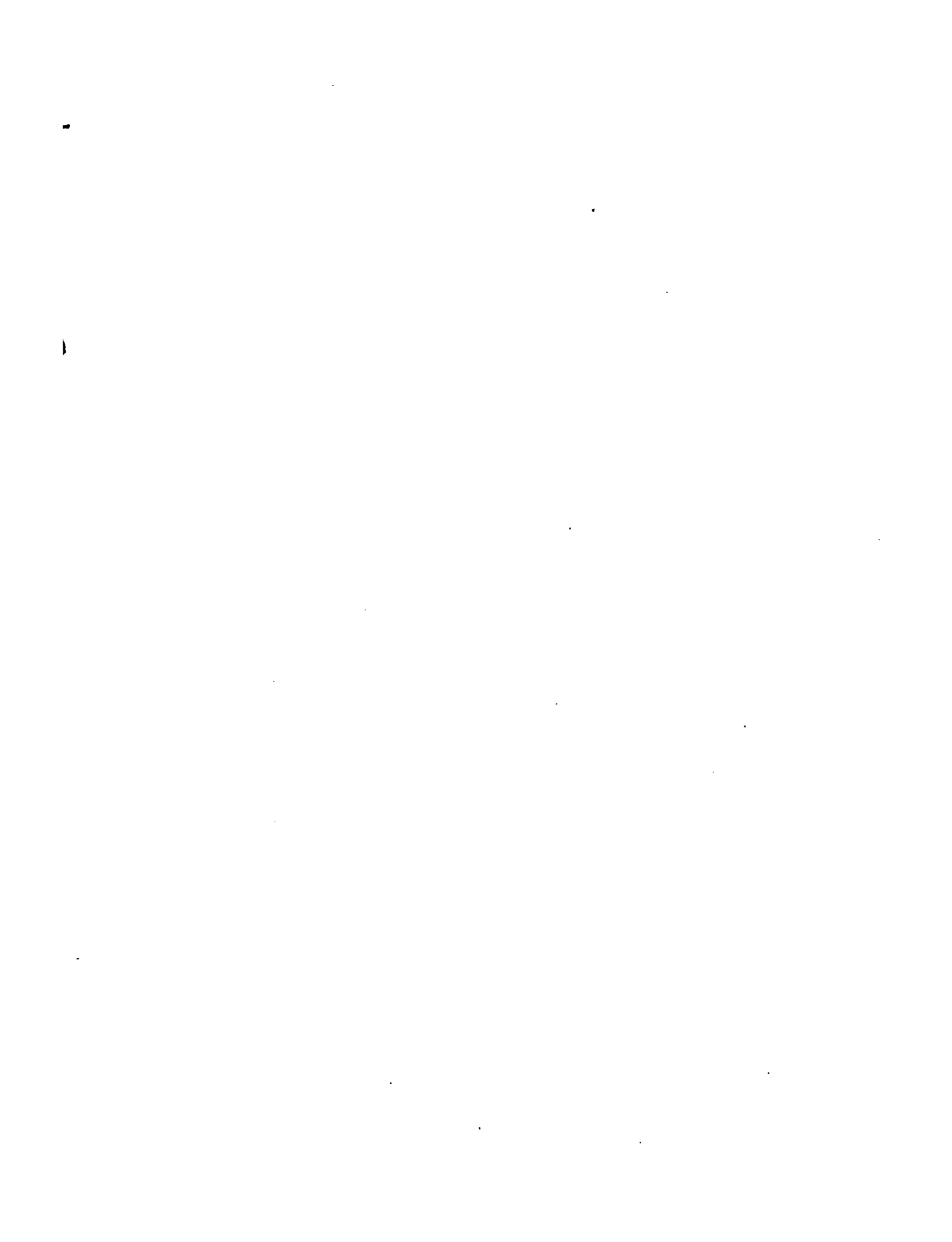
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NEW YORK

1909







As near a facsimile of the original title page as possible.

A Short
NARRATIVE
Of MISCHIEF done by the
French and Indian Enemy,
ON THE
Western Frontiers
of the Province of the
Massachusetts-Bay;

From the Beginning of the *French War*,
proclaimed by the King of France
March 15th 1743,4; and by the King
of GREAT BRITAIN *March 29th*
1744, to Auguf 2^d 1748.

Drawn up by the Reverend Mr. DOOLITTLE of *North-*
field in the County of *Hampshire*; and found among
his Manuscripts after his Death.

And at the Desire of some, is now Published, with some small
Additions, to render it more perfect.

BOSTON:

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NEW YORK

Reprinted

WILLIAM ABBATT

1909

(Being Extra No. 7 of THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY with Notes and Queries)

NOTE

DOOLITTLE, Rev. Mr. A Short Narrative of mischief done by the French and Indian enemy on the Western frontiers of Massachusetts-Bay from the beginning of the French War in 1743 to 1748. 12° stitched, uncut. Boston, 1760.

The only other copy known was that in the Murphy sale which brought \$100. No other copy quoted. The author of this tract was Rev. Benjamin Doolittle, who died at Northfield, Mass., on the 9th of January, 1749. In a genealogical memoir of the Doolittle family, in vol. 6 of the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, pp. 394-5, it is said: (Timothy Farrar editor.)

“This is a tract of much importance in the history of Massachusetts, especially as it details some events not elsewhere to be found; a period about which much less is known of our history than is known of the corresponding period a hundred years earlier. It is a work of great rarity, but a single copy having ever come under the knowledge of the writer, who has spent many years in collecting rare tracts on the history of New England.”

For the identification of the various forts, etc., I am indebted to friends, particularly Rev. S. G. Wood, of Blandford, Mass., and for most of the notes to Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont*.—Ed.

A SHORT NARRATIVE, ETC.

MY Purpose is only to relate Facts, as near as I am capable, from the best Information I could get: But it is probable there may be some Mistakes from Misinformation, arising from the different Apprehension Men have had concerning Facts, and the different Interests Men have in View: Some having a Desire to render their own, and the Actions of their Friends better than they were, and the Actions of others worse than they ought to appear: Which makes it difficult in every Case to obtain an impartial Account.

On the 15th of March 1743, 4, *France* being instigated by *Spain* (which was in open War with *England*) declared War with *Great Britain*: *France* had in Concert with *Spain* long laid this Scheme; hoping hereby to bring down *England* to their will: And the aspiring young *French* Monarch hop'd to make himself great, and render his Neighbours low. The King of *Great Britain* soon had the NEWS; and on the 29th of the *same Month* declared War against *France*.

What has been done by the Nations in Europe, on the Seas or Continents, I am not about to relate; only what was done in these Western Frontiers of the *Massachusetts*.

1744

The first Year of the War passed without any Mischief, and was spent in putting ourselves into a Posture of Defence.

1745

But in the Year 1745, July 5th, the Indian Enemy came to a

6 A SHORT NARRATIVE OF MISCHIEF DONE BY THE ENEMY

Place called the Great Meadow,¹ on Connecticut River about sixteen Miles above Fort Dummer,² and took one William Phips as he was hoeing his Corn. The two that took him led him near half a Mile from the Place, and stopt; upon which (as we have heard from the Indians) one went down a steep Hill to fetch something they had left. On his Return Phips catch'd hold of one of their Guns, shot him down, and then fell upon the other with his Hoe, which he had carried with him; struck him down and chop'd him very much, and then attempted to run away. But three Indians coming up at that Instant shot him down, Killed & scalp'd him, & mangled his body very much; and we have heard the Indian which he wounded with his Hoe died afterwards of his Wounds.

July 10. The same or some other Party of Indians came to a place called the Upper Ashuelot,³ kill'd and scalp'd Deacon Josiah Fisher, as he was driving his Cows to the Pasture, about half a mile from the Garrison.

October 11. A considerable Party of French & Indians came to a Place called the Great Meadow and made an attempt on the Fort, but did not Succeed; But took Mr. Nehemiah How Captive, and carried him to Quebec, where he died in Prison about a Year after he was taken. As these Enemies went off they Kill'd and scalp'd one David Rugg, who with another Man was coming down the River in a Canoe; the other Man⁴ made his Escape; and they killed a Number of Cattle.

NOTES

¹ The Great Meadow was on the Connecticut river, six miles above Fort Dummer. It is now in Putney, Vt.

² Fort Dummer was on the west branch of the Connecticut, in the southeast corner of the present town of Brattleboro. It was named for Sir William Dummer, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts. It contained several houses and was surrounded by a twenty-foot close palisade, with portholes. At opposite angles of the fort, twenty-five feet above the ground, square sentinel boxes were placed.

³ Upper Ashuelot is now Keene, N. H.

⁴ David Baker.—(Hall).

1746

April 19. The Enemy came to the uppermost and most Frontier Place on Connecticut River, called Number Four;⁵ where they took three men as they were going to Mill about half a Mile distant from the Garrison; viz: Capt. John Spafford, Isaac Parker and Stephen Fainsworth. They were Prisoners some time in Canada, but are since returned to their Homes.

April 22. A Man was shot upon between Northfield and Deerfield,⁶ but only shot thro' the Brim of his Hat.

April 23. About fifty of the Indian Enemy came to a place called the Upper Ashuelot early in the Morning, and design'd to have rush'd into the Garrison just after the People went out; But one at a little Distance from the Garrison saw them and gave warning to the People. They pursued those that were out of the Garrison, and took one Nathan Blake Captive, who after a long Imprisonment is returned to his Friends. The Enemy approached near the Garrison-Gate, shot down one John Bullard, who soon died, and stab'd one Daniel McKenney's Wife in the Back, who soon died. Soon after which, the Enemy burnt some buildings, not only to devour the People's Substance, but to conceal their Dead; for humane Bones were found in the Ashes. They kill'd also twenty-three cattle.

April 26. It is probable some of the same Indians Waylaid the Road between Lunenburg and Northfield,⁶ and killed and scalp'd one Joshua Halton of Northfield; who was returning from Boston with a considerable Sums of Money for Billeting of Soldiers.

May 2. The Enemy came again to Number Four; and as a

⁵ Number Four is now Charlestown, N. H. For an account of its size see Belknap's *New Hampshire*, Vol. II, page 248, and Hoyt's *Indian Wars*, p. 242.

⁶ These towns retain the same names.

8 A SHORT NARRATIVE OF MISCHIEF DONE BY THE ENEMY

few men went out in the Morning about 50 or 60 Rods from the Fort, the Enemy lay in a Barn, fired on them and kill'd one Seth Putnam; as the Enemy were scalping of him, Major Josiah Willard,⁷ with two Men, ran near to them, fir'd upon them and made them immediately retreat in Confusion; and we hear by the Captives that two of the Enemy were kill'd as they were scalping Putnam.

May 6. A party of Indians came to Lower Ashuelot,⁸ and lay about the Garrison till they observing Deacon Timothy Brown and Robert Moffet going out of the Garrison towards Upper Ashuelot, Way-laid them and fired upon them. Moffett shot on them and broke the chief Indian's arm. They were both taken Captive, and carried to Canada, but are since returned. At the same Time, a party lay about the Garrison at the Upper Ashuelot; and as one of them ventur'd to come up to the Fort, and shook the Gate in the Night, the Watch shot at the Gate, and shot the Indian through the bottom of his Belly; who died before he reach'd Crown Point.

May 9. A considerable Party of Indians came to Fall-Town,⁹ with a Design to rush into the Fort in the middle of the Day, when the Men were Abroad; but a Soldier a little distant from the Fort discovering them, alarmed the Fort; but he himself could not recover the Fort. There being but three Men in the Fort, defended themselves, the Women assisting in charging the Guns. The Enemy approached near the Fort, but were soon repulsed; did no Mischief except slightly wounding John Buck, burning one House and Kill-ing ten Cattle. The chief Indian had his Arm broke, and one or two more wounded. The same Day Serjeant John Hawks and John Mihils, being a little distant from Fort Massachusetts,¹⁰ rid-
⁷ Willard commanded at Fort Dummer.⁸ Lower Ashuelot is now Swansey, N. H.

⁸ Lower Ashuelot is now Swansey, N. H.

⁹ Fall Town is now Bernardston, Mass.

¹⁰ Fort Massachusetts, or Hoosac, was in Adams, Mass., not the modern Adams, but the present North Adams. Fifty years ago, the late Prof. A. L. Perry, of Williams College, planted an elm on the site of the fort. It still stands, in a meadow south of the river, near the North Adams-Williamstown boundary line.

ing on a Horse, two Indians Way-laid them, fir'd upon them and wounded both of them, Serjeant Hawks falling from the Horse, the Indians ran to scalp him; but he soon recovering, presented his Gun: One Indian jump'd down the Bank, the other got behind a Tree; one being a little distant from his Gun, the other discharged, in their Language as we have since heard, called for Quarter; but he not understanding them, continued hallowing to the Fort to come and help take them; but they not hearing, the Indians made their Escape.

May 10. Some of the Indians that were the Day before disappointed at Fall Town, turned off to Colerain,¹¹ about ten Miles North West from Deerfield, and Way-laid the Road; and as one Matthew Clark with his Wife and Daughter, and three Soldiers, were going from the Garrison to Clark's House, they fir'd upon them. They kill'd and scalp'd said Clark, and wounded his Wife and Daughter; one Soldier play'd the Man, fir'd several Times—defended and bro't off the Woman and her Daughter to the Fort, who are recovered of their Wounds.

May 24. There came a large Body of the Enemy to Number Four. Capt. Pain with his Troop arriving there while the Enemy lay in Ambush, about twenty Men went out of the Fort to view the Place where Putnam was Kill'd: the Ambush rose, fir'd upon them and endeavour'd to run between them and the Fort. Capt. Stevens and a Number of Men issued out of the Fort for their Relief; a Skirmish began in which Aaron Lion, Peter Perrin, Joseph Mercy of Capt. Pain's Troop, Samuel Farnsworth and Elijah Allen, belonging to the Fort, were Killed; Quarter-Master Bacon wounded, and Ensign Obadiah Sartle taken Captive, who is since returned Home. He says he saw five of the Enemy dead after the Fight. They left thirteen Blankets, five Coats, a Gun and other Things.

June 11. A considerable Number of Indians came to Fort Massachusetts, fell upon some Men who were at Work some Dis-

¹¹ The town of the same name.

tance from the Fort, Kill'd and scalp'd Elisha Nims, wounded Gershom Hawks. An Ambush arose near the Fort and endeavoured to intercept those who were running to the Fort, but were repuls'd by a brisk firing from the Fort. They took Benjamin Taintor Captive, who is since returned Home. They Kill'd near One Hundred Creatures¹² belonging to the English and Dutch. A few Days after, one of the Indians was found buried in the Side of the Bank of the River; and also some long *Leading Lines* bro't to lead Captives Home in Triumph, were found.

June 19. A large Body of the Enemy came again to Number 4; and as Capt. Stevens and Capt. Brown, with about fifty Men were going into the Meadow, perceived by the Dogs with them that there was an Ambush by the Causey; which put them into a Readiness for an Engagement. One of Capt. Stevens' Men saw one of the Enemy and fir'd at him; upon which the Ambush arose, and a sharp Engagement ensued. The Enemy were forced to retreat, drawing off their dead Men, as was known by the Signs afterwards discovered. None of our Men were kill'd on the spot; Jedediah Winchel was wounded, and died of his Wounds a Fortnight after. David Parker, Jonathan Stanhope and Cornet Heaton were wounded, but are recovered: a Scalp was drop'd by the Indians, supposed to be a French Scalp; one Gun, Eight Blankets and other Things left by the Enemy.

June 24. A Party of the Enemy came near to a Fort called Bridgman's¹³ Fort, about two Miles below Fort Dummer: fell upon some Men at Work in the Meadow, Kill'd William Robbins and James Barker,¹⁴ and took one Daniel How and John Beaman¹⁵ Captive, who just before he was taken shot an Indian and Kill'd

¹² Cattle.

¹³ Bridgman's Fort was about two miles below Fort Dummer. It was built in 1740 by Orlando Bridgman.

¹⁴ Baker (Hall); Parker (Hoyt).

¹⁵ Beaumont (Hoyt).

him. They are since returned from Captivity; they also wounded Michael Gilson and Patrick Ray, who are recovered of their Wounds.

July 3. A Small Party of the Enemy laid an Ambush at Col. Hinsdell's¹⁶ Mill. Col. Willard with about twenty Men went to get some Grinding; when they set the Mill a-going went to search round the Mill to see whether there were not an Ambush; and some of the Men happening to go where the Ambush was, the Enemy fired upon them. Our Men engaged, and pursued them a little Way and recovered of the Enemy the most of their Packs. One Wright was slightly wounded.

July 28. David Morrison of Colerain, a young Lad seeing a Hawk light on a Tree a little distance from his Father's Fort, went to shoot him; there happened to be about twelve Indians at the Place, who took him Captive; We have no certain News what became of him.

August 3. A large Body of the Enemy came to Number Four. The Dogs gave Information that the Enemy were about them. Early in the Morning some went out near to a Nursery, and were fir'd upon by some Indians who lay there. One Phillips was kill'd; the Enemy run off; our Men charg'd their Guns and returned to the Fort. Some time after, when they went to fetch Phillips into the Fort, the Ambush arose and fir'd about an Hundred Guns at them; the Men fir'd some Time, retreating to the Fort. The Enemy continued firing till the next Day, then burnt the Buildings, Kill'd the Cattle and drew off.

August 6. About thirty Indians came to Winchester,¹⁷ Way-laid the Road; and as six of our Men were passing they fir'd on

¹⁶ Hinsdell's Mill and Fort, in Hinsdale, N. H., were built by Rev. Ebenzer Hinsdell, in 1748.

¹⁷ Winchester retains the same name.

them, Kill'd and scalp'd one Joseph Rowson, and slightly wounded Amasa Wright.

August 11. A small Party of Indians came to Northfield, shot upon Benjamin Wright, a young Man, as he was riding after Cows to bring them out of the Woods; but his Horse brought him into Town, and he died the following Night.

August 15. A Number of Indians shot upon some Men near Shattuck's Fort,¹⁸ but hurt none. A few Days before they hung up a white Flag in Sight of the Fort.

August 17. Some Indians came to a Place called Pequaiog,^{18a} Kill'd and scalp'd one Ezekiel Wallingford, who was alone out at some Distance from the Fort.

August 20. About seven or eight Hundred of French and Indians came to Fort Massachusetts, and laid Siege about twenty-four Hours. After which they desired to speak with the Officer; who admitted the Messenger into the Fort, who said in the name of the General that if they would surrender they should be well used. Our Men consulted together, finding they had not Ammunition to stand them many Hours, tho' they had been sparing in firing; and considering the Number of Sick they had in the Fort, tho't it their wisest Method to make the best Capitulation they could; accordingly resigned themselves Prisoners of War into the Hands of the French, with the General's Promise that none of them should be given into the Hands of the Indians; and that the Sick, and such as could not travel, should be carried. Yet notwithstanding, He the next Day delivered one Half of our People into the Hands of the Indians; who the next Night Kill'd one of our Men, who was sick, rather than carry him. The French treated our Men civilly and tenderly; so also did the Indians those with them according to

¹⁸ Shattuck's Fort is said to have been between Northfield and Col. Hinsdell's.

^{18a} Now Athol, Mass.

their Manner. Thirty-two Men, Women and Children surrendered: many of whom died in Canada.

The Reason of this Garrison's being lost was, it's want of Ammunition; which had they been well supply'd with, they might have defended the Fort, and done much greater Spoil on the Enemy than they did; yet we have Intelligence that near fifty of the Enemy were Kill'd before the Fort surrendered. By whose Neglect the Fort was lost we Know not; but it's probable had the Officer been deficient, he would have been disgraced. But want of Ammunition was not only the Calamity of that Fort, but also of the greater Part of our Garrisons at that Time.

There was one Man Kill'd in the Fight, and many died in Prison at Canada. Some are returned Home. And the Fort was burnt down; which it cost the Province many Hundreds to re-build.

August 22. As about ten of our Men were going from Deerfield to Colerain, two or three Indians lying by the Road fired on them, shot down one Constant Bliss, a Connecticut Soldier; the rest made off as fast as they were able. The Indians scalp'd Bliss, and finding some Rum our Men left, the Indians took it, got very merry with it, and (as they told afterwards) the next morning when they awak'd they were near one of the Garrisons at Colerain. The Rum had lik'd to have proved as fatal to them as to our Men.

August 25. Thirty of their Army came to Deerfield, not being satisfied with what was done at Fort Massachusetts; and fell upon some People in the South Part of the Meadow. They Kill'd and Scalp'd Samuel Allen, Eleazer Hawks, Jun., Oliver Amsden, Simeon Amsden of Deerfield, and Adonijah Gillet, a Soldier; they wounded Eunice Allen and took Samuel Allen, a child of about nine years old. Allen kill'd one of the Enemy just before he was kill'd, and it is supposed another was kill'd by some other Person.

¶ Had there not been continual firing in the Town from

Day to Day the People would have took the Alarm, and might have been upon the Enemy before Ever they could have got out of the Meadow; Which shews the great Necessity of order and Discipline in Frontier Towns.

This Summer a Proclamation was issued for inlisting Soldiers for an Expedition against Canada; and a great Number freely inlisted, hoping the Time was coming that God would deliver us out of the Hands of our Enemies in Canada: and the Soldiers especially inlisted out of the Garrisons, some in order to be freed of the Province Service, which they were weary of; others with some more generous Views for the public Good: and all Endeavours to put a Check to the Fury of the Enemy were stopt; the whole Concern was to get ready for the expected Expedition; but how this turned out we all know: great Numbers of Men kept in Pay and Idleness till disbanded, to the Ruin of many of them and the great Hurt of the Country.

1747

March 30. About thirty or forty Indians came to a Fort called Shattuck's Fort, between Northfield and Col. Hinsdel's, with a Design to burn it. They had made Faggots of dry spruce & Pitch Pine, dipt the Ends of them in Brimstone, brought Fire in a Kettle covered with a Blanket; and coming silently to the Fort in the Night set it on Fire, which burnt down that Part of it which stood on the South Side of the Brook. But presently after the Fire began, the Wind, which was Southerly, turning to the Northward and the Soldiers getting into the other Part, by help of the Brook and Wind, prevented the Progress of the Fire to the North side; and then the Enemy, with Surprize observing the sudden Turn of the Wind in our Favour, drew off without doing any other Mischief. The English fired at them, & broke the Leg of one of them.

March 31. Capt. Eleazer Melvin, with some of his Company who were then at Northfield, pursued them to the Great Meadow,

shot across the River at them and kill'd one of them. They burnt the Fort which the English had deserted.

April 7. An Army of French and Indians came to Number Four, and laid Siege to the Garrison. Capt. Stevens¹⁹ being there with about thirty Men, made all necessary Provision for their Defence, especially by digging Trenches from under the Fort about a Yard outwards in Several Places, at so near a Distance to each other as by throwing Water we might put out the Fire in Case the Enemy by their four wheel Carriages loaden with Faggots shou'd set any outward Part of the Fort on Fire. They continued shooting and throwing their Fire-Arrows for near two Days; and then desired to speak with the Captain, who admitted three of them into the Fort, three of our Men going out to the Enemy at the same Time. They demanded the Fort, & promis'd our Men to carry them safe to Mount-Real to their Friends, if they would surrender; but the Captain assured them he should not resign the Fort: after which they continued firing and made some Preparation to Storm the Fort, till the next Day, and then they requested the Captain to sell them some Corn. He told them he would grant them five Bushels of Corn for every Hostage they should send into the Fort to be kept till the Enemy should bring and deliver so many of our Captives from Canada. But on the third Day they drew off, having done no mischief except slightly wounding Joseph Ely and John Brown.

Governor Knowles²⁰ was so pleased with Capt. Stevens' Conduct as to make him a Present of a very costly Silver-Hilted Sword.

April 14. This or another Army came to Northfield with a Design to have taken Part of the Town. The next Day, a little after Sun-set, they kill'd and scalp'd Nathaniel Dickinson and Asahel Burt, as they were bringing Cows out of the Woods; and

¹⁹ Phineas Stevens.

²⁰ Sir Charles Knowles.

then drew off in the Night to Winchester and the two Ashuelots, & burnt down those three Towns, which a little before had been deserted by the Inhabitants because the Soldiers were all drawn off without any Order to assist the Inhabitants in removing or carrying off their Substance.

Such little concern has there been to the poor People in the Frontiers at other Times as well as this.

May 25. As Col. William Williams with a considerable Body of Canada Soldiers were by Order of the Government re-building Fort Massachusetts, an Army of the Enemy came upon them with a Design to frustrate them. Major Williams of Stockbridge had been to Albany for stores, and was now on his Return with a Number of Waggoners near the Fort. He sent a few Men this Morning to mend the Way and give Notice to the Fort that they were a-coming. When they had got within fifty or sixty Rods of the Fort, they saw the Enemy creeping towards the Fort. They fired upon them, which made them discover themselves and fire at our Men who were on the Guard, and at work, and pursue those who were coming from Major Williams. Our Men fired from the Fort and pursued them at some distance from the Fort, till the Enemy seemed to aim to get between them and the Fort, and then they retreated. The Enemy kill'd one Stockbridge Indian, and wounded three more of our Men, who are since recovered. What Mischief was done upon them is uncertain, but we have the following Account by the Way of the Indians:

The Enemy discovered our Men when they went over, and immediately carried News to Canada. They sent out an Army of Six Hundred. When they came near to Hoosuck, finding Part of our Men were gone to Albany, three Hundred went to Way-lay them; but falling in the Rear, supposed, by the Waggoners and Signs of Men, there was a great Army gone from Albany. They therefore sent away a Post to them at the Fort, to give them In-

formation, who coming in the Time of the Engagement, was the Cause of their drawing off as they did—and that they lost Ten in the Engagement.

July 15. About thirty or forty Indians came to Fall-Town and shot upon Eliakim Shelden as he was hoeing Corn in the Field: he escaped to the Fort, but died the Night after.

August —. A Party of Indians went to Ashuelot,²¹ and kill'd three Cattle; our Men went out after them, shot at them and they at our Men, but no Mischief was done them.

August 26. A Party of the Enemy came to a Village Southwest of Northampton, and kill'd and scalp'd Noah Clark as he was thrashing in his Barn.

October 1. Peter Boovee, a Soldier at Hoosuck or Massachusetts Fort, went out a-Hunting; a Party of the Enemy discovering him, took him Captive, and carried him to Canada. He is since returned.

October 16. As Major Willard, Captain Alexander, and others were coming from Ashuelot to Northfield in Winchester they met some Cattle running, as tho' pursued. Captain Alexander being foremost, saw a French Man in the Path coming towards him. When he saw our Men, he jumped out of the Path behind a Tree. Captain Alexander shot at him, and shot him in the Breast. The French Man came up to him, saluted him handsomely, but he soon grew faint, and, as our Men supposed was dying. They being afraid the Indians were near, made haste and left him. After our Men were gone the Indians came to him, and he revived. They carried him some Way, but fearing the English would pursue them, left him, and a few days after he came into Northfield, and resigned himself Prisoner to Captain Alexander. After he was healed of his Wound, he was carried to Boston, where

²¹ The present town of the same name.

The 20. This Morning at Nine of the Clock there Come Express to the General Quarters and brought Intelligence that the howl of Gen. How's Army was Advancing upon us in three Colloms one Collom Coming in the senter to meet us one Collom Coming Round on our Left wing Marching up by Delwar river and through the Crooked hills and so Crossing the Country towards Schoolkills River to Cute off our Retreat, the other striving to flank us on our right wing. The Nuse alarmed us Enstently and we took a road that lead to Jones' Forde at Schoolkill river (for we were obliged to retreat Enstently) and the Enemy was so Nigh on our right flank that we Could see them Plain and our howl Party Crossed the river and the warter was up to our middle and run very swift so that we were obliged to hold to each other to keep the Corrent from sweeping us away and all in a fluster expecting the Enemy to fire in upon us for we could see them Plain but the reason was they Could not git thare Cannon to bare on us but we got all Safe across without the loss of any save fore or five of our party that the Enemy's Lite horse Cut to pieces and our flanks killed three of there Lite Draghoons and four of there Granadears.²⁹ After we had Crossed the river we Retirred to the Gulf mills where we Remained till two in the afternoon and then we marched to Sweed's ford and there stayed all Night after a March of twelve miles.

The 21st. We Crossed Sweed's ford and Marching Down to the Same Place of ground where we was the Day before (barenhill Chirch) Nine miles.

The 22d. We at four of the Clock in the Morning, left barenhill Chirch and Marched Derect back to Sweed ford there stays till twelve of the Clock then returns to Camp after the March of twenty-two miles.

The 30th. I unhapely falls in to Schoolkill River and had Enliked to have been drowned one of my messmates havin gon over the River after some Milk and Comes and Calls for some one to

²⁹ For a spirited account of the attempt of the British to cut off Lafayette's detachment at Barren Hill, see *Sparks*, v. 545.

and beds. To the sixteenth we had no tents nor anything to Cook our Provisions in and that was Prity Poor, for beef was very leen and no salt nor any way to Cook it but to throw it on the Coles and brile it and the warter we had to Drink and to mix our flower with was out of a brook that run along by the Camps and so many a dippin and washin it which maid it very Dirty and muddy.

The 16th. The howl army had orders to march at sunset and about Dark it did begun to storm the wind being at the N. E. and the Artillery went before and Cut up the roads and the snow Come about our shows and then set in to rain and with all which made it very teges (tedious), and I was so unwell and such a pain frequented my side which made it very teges to bear. At twelve at night we Come into a wood and had order to bild ourselves shelters to brake of the storm and make ourselves as Comforteble as we could but jest as we got a shelter bilt and got a good fire and Dried some of our Cloths and begun to have things a little Comfurteble though but poor at the best thare Come orders to march and leave all we had taken so much pains for¹⁶ so we marches to the Gulfe-mills¹⁶ and bilt us Camps till the baggage Come up.

The 19th. Thare Come orders for all the sick to be sent the Hospital and I with the others of the sick belonging to the Reg't was sent to the hospital at Reddin [Reading, Pa.] but when we come thare the sick belonging to the other Right had taken it up so we was sent to Dunkertown to the hospital there.

The 26th. I with one more had leave to go and Quarter at some house where we Could find a Place and after we had taken a good Deel of Pains in seeking for a Place we Come at length to Mr. Miller's, which Place we staid a considereble time where we was used very well and Clever¹⁷ folks they were.

¹⁶ This concise entry is as graphic a picture of the daily hardships of Washington's army as I have ever seen. In none but the diary of a private soldier could such a record be looked for.

¹⁶ The Gulf or Gulph Mills, near Valley Forge.

¹⁷ Is it necessary to explain to our readers that "clever" has nothing to do with intelligence here, but means kind, helpful, obliging, etc., as the case may be? We shall meet with the word several times in our soldier's *Diary*.

a Number of our Men, went silently along the Road, and came within a few Rods of them. One of the Enemy standing up looking towards the Fort discovered them. Chapin suspecting they might be Stockbridge Indians, called to them; upon which the Ambush jump'd up and ran. Chapin and one or two more next to him fir'd at them and killed one of them, and got his Scalp. They left a Gun, the most of their Blankets, and many other Things.

May 25. Capt.²⁷ Melvin with eighteen Men, who went out after the Enemy, came to the Lake²⁸ a little South of Crown Point; saw two Canoes about 50 or 60 Rods from the Shore, going to Crown Point (these doubtless were the Indians who were drove from Hoosuck the Week before): Capt. Melvin and his Company shot 50 or 60 Guns. The Indians made a great Lamentation whilst they were shooting at them. Crown Point immediately took the Alarm, fired their Cannon; And that Night our Men perceived the Enemy had got before them in their Way Home. Capt. Melvin took a contrary Course, when he come a-cross their Track, so that he Escap'd them till he came on West River²⁹ on the 31st of May. They laid an Ambush on the Bank of the River, where they were satisfied Capt. Melvin would come between them and the River. Providence so ordered it that Capt. Melvin stop'd within a few Rods of the Muzzles of the Enemies Guns; they fired on him. Our Men jump'd up the Bank, and fired at them; some of our Men that were in the Rear made up the River; our Men fired some Time at them and suppose they killed several of the Enemy. Six of our Men were killed, viz: Joseph Petty,³⁰ John Howard,³¹

²⁷ Eleazer (Hall).

²⁸ Champlain.

²⁹ West River is the Wantastiquet in Brattleboro.

³⁰ Hall says Petty was wounded and left behind in a tent of boughs near a spring. On June 2, Capt. Melvin left Fort Dummer with forty-six men to find him; and again on the 6th a "large force" went out. One report says that he was found dead—another that his body was never discovered.

³¹ Heywood (Hall).

John Dod,³² Daniel Man, ³³ Isaac Taylor & Samuel Severance. Capt. Melvin and his Men came in, all but Six, at different Times at Fort Dummer. This was a surprising Stroke, and struck a great Damp into the Spirits of our Men who had thoughts of going into their Country, when they found how far the Indians would pursue them to get an Advantage upon them.³⁴

June 16. A large Body of the Enemy Way-laid the Road between Col. Hinsdell's Fort and Fort Dummer. Thirteen of our Men going from Col. Hinsdell's to Fort Dummer were shot upon; three were killed on the spot. Some Time after, the Bones of a Man were found where they lodged the first Night. Joseph Richardson, Nathan ³⁵ French and John Frost were killed on the spot. The Man that was kill'd where they Lodg'd the first Night is supposed to be William Bickford; the rest were taken Captive except three who made their Escape in the Fight.³⁶

June 26. As Capt. Humphrey Hobbs was passing with a Scout of forty Men from Number Four to Fort Shirley,³⁷ they were pursued by one Hundred and fifty of the Enemy: and west of Fort Dummer, as our Men stop'd to eat some Victuals, their Guards being out and the Man set to watch their back Track discovered the Enemy, who gave the Alarm. There immediately began a very hot Fight.³⁸ The Enemy rushed on very violently; but our Men stood their ground and gave them a warm Reception. The Fight lasted four Hours, in which Time three Men were killed,

³² Dodd (Hall).

³³ Mann (Hall).

³⁴ Melvin's fight was probably in what is now Londonderry, N. H., thirty-three miles from Fort Dummer.—N. H. *Hist. Coll.*, v: 208.

³⁵ Jonathan (Hall).

³⁶ Hall adds that there were wounded William Blanchard, Joel Johnson, Benjamin Osgood, Moses Perkins, Henry Stevens, and Matthew Wyman.

³⁷ Fort Shirley was in the town of Heath, Mass.

³⁸ This was in what is now Marlborough, Mass. The Indians were commanded by a half-breed named Sackett. (Hall).

after thirteen miles march we Pitched our tents Cotalan's [Cortland's] manor.

The 20th. We marched at three of the Clock in the afternoon and Crossing Cotalan²⁰ Bridge and after twelve miles March we Come to Mr. Right's²⁰ mills on the age of the White Planes.

The 27th. Head Quarters moved Down to the White Planes and the guard likewise and pitched our tents and there Remaned some time.

Aug. 17th. There was a man shot Near Head Quarters for Enlisting seven times and taken bountys.

The 21st. There was sixteen men to be Executed some for Desarsion and some for Enlesting Numbers of times, but for there former good Conduct and the Enterseding of there officers his Exelency was pleased to pardon them.

Sept. 16. We Left the White planes and Marching through North Castel and after sixteen miles March we Come to Mr. Ragemand's in Bedford.

The 18th. We Left Bedford and Marched and Come to Fredrexburg²¹ after the March of fifteen miles and Pitched our tents.

The 19th. We Left Fredericksburg and after thirteen miles march we pitched our tents at Mr. Reed's field in Oblong.*

The 25th. Head Quarters and likewise the guard Left Oblong and Come to Mr. Cain's²² in Fredrexburg four miles and pitched tents.

²⁰ Now Cortland's Bridge over the Croton River.

²⁰ (Reuben) Wright's Mills, near the present Kensico. Washington had his headquarters here at one time; and the Wright dwelling (still standing) is one of those to which his captors took Major André (Sept., 1781).

²¹ Fredericksburg, then in Dutchess Co., N. Y.

* The Oblong—A tract still known by that name, due to its peculiar shape.

²² "Cain" was John Kane, an ancestor of Dr. E. K. Kane, the Arctic explorer.

Come with the Canew and fetch him acrost but none would go after him. I told them that if none of them would go I would trye but I being not used to a bote and the Current being very swift and as I shifted the setting Pole on the other side to keep the head of the bote up it happened to Catch on a side of a rock and as I shoved the Pole slipped off and pitches me out the other side and being surprised and current strong with all, made for the shore but the current was so swift it Carried me Down Stream and every little while I Could tuch bottom and the warter being up to my middle but I Could not stand in Compersson more than I could stand on the side of an house then I would trye for shore but the more I strove the faster the Current would sweep me down stream and at Length being tired of trying for shore I tries to tuch bottom but I could not then I tries to git to the top of the warter and it seams as if something held me and after struglen for some minnets I felt as easy as ever I did in my life and it seems as though I was going to sleep and the first that I knew I stood on my feet Clost to the shore and seemed as though I waked out of sleep. Blake (the young man that I was going after) Come as fast as he Could swim after me (and the Current Carried me down faster than he Could swim) and Come to me and soon a number was there and they helped me home to the barrack and the Doctor blooded me, but I was very unwell for several days.

June 4th. There was a spye Hung on the grand parade from the Enemy he formerly belonged to our Army and was an Ensign in the Secund Pencilvania Ridgt. His name was Thomas Church.

The 9th. Lady Washington Left Head Quarter to Return to Virginey.

The 11th. Our army Left there huts and went into Tents.

The 13th. The Regelars Left Philedelphia and some Part of our army took Possession of the City and Gen. Lee's Division Marched for the Eastward.

The 19th. The Remander of the army Left Valy forde and

heard considerable spoil was done upon the Enemy. A Cessation of Arms being heard of in Canada, put a stop to the Enemy's coming out.

REMARKS

The following *Remarks* are easy and natural from the preceding History.

1st. WHAT a great Difference there is between our managing a War, and our Enemies. The most we do is to defend our Selves at Home; but they are for an offensive War. And it is true if they have any, they must have this; for a defensive War they can have none with us, For not a Man of ours has seen a French Settlement all this War, except such as were carried Captive or went with a Flagg of Truce.

2ndly. It is a rare thing we can obtain an Indian Scalp, let us do what Spoil we will upon them, so careful are they to carry off and conceal their Dead. For at Fort Massachusetts, where it is probable near sixty have been killed, never have been found more than *three* Scalps; which shows us that our Men will not venture out after the Enemy on any Scalping Act whatsoever. Our Men will not venture their Lives and Service on such uncertain Encouragements, if they should be much greater than ever they have been. The like is demonstrated at Number Four, where they have killed so many of the Enemy, never a Scalp could be recovered.

3dly. We may observe Of how much Importance the Enemy judge those two Forts at Number Four and Hoosuck, to be to us. Hence their repeated Endeavours to destroy them; which they would not do were they not advantageous to us, and in their Way in coming upon us. And it shows how much it must encourage our Enemies, for us to give up either of them.

4thly. We may observe, How safely the Enemy can draw off, when they have done Mischief. I think but one Instance has

there been all this War of our pursuing, and overtaking the Enemy to do any Spoil on them, and there are many Reasons for it. One is, that no Body may move till an Account is sent to the Chief Colonel, and then Men must be mustered, which take so long a Time that there is no possibility of our taking them. Another Reason is, that we never have Men near, Equipp'd to pursue them in the Woods; and when they have gone a few Miles in the Woods, they are discouraged and return Home.

5thly. It is observable That the continual changing of Schemes renders all Measures for the War unsuccessful. Before any one single Scheme is tried, it is flung up, and nothing ever presented to Advantage. There is scarce any one Scheme of more than six Months' continuance.

6thly. We may observe, That when the Province have voted any Number of Men for a particular Service, by that Time the Commissary can furnish the Men with their Provisions, their Time is expired; and this was the Case the Summer past. It took the greater Part of the Summer to supply the Garrisons with Provisions, they were so scarce: And the Soldiers who were designed as Scouts towards Crown Point were a good Part of their Time employed in guarding Provisions to the Forts.

7thly. It is observable to all who know the State of these Frontiers, That there is not due Provision made to furnish Men out on any Occasion after the Enemy. There is neither Bread nor Meat, Shoes, Blanketts, &c, that a Number of Men may take on any sudden Occasion. They have their Bread to bake, their Meat to cook, and other things to get; when they should be on their March. And so long as this is the Case, the Enemy never need fear our annoying of them when they have distressed us.

8thly. It is observable, That all this War we have never kept men in the Woods towards Crown Point to discover their large

The 28d. Gen. Patersons, Gen. Huntington and Gen. Nixon's Brigades Marched to Hartford save Col. Parsons Regt and that went onward.

The 24th. The Gard Marcht down to Fredrixburg to see a man hung for Robing he was Executed at Eleven in the fournoon Thomas Glover by Name and there was five Whipt one hundred Lashes apeace all save one for Robing two of them belonged to the Gard Viz. John Harrick and Joseph Timberlek was for striking an offiser.

The 25th. The Pensilvania Troops Marcht for the Jarseys.

The 26th. Gen. Nock's [Knox] Parke of Artillery Marched for the Jarseys.

Nov. 28th. His Exelency and also his Gard Left Fredericksburg and Marched for the Jarseys and at Night we Pitcht our tents by Clane's tavern in Philipspatten⁸⁵ after the March of sixteen miles.

The 29th. We left the Patten at seven of the fournoon and at five in the afternoon we pitcht our tents by Mr. Lent's in Piekskill two miles from the King's farrey after the March of seventeen miles.

The 30th. Gen. Nock's Park of artillery Crossed at King's farrey. We lay still.

Dec. 1st. The guard Left Piekskill and Crossed at King's farrey Marched on to Col. Hazes and Encampt after Marching two and three is five miles.

The 2d. We left Col. Hazes and after seventeen miles March we Come to Mr. Jones Baggat in Romepawe [Ramapo, N. Y.] and Picht our tents.

The 3d. We left Romepawe and after twenty miles March we Come to Mr. Goods in Prequannackit [Pequannock, N. J.].

⁸⁵ Phillipse Patent.

The 20th. A large Detachment under the Command of Gen. Lord Starling [Stirling] Marched for the Jarseys Capt. Livingston²² his adde-camp.

The 30th. His Exelency with his adde-camps went to Fishkills.

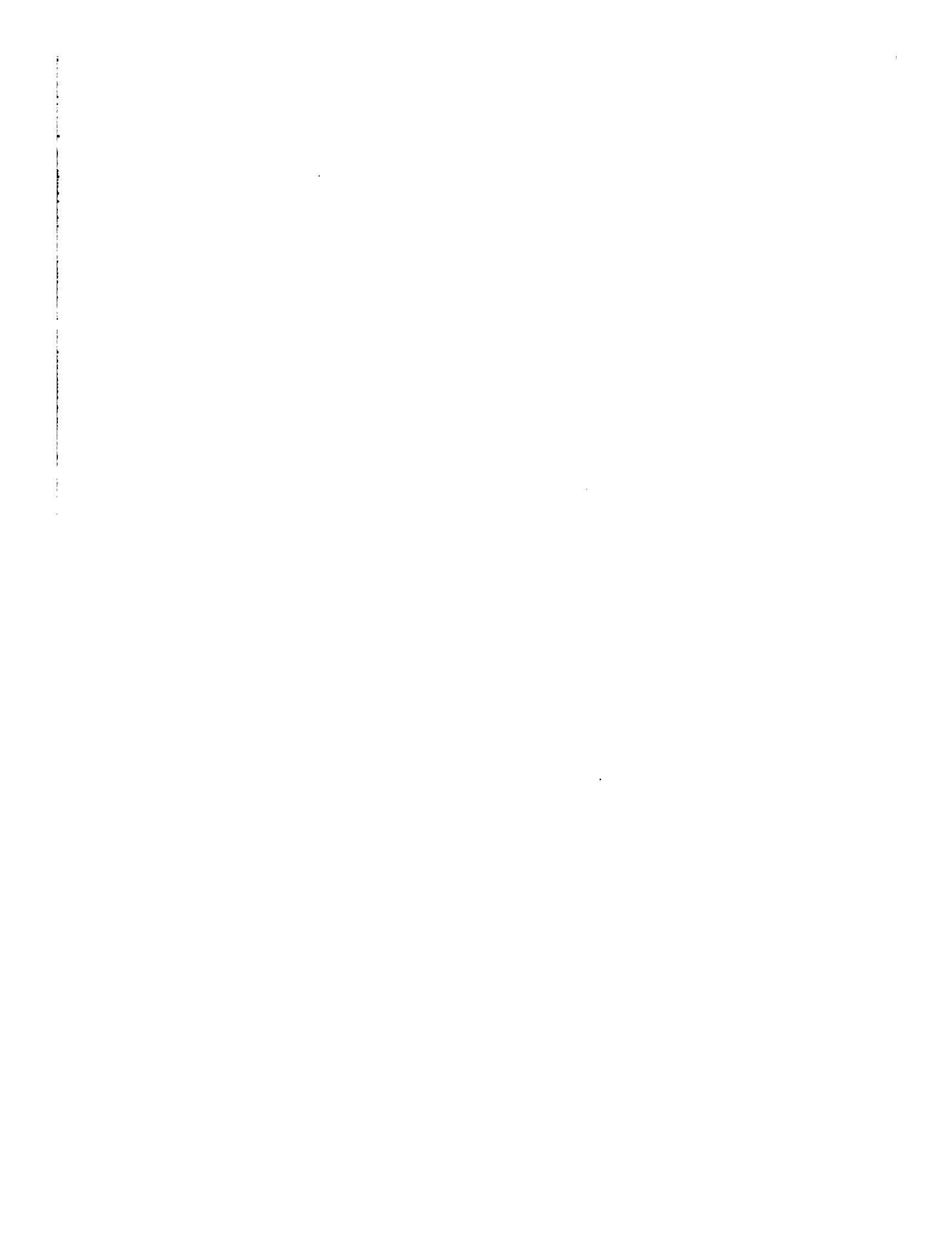
October 1st. I had a pass for five Days to go to New Milford (Mr. N. Fisher) to see a Relation of mine.

The 5th. As I was returning from New Milford, Missed my way which Detaned me.

The 6th. I Returned and jines the guard again and at my Return I finds an alteration in the Dress of my mates I asked one of them I. Herrick it seams as though there had been an alteration since I have been gon. He said that he had that Money sent to him that he sent for (Now I know that he had sent for som Money from his father) I said that I was glad off it for I hoped that we should not be so puttout for money to bye things with now and that you will be able to pay me that trifill you owe me (Sixteen Dollars) he said he hoped he should. Presently in comes one or two more I said have you had money sent you from home too, I fear that you have taken some other way to git it than that; then Harrick said that as I. Herrin was out after things for the General's famely (now Herrin was one that was sent after to bye things for the Genearl's Famely and he had a horse and a pass to go where he Could git such things as was wanted for the General's Famely) he Come to an old Tory's house and they would not Let him have any thing and he see several things that he wanted so when he Come home he gos to his messmates and tales them and they gos and robed him of several things. I said that Whether he be a tory or not If it should be found out (which such things as Robery seldim is) some or all of you will be hung which surprised them Vary much but there was no more heard about it.

The 8th. His Exelency and Addecamp returned from Fishkill to Mr. Cane's.

²² (W. S.?) Livingston.



NOTE

It has long been my desire to publish some biographical sketches of the many men of our Revolution who, valuable as were the services they rendered to the patriot cause, have never yet been adequately commemorated. Various circumstances have so far prevented it, but I am happy to be able to re-publish this interesting account of one of these very men, from the pen of a writer whose literary monument (besides various monographs) is his history of Georgia—the late Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta.

EDITOR.

Drums and fifes and the gard present there arms. They arrived at three in the afternoon and at five there was thirteen Canon fired from the fourt on account of his arrival.

The 16th. His Exelency and the Embasendor went and Vewed all the fourt and battery that were on West Point and Sarjt. Harris and ten of the guard went over the River to Gen. DePotaes [Duportail] and carreys a markee and several other things and piched the markee and at five of the Clock in the afternoon Gen. Washington and Embasendor and several other Gen. and offisers with them arrived there and Dined.

The 17th. The Embasendor left West Point at eight of the Clock in the fournoon for Philadelphia and was accompened by his Exelency and addecamps as far as New Winsor and returned.

The 23d. Leut. Colefax⁴⁰ and the part of the guard that left the guard at Barington for East town they arrived there the six Instant with the Baggage and left there the twentyth of Sept. and after the march of an hundred miles they Come to New Winsor the twenty-third and left the baggage and Come to West Point.

Oct. 1st. The North Carolina troops left West Point and Come to New Winsor and Incampt.

The 15th. One of the Guard, viz. John Piller Deserted from the guard at West Point.

The 19th. All the Carolina men that belonged to the guard jined there Ridgments and the Carolinian troops left West Point on there way to Gorja [Georgia].

The 21st. There was three men to be hung for Robing and one Whipt for Mr. King's house. Two of them had there reprieve, the other two hung. They belonged to the Carolina troops and five others Whipt.

The 30th. His Exelency and likewise the guard left West Point and Come to New Winsor and Encampt.

⁴⁰ Lieut. William Colfax.

The 4th. We Left Mr. Goods and after twenty miles March we Come to Mr. Lott's in Troy [Morris County, N J.] and Pitcht our tents.

The 5th. We left Troy and Marched and Come to Morristown.

The 6th. We left Morristown and after twenty-three miles March we Come to Mr. [William] Wallase** where His Exelency had his winter Quarters and likewise the guard built huts and had there winter Quarters in Barringtown [Bernardstown].

The 9th. We begun to git the timber for the huts and to work on them.

The 16th. We finished our huts and we left our tents and moved into them.

The 30th. There was a Continentall thanksgiving Day ordered by Congress.

1779

Feb. 10th. I makes an agreement with Mr. I. Wallais for to Clear a peace of Land for him, the Condishons are as follows, I was to clear so much land fitt for mooing [mowing] and in my full-filing my oblegation Mr. Wallais was to give me one hundred Dollars Paper Currincy but if Head Quarters moved before I had finished it he was to Pay me for what I had Dun according to the agreement.

Apr. 22d. The French and Spanish Embasendor arived at Head Quarters and they was received with the selute of arms and Drumes and fifes and band of Musick and wellcomed by his Exelency.

The 30th. The army was revewed by the two Embasendors on the grand parrade.

** About four miles west of Middlebrook, or in the present Somerville. The house is still standing (1909) and is owned and maintained by the New Jersey Revolutionary Memorial Society.

(Original Dedication)

To

MRS. JOSEPHINE C. HABERSHAM

WIFE OF

WILLIAM NEYLE HABERSHAM, ESQ.

OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA,

AND GRAND-DAUGHTER OF THE

HONORABLE MAJOR JOHN HABERSHAM

This Sketch

IS RESPECTFULLY AND CORDIALLY

INSCRIBED

MAJOR JOHN HABERSHAM

AMONG the worthies who, during the colonial period, ministered to the intellectual, moral, political, and material development of Georgia, no one is more gratefully remembered than the honorable James Habersham. The purity of his character, the nobility of his aims and impulses, the utility of his acts, and the influence of his virtuous life were at the time, and have ever since been, recognized and admired.

From the date of his arrival in Savannah early in 1738, in company with his friend the Reverend George Whitefield, the famous evangelist and noted philanthropist, until his demise in 1775, he was prominently identified with every movement which contemplated the amelioration of the condition of the colonists and the promotion of the welfare of the Province. He is specially remembered in connection with the foundation, the control, and the sustentation of the Orphan House at Bethesda; as a most intelligent instructor and guide of youths; as the organizer of the earliest Sunday-schools; as a capable and earnest catechist; as a valued correspondent of the Home authorities, keeping them advised of the progress of affairs and furnishing apt suggestions with regard to the administration of the Trust; as instrumental in procuring a rescission of the regulation prohibiting the introduction of slave labor into Georgia;* as a kind and thoughtful master, providing for the tem-

* Could those men who so loudly clamored for negroes have raised the veil from the next century and a half, would they not have started back in horror from the spectacle of blood and woes in which the introduction of negroes was to involve their unborn children?—Prof. H. A. Scamp (then of Emory College, Georgia). Article, *Georgia—the only Free Colony*, in *Magazine of American History*, October, 1889.

poral wants and the spiritual edification of his numerous servants; as the founder of the earliest mercantile house in Savannah, enjoying high credit both at home and abroad, and possessing commercial relations with Philadelphia, New York, Boston, the West Indies, and England; as the efficient secretary of the Colony; as an energetic commissioner of silk-culture; as an assistant to Mr. Graham, president of the Province upon the surrender, by the Trustees, of its management, and prior to the erection of the royal government; subsequently, as secretary and registrar; and, finally as the governor *pro tempore* of Georgia during the absence of Sir James Wright.

For this responsible position his education, his personal acquaintance with the inhabitants, his thorough knowledge of the history, development, and wants of the Colony, his long experience in the conduct of its public and domestic affairs, the purity of his character, and the high esteem in which he was held admirably qualified him. He was the firm friend of law, order, the established church, and of the British constitution. Loyal to his king, his affiliations were with those who obeyed the acts of Parliament, observed the orders of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and maintained their allegiance to the throne of England. In this mind he lived and died. He closed his eyes just as the storm of the primal revolution began to overshadow the land. While his sons espoused the patriot cause, their honored father kept faith with his King; and, in departing, lamented the division of political sentiment which was engendering fratricidal strife and be-tokening a bloody and relentless war.

It excites no surprise that the elder, the wealthier, and the more influential citizens of Georgia should, in the main, at this epoch, have tenaciously clung to the fortunes of the Crown, and sincerely deprecated all idea of a separation from the mother country. To such a course were they prompted by natural allegiance, by tradition, and by the strongest ties. Besides all this, of the

American colonies Georgia had subsisted most generously upon royal bounty, and had been the recipient of favors far beyond those accorded to sister plantations. The younger members of the leading families, however, in many instances, sympathized with the revolutionists, and thus division arose even within the household. While James Habersham, Noble Jones, the elder Houstoun, the elder Tattall, and others enjoying distinction in the annals of the Colony avowed and maintained to the last their devotion to the realm, their sons were found among the earliest and the most potent advocates of a speedy and radical separation from the parent nation.¹

The three sons of the Honorable James Habersham were men of patriotic fervor, of courage, of acknowledged ability, and of commanding influence.

JAMES was prominent in arranging and sustaining, as far as practicable, the finances of the young commonwealth. Upon the conclusion of the war, as a member of a committee appointed by the Executive Council to take charge of all slaves who had deserted

¹ In an old Family Bible of the Habersham family appears the following entry: "James Habersham, the most respected and lamented Parent of the persons whose births and deaths are recorded in this Sacred Book, was born at Beverley, Yorkshire, England, in the year 1712, and died at Brunswick, New Jersey, 28th August, 1775, aged 63 years. His corpse, attended by two of his sons who were with him at the time of his decease, was carried to New York and interred in a vault of Trinity Church, preparatory to its removal to Savannah, —the funeral service being performed by the Rector of that church.

On the 14th of November [following] the corpse was landed from the Sloop *Hope*,—Captain Andrew Brown—and deposited in the family vault in our Cemetery [on South Broad Street, in Savannah, Georgia].

He was among the early and most useful settlers of the Province of Georgia, and discharged some of the most honorable trusts under the Royal Government with such unsullied Integrity, Loyalty, and Independence, as to acquire for him the esteem and respect of the wise and the good of our Community.

He was a sincere Believer in the Christian Religion, and lived up to its precepts as far as the infirmities of our Nature would allow."

from the service of their masters, and also to assume the management and effect a just distribution of "suspected property," he performed important labors.

JOSEPH was, in Savannah, an early and a conspicuous "Son of Liberty." In association with Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones, Edward Telfair, William Gibbons, Joseph Clay, John Milledge and a few others,—most of them members of the Council of Safety, and all zealous in the cause of American liberty—at a late hour on the night of the 11th of May, 1775, he broke open the King's magazine in Savannah, and removed therefrom some six hundred pounds of gunpowder; a portion of which, if we may credit a well-approved tradition, was forwarded to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and issued to the rebel army.

As a member of the Council of Safety, he corresponded with the Continental Congress and with other patriotic bodies, and was instant in devising measures for the defense of Georgia and the enkindling of a warlike flame within her borders.

In July, 1775, under the joint leadership of Joseph Habersham and Captain Bowen, a detachment of picked men, conveyed in a Georgia armed schooner commissioned by Congress, effected, at the mouth of the Savannah River, the capture of Captain Maitland's ship direct from London and freighted with gunpowder and other military stores. At the earliest solicitation of the Continental Congress five thousand pounds of this powder was forwarded to Philadelphia, where they were issued to the armies of the United Colonies. From the same source were the magazines of Georgia and South Carolina supplied.

Of the Provincial Congress, which convened in Savannah on the 4th of July, 1775, and placed the Province of Georgia "on the same footing with her sister colonies," he was a leading member; and on the 7th of January in the following year he was appointed major of the battalion raised for the protection of Georgia, of

which Lachlan McIntosh was made colonel, and Samuel Elbert lieutenant-colonel. Subsequently, he rose to the rank of colonel in the Continental army.

When the Council of Safety resolved upon the arrest and confinement of Sir James Wright, the royal governor, so that there might be no longer any show of English dominion within the limits of the Province, Major Habersham volunteered for and successfully performed the service. Governor Wright was arrested in his residence, which occupied the lot at a later date graced by the home of Governor Telfair. Through the munificence of his daughters, this Telfair mansion has been converted into an academy of arts and sciences.

The bravery of the act cannot be too highly commended; and the physical courage displayed was transcended by the moral heroism involved in thus openly defying the power of the Realm, and in humbling the duly constituted representative of the Crown in the presence of the Colony he was commissioned to rule. The effect was startling,—dramatic.

In frustrating the attempt of Captain Barclay and Major Grant to capture the shipping lying in the port of Savannah, during the memorable siege of Savannah in September and October, 1779, and on various occasions during the progress of the war of the Revolution, Colonel Habersham rendered gallant and important service.

The struggle ended, he was twice honored by an election to the Speaker's chair in the General Assembly of his native State. From 1785 to 1786 he was a delegate to the Continental Congress, and in 1788, was a member of the convention which ratified the Federal Constitution. By President Washington he was appointed, in 1795, Postmaster-General of the United States. This position he filled with entire acceptability also during the presidential term of the elder Adams. Upon the accession of Mr. Jefferson, he was the

40 ▲ BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE HON. MAJOR HABERSHAM

recipient of a polite note conveying a tender of the office of Treasurer of the United States. Interpreting this as an intimation that his resignation of the position of Postmaster-General would be agreeable to the newly-elected President, he promptly surrendered his portfolio² and returned to Savannah, where, entering upon a mercantile life, he essayed to repair a fortune which had been seriously dissipated by the calamities of war. In 1802 he became the president of the Branch Bank of the United States at Savannah. This office he retained until his death, which occurred on the 17th of November, 1815. He was then in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

The commercial house of Harris & Habersham, organized by his father in 1749, was, after the lapse of many years, practically revived by Colonel Habersham. To the present day it has been perpetuated by members of the Habersham family, and at all times with marked probity, influence, and success.

“We have said,” remarks another, “that Colonel Habersham

² It is believed that in this removal of Colonel Habersham—indirectly and delicately compassed as it was by Mr. Jefferson—occurred one of the earliest illustrations of the application of the doctrine “to the victors belong the spoils.” His selection by General Washington to fill the office of Postmaster-General of the United States was wholly unsolicited on his part, and must be regarded as a special tribute to the character and ability of Colonel Habersham. “At a period when so many, from great and devoted service to the country, had claims to office, and these claims well known and appreciated, and when the selection was made by Washington, this appointment was the best evidence of his great merit and of the general estimation in which he was held. In this office, as has been already stated, he continued until the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency. But he retained the office so long by no cringing or truckling to the higher authorities; for the President, Mr. Adams, having told him that the post-office department was an Augean stable, and must be cleansed,—meaning that the postmasters who were of the opposite party must be removed,—Colonel Habersham replied that these officers had discharged their duty faithfully, and that therefore *he* would not remove them, but that the President could remove the Postmaster-General. This, however, Mr. Adams, it seems, did not think proper to do.”—*National Portrait Gallery*, vol. iv. Article, Joseph Habersham.

was quick and ardent in temper, but although quick to take offense he was ready and anxious to make atonement for the slightest wrong—kind and indulgent to his slaves; humane and liberal to the poor; strict in the performance of all his contracts; tenacious of his own as he had been of the rights of his country. Allowing to others the same independent and frank expression of opinion which he always exercised for himself, he may with truth be pronounced to have been a fine specimen of that noble, generous, and chivalric race which achieved the liberty and independence of our happy country.”

But it is of MAJOR JOHN HABERSHAM, the third son of the Honorable James Habersham, that we would speak. Born in Savannah, Georgia, in 1754, he had scarce attained unto manhood when he espoused the cause of the revolutionists, and was numbered among the most active advocates of the aims and the aspirations of the “Sons of Liberty.” On the 7th of January, 1776, he was mustered into continental service as the first lieutenant of the first company of the battalion raised at the charge of the United Colonies for the protection of Georgia. Of this command his brother Joseph was, as we have seen, commissioned major. He was present with three hundred men of that battalion when Colonel McIntosh, from the hastily constructed works upon Yamacraw Bluff armed with three four-pounder iron field-pieces, opened fire upon the British troops led by Maitland and Grant, who were seeking to capture and take to sea the rice-laden vessels congregated at the wharves and along the opposite shore of the Savannah River.

On the 19th of May, 1776, Major Joseph Habersham married Miss Isabella Rae, a sister-in-law of Colonel (afterwards General) Samuel Elbert. This circumstance tended to cement more closely the friendship existing between Colonel Elbert and Lieutenant Habersham and the later was, in a little while, announced as Brigade Major of the Georgia forces upon the continental establishment, of which Lachlan McIntosh was the ranking officer and Sam-

uel Elbert the second in command. In this capacity he accompanied the expeditions planned, and launched in succession, by General Charles Lee, by President Button Gwinnett, and by General Robert Howe and Governor John Houstoun, for the reduction of St. Augustine and the subjugation of Florida. At Fort Tonym, where marked dissensions arose between General Robert Howe commanding the continental troops, Governor Houstoun controlling the Georgia militia, and Commodore Oliver Bowen conducting the supporting fleet, Major Habersham was a member of the council of war which, in view of the distractions existent in the American camp, because of the sickness prevailing in the army, and in consideration of the intervening obstacles, resolved it was imprudent to advance further and attempt the passage of the river St. John. These expeditions were characterized by lack of preparation, mismanagement, disagreement between commanders, surprising mistakes, vexatious delays, and fruitless expenditures of men and munitions. Upon the return of the Georgia continental troops from Fort Tonym, Colonel John McIntosh, with one hundred and twenty-seven men, was posted at Sunbury. General Howe repaired to Charleston, South Carolina, and the regiments of Colonels Elbert and White were sent to Savannah.

An anticipated season of rest and comparative inaction was speedily interrupted by the unexpected advance from Florida of two columns, led respectively by Colonels Fuser and Prevost,—the one moving by land and the other transported by water,—both having as their objective the capture of the town of Sunbury and, in the end, the investment of Savannah.

While Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Prevost's progress was being sharply contested by Colonels Baker and White and General Screven, Colonel Elbert, with his command, took post at Ogeechee ferry and fortified that crossing, intending there to deliver battle if the English commander succeeded in penetrating to that point. The failure of Colonel Fuser to effect a junction at Sunbury on the ex-

pected day, and the stout resistance offered, induced Colonel Prevost to retrace his steps. Treating the population as in open rebellion against a lawful sovereign, and utterly ignoring all rights of the invaded, that officer, upon his retreat, burnt Midway Meeting-House and all dwellings, negro-quarters, rice-barns, and improvements within his reach. The entire region was ruthlessly plundered. The track of the retiring column was marked by smoking ruins. British soldiers and Tories, unrestrained, indulged in indiscriminate pillage, appropriating plate, bedding, wearing apparel, and everything capable of easy transportation. The inhabitants particularly of St. John's parish, were subjected to indignities, and were, in many instances, reduced to absolute want.

Acting under a commission from Colonel Elbert, Major Habersham held an interview with Prevost, in which certain stipulations designed to protect the invaded territory from pillage and conflagration were proposed. The English commander, however, declined to give any guaranty in the premises, and insisted that inasmuch as the inhabitants were rebels against the Crown they must abide all consequences, how grievous soever they might be.

After the affair near Midway Meeting-House, in which General Screven was severely wounded, Major Habersham bore a flag to Colonel Prevost requesting, in the name of Colonel Elbert, permission to furnish the captured general with such medical aid as his dangerous situation demanded. In response, Doctors Braidie and Alexander were permitted to attend upon him, but they found upon examination that his wounds were mortal, and that their surgical skill was impotent to prolong his valuable life.

During the successful assault by Colonel Campbell upon the American forces under General Howe, posted to the east and south of Savannah for its protection, on the 29th of December, 1778, Major Habersham, still acting as Brigade Major to Colonel Elbert, who held the left of the line, is said, by Captain Alexander

Wylly, to have been entrusted with the service of a part of the rebel artillery. Finding it impossible, in the face of the impetuous charge of the enemy, to withdraw his field-pieces, and, at the supreme moment, ordering his cannoneers to save themselves, he refused to quit his guns until they were completely enveloped by the foe. The story runs that, perceiving personal capture inevitable, he deliberately broke his seal upon one of the cannon to prevent its passing into the ownership of his captors.

When the retreat was sounded a panic ensued, and the Americans made their way, as best they could and in a confused manner, through the town. Before the retiring army gained the head of the causeway traversing Musgrove's swamp west of Savannah,—the only pass by which the retrograde movement could be accomplished,—the enemy secured a position so as to interrupt the crossing. By heroic exertions Colonel Roberts kept the British at bay until the American centre effected its escape. The rebel right wing, being between two fires, suffered severely and was well-nigh annihilated by wounds, deaths, and capture. The left, under the command of Colonel Elbert,—who always fought to the last,—continued the conflict with such gallantry and pertinacity that escape by the causeway became impracticable. That officer was therefore compelled to lead his troops, after forcing their way through the town, through the rice-fields lying between the causeway and the Savannah River. In doing so he encountered a damaging fire from the enemy who, pressing forward, had taken possession of the eastern end of the causeway and of the adjacent high grounds of Ewensburg. Reaching Musgrove Creek he found it filled with water, for the tide was high. Consequently only those of his command who could swim succeeded in crossing, and this they did with the loss of their arms and accoutrements. All others were either drowned or captured. Among the latter was Major Habersham. Colonel George Walton, badly wounded, had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

In this disastrous and sadly conducted affair the Americans

lost eighty-three killed and wounded. Thirty-eight officers and four hundred and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates were made captive. Forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, a considerable quantity of small arms and ammunition, a fort, the shipping in port, and, above all, the capital of Georgia, were among the substantial trophies of this victory. Upon the fall of Savannah, Southern Georgia quickly passed under the dominion of the King's forces. Rapidly advancing, Colonel Campbell pushed his exultant column as far as Augusta, and even beyond.

The next occasion upon which Major Habersham, whose detention by the enemy does not appear to have been of long duration, was brought face to face with the British, was in the battle of Brier Creek, when General Ash was surprised and defeated by Colonel Prevost.

We may not here revive the memories of an engagement which reflected so severely upon the reputation of an American General and inflicted such loss upon rebel arms. It is proper to state, however, that the only ray of light amid the gloom of the whole affair was shed by the gallantry of Colonel Elbert and his command. That officer, assisted by Lieutenant-Colonel John McIntosh and Major John Habersham, with sixty Continental troops, one hundred and fifty Georgia militia, and a field-piece, held the left of the line of battle. Although the right and centre quickly broke and fled in wild confusion, he prolonged the conflict until nearly every member of his force was either killed, wounded or captured. If we are correctly informed Major Habersham was here, a second time, made prisoner. He was exchanged, however, in season to participate in the siege of Savannah in September and October, 1779, which culminated in the ill-advised, bloody, and futile assault by the allied army under Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln upon the British lines.

The depressing effect upon the King's forces in America

produced by the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, the junction of the auxiliary troops under General St. Clair, and the recent successes of General Greene in the Carolinas, enabled that officer, in January, 1782, to redeem his promise for the relief of Georgia. General Wayne was detached for that purpose. "To reinstate, as far as might be possible, the authority of the Union within the limits of Georgia," was the mission of the hero of Stony Point.

Ever since Savannah, in December, 1778, passed into the hands of the enemy, it had become a favorite resort of the Creeks and Cherokees. There were deputations from the Indian nations entertained. There were royal presents distributed, and there were concocted schemes for the annoyance of the republicans. Aware of his acquaintance with, and conscious of the influence he was capable of exerting over the natives, knowing that parties of Indians still visited that town, and desirous of either winning them over to the American cause or of inducing them to remain neutral in the pending struggle, General Wayne dispatched Major Habersham to intercept and conciliate them. He was attended by Major Francis Moore, in command of some South Carolina cavalry, and by Captain Patrick Carr, who led a body of mounted militia. At first Major Habersham was successful in his negotiations. His plans were subsequently frustrated by reason of the indiscretion and disobedience of a lieutenant who, with a portion of the mounted militia, slew several of the Indians present, and then, making a rapid descent upon Sunbury, killed eleven loyalists, residents of that town. Matters were further complicated by the conduct of Major Moore, who, learning that the Creek Indians had stolen some horses on the frontier of Liberty County, insisted upon going in pursuit of them. These and similar transactions defeated Habersham's mission which, otherwise, might have resulted in accomplishing much good.

So closely was Savannah now invested by the forces under General Wayne, and so desperate grew the situation of the King's

soldiers in Georgia, that on the 23d of May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton issued, at New York, an order for the evacuation both of that town and province. The authorities were notified that transports would be provided for conveying away not only the troops and military stores, but also Governor Wright and all adherents of the Crown who might desire to depart. Although not unanticipated, this announcement created a profound impression alike upon soldiers and civilians within the royal lines. The latter were most anxious to ascertain what their status would be under the changed condition of affairs, and to secure from the republican authorities pledges that they would not be molested either in person or property. Negotiations were accordingly opened, and to Major John Habersham—an officer in the Georgia line, a native of Savannah, a gentleman whose personal character inspired confidence, and whose high-toned sentiment, correct conduct, and polished address commanded the thorough confidence and respect even of those who were inimical to the cause which he espoused—were they confided on the part of the patriots. That they were conducted by him in all fairness and with becoming dignity, intelligence, and fidelity, it seems scarcely necessary to add.

Savannah having been occupied by General Wayne on the 11th of July, 1782, before setting out to rejoin General Greene, he detailed Lieutenant-Colonel James Jackson with his legion, and Major Habersham with his corps of new recruits, to take charge of that town and vicinage until civil government should be regularly established. So far as Georgia was concerned the war was practically ended. Following close upon the heels of the military came the members of the Executive Council. The Legislature quickly convened, and entered upon the passage of such laws as were demanded by the emergency and were deemed most conducive to the general good.

By the disqualifying act of July 6th, 1780, passed at Savannah by the Royalist Assembly, Major Habersham, in association

with other prominent members of the republican party in Georgia, had been declared incapable of holding or exercising any office of trust, honor, or profit. Upon the termination of English rule in Georgia this legislation became utterly void, and the penalties were subsequently reckoned as tributes to the worth and patriotism of those upon whom they were sought to be inflicted.

As a proof of the public esteem in which he was held he was, in 1784, elected president of the Executive Council. In that capacity he opened the Land Court in Augusta.

During the years 1785 and 1786 he was a member, from Georgia, of the Continental Congress. In October, 1786, as the chairman of the Commissioners appointed for that purpose by the State of Georgia, he held, at Shoulder-Bone Creek, in Hancock County, a congress at which fifty-nine chiefs, head-men, and warriors of the Creek nation were present. The deliberations of that convention resulted in the conclusion of a treaty, which was signed on the 8d of the following November, stipulating for the peaceful conduct of the Indians, and confirming the boundary lines as agreed upon in the former treaties solemnized at Augusta and Galphinton.

Another important service rendered by Major Habersham was that performed by him, as one of the commissioners from Georgia, in accommodating at Beaufort, South Carolina, in April, 1787, all differences touching the boundary line between those States. The agreement then reached was reduced to the form of a treaty which was subsequently ratified by the Congress of the United States and also by the General Assembly of Georgia. By the action of this convention a dispute between sister States, which promised to be a source of continued irritation, was amicably and satisfactorily adjusted.

It was a tribute to his reputation as a gentleman of liberal views and of education when, under the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly of the 27th of January, 1785, he was constituted a

member of the first Board of Trustees to establish the University of Georgia, and "advance the interests of literature through the State."

In 1789 he was nominated and confirmed as the collector of the port of Savannah. This office he continued to hold until his death, which occurred ten years afterwards. He was summoned hence in the zenith of his usefulness, in the full possession of all his faculties, and at the early age of forty-five. Lanman fixes the date of his demise as the 19th of November, 1799. The writer is assured by his granddaughter,—Mrs. William Neyle Habersham,—that he breathed his last in the city of Savannah on the 17th of December, 1799, just three days after the lamented demise of General George Washington, and while the land was filled with mourning at the sudden departure of the *Pater Patriæ*.

Major Habersham was in all respects an estimable man, fearless, honest, patriotic, public-spirited, and, in his domestic relations, tender and true. He was the friend of the widow and orphan, and, as adviser and guardian, in many instances rendered gratuitous and most acceptable service. In his official acts, and in the execution of the responsible trusts confided to him, he was upright and efficient. As an officer of the continental army he was prompt, courageous, and self-sacrificing. To the cause of the revolutionists, even in its infancy, was his cordial allegiance given, and he never swerved from its support until the independence of the United Colonies was fully established. Upon the organization of the Georgia branch of the Society of the Order of the Cincinnati, he was complimented with the position of its first secretary.

The influence which he exerted over the Creek and Cherokee Indians is said to have been widespread and salutary. If we are correctly informed, General Washington, while President of the United States, secured his good offices as Indian agent for a portion of the Southern Department. Upon closing his accounts with the

General Government, a balance arose in Major Habersham's favor which remains unpaid to the present day.

The following anecdote is told by a member of his family: On one occasion he entertained, in Savannah, several Indian chiefs. The leading *mico* of the delegation was "Mad Dog." Upon seating himself at the table, this chief plunged his knife into the joint of beef which was before him, and drew it into his plate. It constituted the *pièce de résistance* of the feast. When informed by his host that it was subject to partition among his companions, the hungry savage reluctantly restored it to the dish and sulked until the meal was concluded. A suit of clothes, however, presented by the Major, restored his equanimity and confirmed his friendship.

The old cemetery on South Broad Street in Savannah, wherein sleep so many who were famous and loved in the early days of the colony and commonwealth, guards the dust of this distinguished Georgian; and a beautiful county in the upper portion of the State perpetuates a family name which, for nearly a century and a half, has been here saluted with gratitude and honor.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE.

JOHN, third son of the Honorable James Habersham and Mary Bolton, was born on Monday, December 28, 1754, at Beverley, the country seat of his father, about nine miles from Savannah, Georgia. He was baptized by the Rev. Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, the rector and incumbent of Christ Church in Savannah. His preparatory studies having been completed at home, he repaired to Princeton College, New Jersey, where, in due course, he graduated with distinction.

On the 18th of February, 1782, he was married to Miss Ann Sarah Camber, at Belfast, in Bryan County, Georgia, the home of the Honorable William Maxwell. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Mr. Garrison.

ANN, their eldest child (afterwards Mrs. Ward), was born in December, 1782, and died in the seventy-ninth year of her age.

JAMES CAMBER, first son, died in infancy.

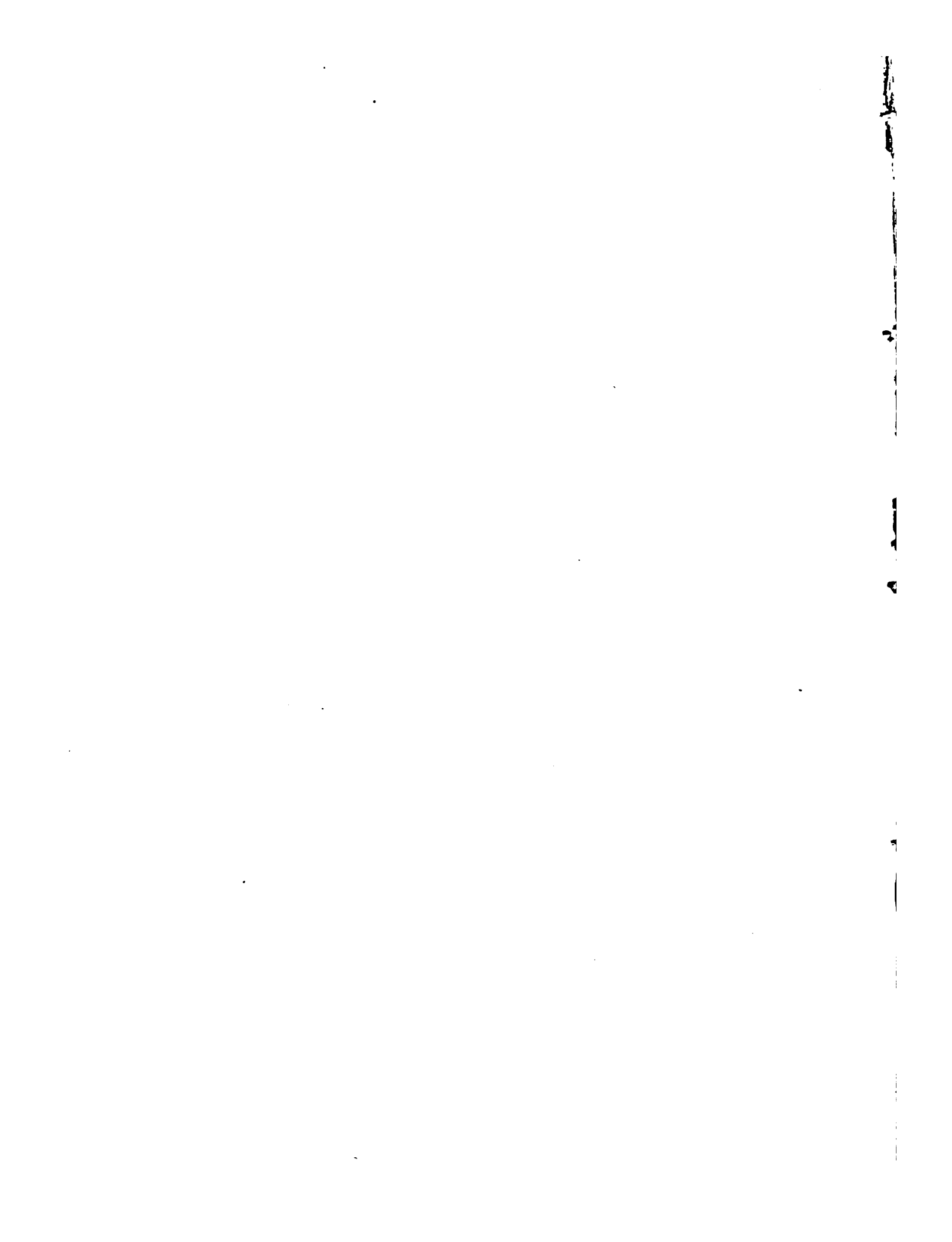
JOHN HARRIS, second son, died at the early age of seven.

JOSEPH CLAY, third son, became a prominent physician and leading citizen in Savannah. Inheriting the amiable, generous disposition of his father, he commanded the respect and esteem of all, and was called from a sphere of great usefulness in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

JOHN BOLTON, the fourth son, died in 1814, when only twenty years old.

MARY BUTLER, the second daughter (beloved wife of Mr. Robert Habersham), died in Savannah in 1875, aged eighty years.

SUSAN DOROTHY, the third daughter (Mrs. Joseph Habersham), departed this life in Savannah, in 1882, having attained the venerable age of eighty-four.



THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 8

COMPRISING

AN IMPARTIAL AND AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE
OF THE BATTLE ON BUNKER HILL.

John Clarke

PULASKI VINDICATED FROM AN UNSUPPORTED
CHARGE.

Paul Bentalou

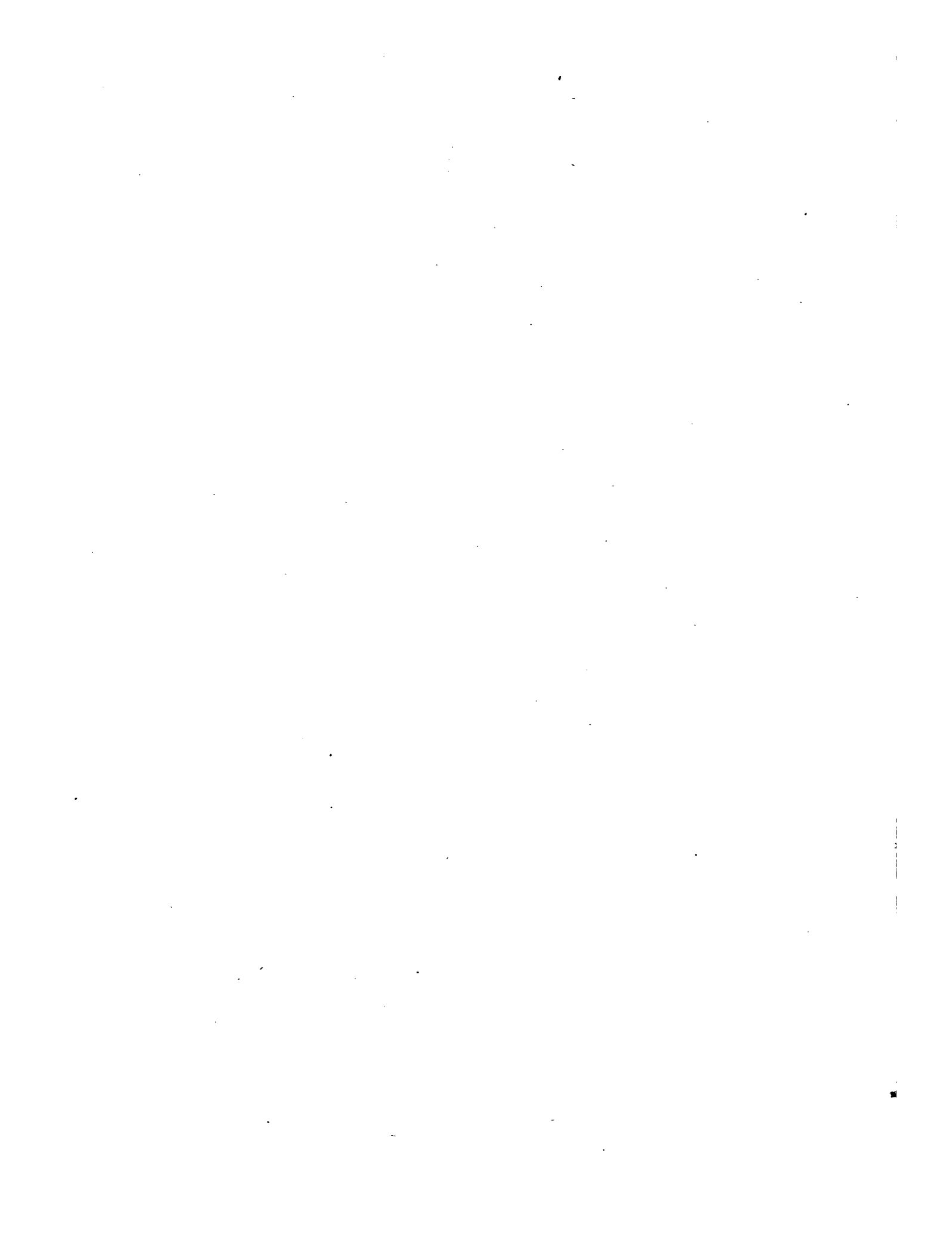
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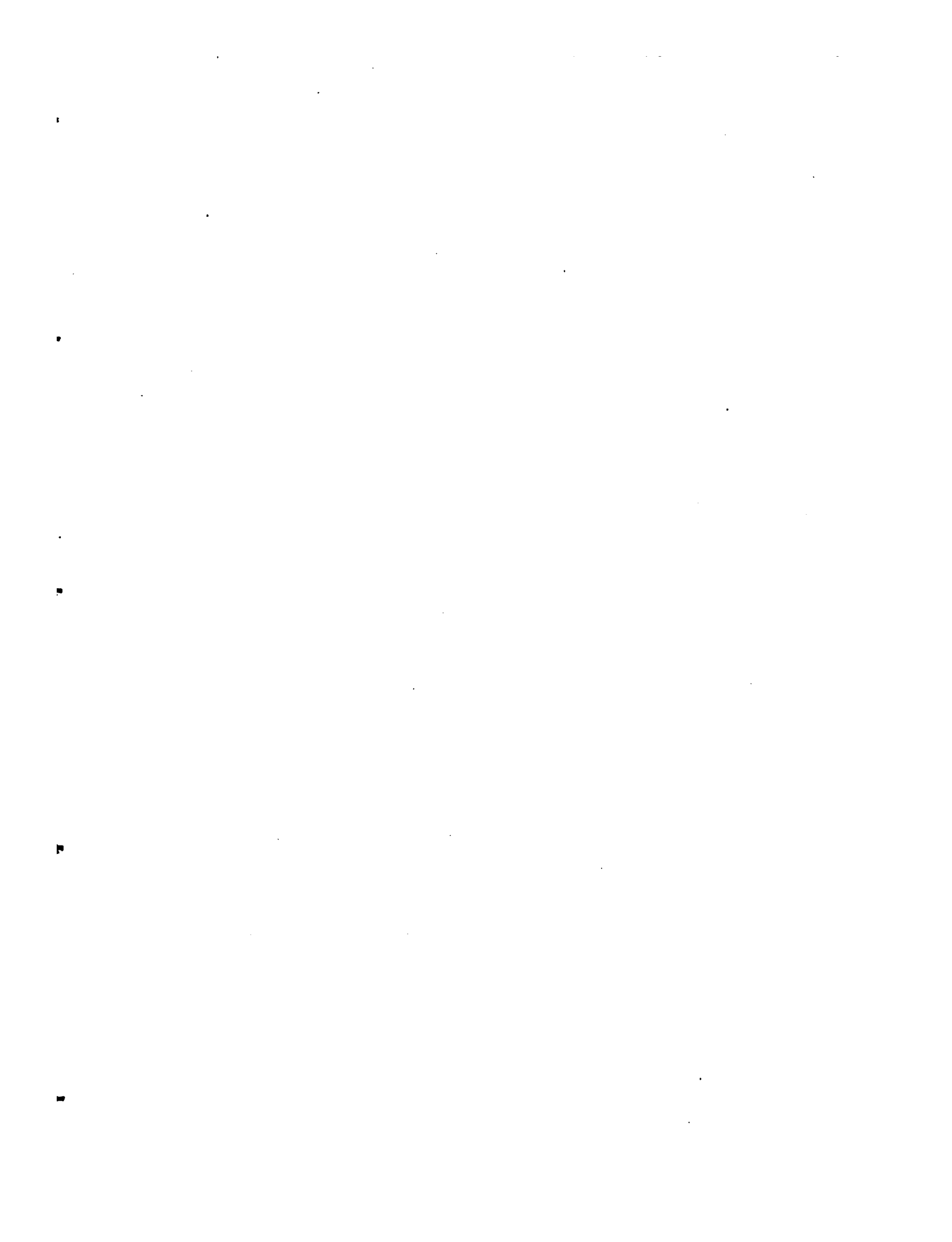
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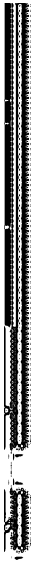
NEW YORK

NEW YORK

1909







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PAUL BENTALOU
Alaska's Legion



As near a *fac simile* of the original as possible

AN
Impartial *and* Authentic
NARRATIVE
OF THE
BATTLE

Fought on the 17th of June, 1775,

BETWEEN

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S TROOPS

AND THE

AMERICAN PROVINCIAL ARMY

ON

Bunker's Hill near Charles Town, in New England.

WITH

A True and Faithful Account of the OFFICERS
who were killed and wounded in that memorable
Battle

To which are added,

Some particular REMARKS and ANECDOTES which
have not yet transpired,

The whole being collected and written on the Spot

THE SECOND EDITION,

With Extracts from THREE LETTERS lately received from
AMERICA;

And all the PROMOTIONS in the ARMY and MARINES,
since the said Battle.

BY JOHN CLARKE
FIRST LIEUTENANT OF MARINES.

LONDON:

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PREFACE

THE original of Clarke's "Impartial Narrative" of the battle of Bunker Hill is one of the scarcest items of Americana.* Sabin records only one copy in the United States, that in the New York State Library, from which I have made my transcript.

* CLARKE (JOHN). AN IMPARTIAL AND AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE OF THE BATTLE fought on the 17th of June, 1775, between His Britannic Majesty's Troops and the American Provincial Army, on BUNKER'S HILL, near Charles Town, in New England. With a true and faithful Account of the Officers who were killed and wounded in that memorable Battle. To which are added, some particular Remarks and Anecdotes which have not yet transpired. The whole being collected and written on the spot. The second edition, with extracts from three letters lately received from America; and all the promotions in the Army and Marines since the said Battle. *London*: printed for the Author and sold by J. Millan, J. Bew, &c., 1775. *Title*+36 pp., 8vo. £31 10s.

*** A tract of excessive rarity and of the greatest historical importance and interest. The first edition of the same year (title and 32 pages) did not contain the "three letters lately received from America" and the "Promotions," which give additional interest to this second edition. The only record we can trace in modern times is the Manson copy (formerly ours) of the first edition which realised \$140 at auction in Boston in 1899. In point of fact, as both editions bear date 1775, there can be very little difference in time between them.—From Henry Stevens Son & Stiles' catalogue, London, 1907.

No such name (as John Clarke) appears in the roster of the Marine battalions, as given in their records, nor in the list of promotions after the battle. Other inaccuracies render it doubtful if Clarke served in the Horse or Foot.

His narrative possesses, however, a curious interest, as a production of the same year with the battle. It is the only account containing the address of Howe to his troops.—S. A. DRAKE, *Bunker Hill Battle*.

Until 1869 it had never been republished. In that year the late Mr. Francis S. Hoffman, of New York, printed ninety-nine copies. In 1875 the late Samuel A. Drake incorporated it in his "Bunker Hill Battle." I have added to my copy from the original, various notes (including those of Drake, Ellis and Frothingham), amplification of names, etc., and had hoped to include some account of the author, but careful search of the records in the British Museum by an experienced investigator, has failed to definitely fix his identity. A John Clarke was Lieutenant in the 59th regiment (which took part in the battle) and possibly was transferred to it from the Marines, but his name does not appear in the (Marine) Army lists for 1774-5-6.

A translation of a military work—"Military Instructions of Vegetius," 1767,—from the Latin, is credited to "Lieutenant John Clarke of the Marines" and we may suppose the compiler of the British Museum catalogue had some reason for so crediting it. The Clarke of the 59th regiment was promoted to be Captain June 6, 1776.

Personally I am inclined to think the 59th regiment lieutenant was the author, and chose to assume the disguise of an officer in the other corps. His narrative seems to be that of an eye-witness, if not an actual participant, and he doubtless combined with his own story details received from others.

It is particularly valuable as containing a number of details not found elsewhere—such as the story of Lieutenant Dutton's death, the bayonetting of Warren, etc. Where additions are made in brackets they are from the official records in the British Museum.

EDITOR.

AN AUTHENTIC and IMPARTIAL
NARRATIVE OF THE BATTLE

Fought on the 17th of June, 1775, &c.

ON Friday, the Sixteenth of June, 1775, Lieutenant General Gage, Commander in chief of all his Majesty's Troops in America, and Governor of Boston, received information that the Provincial American Army were erecting a Battery on Bunker's Hill, contiguous to Charles-Town, with an intent to besiege and annoy the Town of Boston. This information was soon confirmed by their firing several cannon-balls into the town, to the infinite terror and danger of the inhabitants, most of whom then within the town were in general deemed and esteemed the steady Friends of Government.

In consequence of this insult to his Majesty's Troops and Government, Lieutenant-General Gage thought it expedient to give orders for the Men of War, Transports, &c., and the Military, to make every preparation for an action.

On the subsequent day, Saturday, the Seventeenth of June, in compliance with these orders, every necessary disposal, from the Fleet and Army, was made by ten in the morning, and such Troops as were ordered upon the expedition were embarked at Hancock's wharf, and effected their landing under the cover of the shipping by one.

Two Transports also with Troops, arrived from England the night before, were ordered to land in the morning on Charles-Town side, to proceed to the engagement.

Immediately after landing, Major General Howe, Major Pitcairn, and other principal Officers, directly drew up the Troops to the best advantage for battle: whilst this disposal was effecting, Lieutenant-General Gage ordered the Artillery on the Boston side to bombard and set fire to Charles-Town, in order to cut off the resource or refuge it might afford the Provincials: these orders were executed with incredible dispatch, and the whole town, containing about three hundred houses and a large church, represented a general conflagration by half after two.

By this time the Troops were all drawn up in order of battle, when Major General Howe addressed the Officers and Soldiers in the following manner:

“Gentlemen,

I am very happy in having the honour of commanding so fine a body of men: I do not in the least doubt, but that you will behave like Englishmen, and as becometh good soldiers.

If the enemy will not come from their intrenchments, we must drive them out, at all events, otherwise the town of Boston will be set on fire by them.

I shall not desire one of you to go a step farther than where I go myself at your head.

Remember, Gentlemen, we have no recourse to any resources, if we lose Boston, but to go on board our ships, which will be very disagreeable to us all.”

We then began to proceed to action, by marching with a quick step up the precipice that led to the intrenched Provincial Army, until within five hundred yards of them: a very brisk fire commenced on their side, and was returned on ours; still marching up to their intrenchments as fast as possible, from whence we dis-

lodged them by four o'clock, the battle being fought and gained within one hour.¹

In the intrenchments were found five pieces of cannon, and five iron swivel-guns which they had taken out of the *Diana* schooner, which they burnt.

The fate of the battle was very severe on the fifty-second Regiment of Foot and the first Brigade of Marines, the officers and men behaving remarkably well, and gaining immortal honour, though with considerable loss, as will appear by the number of the officers killed and wounded.

A full half-hour after the Americans were dislodged from their intrenchments, and it was generally supposed that no enemy were at hand, Lieutenant Dutton, of the Thirty-eighth Regiment, being much afflicted with the gout, and severely fatigued with the engagement, sat down on the grass to change his stockings, and, while so doing, was alarmed by his servant telling him two men were approaching with firelocks, who were not of the King's Troops. The servant expressed an apprehension of their intention being hostile, which Mr. Dutton laughed at, and replied, he supposed they were coming to surrender and give up their arms; but his incredulity proved fatal to him; for they were no sooner within a convenient space, than they lodged the contents of their muskets in

¹ The British soldiers rushed into the intrenchments with the bayonet, and drove the gallant enemy from every part of the works. Thirty killed remained in the redoubt.—*History of the Royal Marines*.

I applied to my Colonel for leave to go [as] a volunteer, which request he granted; but by the time I reached the ferry the royal army was advanced within musket-shot of Bunker's Hill, from which the Americans were soon dislodged by the almost exhausted assailants: I never wish to be again an eye-witness to the sudden dissolution of so many brave men.—*Memoirs of Major Edward McGauran* * (17th Light Dragoons), London, 1786, Vol II., p. 198.

* This writer has never before been quoted. His testimony as to the exhaustion of the British troops is significant.—(Ed.)

the bodies of the hard-fated Lieutenant and servant, notwithstanding that the King's Troops were within fifty yards of him when he lost his life, and some of the Light Infantry quite close to him; however, they were instantaneously sacrificed to his much-injured *manes*. Mrs. Dutton and her two children came home in the *Cerberus*.²

The Americans being defeated, and the King's Troops in possession of the intrenchments, Major General Howe sent to Lieutenant General Gage for a re-inforcement of Troops, who immediately sent him four Regiments of Foot and the second Battalion of Marines, a Company of the Artillery, and six pieces of cannon.

As soon as the reinforcement of Troops and Artillery arrived, they immediately began to fortify Bunker's hill; by which they acquired about one hundred and forty acres of fine land, with all the gardens and orchards belonging to Charles-Town. This acquisition is of the utmost consequence to Boston, as that town can now be supplied with plenty of vegetables and fruit.

It is impossible to give an exact account of the number which was killed of the Americans: above two hundred were killed on forcing the intrenchments, as appeared on our burying so many: above forty were made prisoners, and carried to Boston jail, where they still remain.

The next day also we found a piece of ground, about twenty yards long and twelve wide, which appeared to have been fresh digged: on opening part of it, about two feet deep a number of dead bodies were discovered, buried in their cloaths: these men must have been killed by the shot and bombs from the shipping the day before, and during part of the night; but not opening all the piece of ground, the exact number could not be discovered.

² The *Cerberus* was afterwards burnt at Newport to avoid capture by the French.

*A List of officers killed and wounded on
Saturday, the 17th of June, 1775*

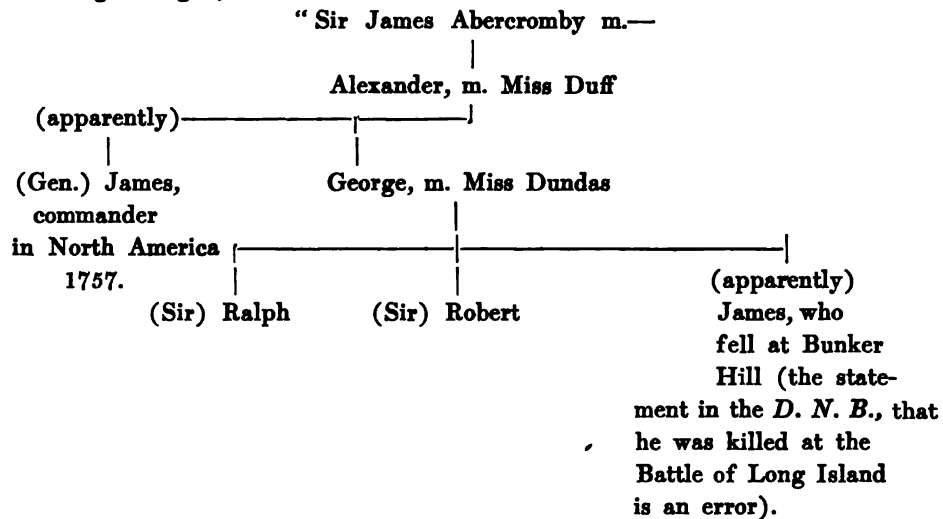
4th REGT.	<i>Capt.</i> [Nesbitt] Balfour, ¹ Wounded
	[John] West W
	<i>Lieutenant</i> [Edward] Barron W
	[Leonard] Brown[e] W
5th	<i>Major</i> [Edward] Mitchel[l] W
	<i>Capt.</i> [Patrick] Down[e]s Killed
	[John] Jackson * W
	[Francis] Marsden W
	<i>Lieutenant</i> [Richard] Croker W
	[John] McChintock W
	<i>Ensign</i> [William] Charlton W
	[John] Palaguire W
	(This should be <i>Balaguier</i>) W
10th	<i>Capt.</i> [Edward] Fitzgerald W
	[Laurence] Parsons W
	<i>Lieutenant</i> [James] Pettigrew W
	[James] Hamilton W
	[Waldron] Kelly W
	[Thomas] Verner* W

¹ The same who was afterward, as lieutenant colonel, in command at Charleston, and hung Colonel Isaac Hayne.

* Died of wounds.

14th	<i>Lieutenant</i> [John] Bruere	K
	a volunteer (Robert John Harrison)	W
	<i>Ensign</i> [Robert] Haskett	W
	(This should be <i>Hesketh</i>)	
18th REGT.	<i>Lieut.</i> [William] Richardson	W
22d	<i>Lieut. Col.</i> [James] Abercrombie †	W
23d	<i>Capt.</i> [William] Blakeney	W
	<i>Lieutenant</i> [Thomas] Cockran	W
	(This should be <i>Cochrane</i>)	
	[Onslow] Beckwith	W
	[John] Lenthall	W

† There were so many soldiers of the Abercromby-Abercrombie name that I have taken pains to identify this one. Mr. Ralph J. Beevor, the London genealogist, writes me:



He is probably the one who was Aid to Gen. James in 1757. He seems to have written his name Abercrombie, perhaps to distinguish himself from his uncle the general."

35th	<i>Capt.</i> [James] Lyon *	W
	[Edward] Drew	W
	<i>Lieutenant</i> [William] Bard †	K
	[Hugh] Massey	W
	[Colin] Campbell	W
38th	<i>Major</i> [Andrew] Bruce	W
	<i>Capt.</i> [St. Lawrence] Boyd	W
	[William] Coker	W
	<i>Lieutenant</i> [John] Dutton	K
	[Robert] Christie	W
	[John] House	W
	(This should be <i>Howse</i>)	
	[William] Myers	W
	<i>Quarter-Master</i> [Andrew] Mitchel[1]	W
	<i>Ensign</i> [John] Serjeant	W
(This should be <i>Sargent</i>)		
48rd	<i>Major</i> [Roger] Spendlove *	W
	<i>Capt.</i> [Robert] Mackenzie	K
	<i>Lieutenant</i> [Alexander] Robertson	W
	[James] Dalrymple	W
47th REGT.	<i>Major</i> [Thomas] Smelt	W
	<i>Capt.</i> [Richard] England	W
	[James Henry] Craigg ²	W
	(This should be <i>Craig</i>)	
	<i>Capt.</i> [John Downer] Allcock	W
	(This should be <i>Alcock</i>)	

† In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1775, vol. 45, p. 396, are some verses: "To the memory of Lieutenant Bard in the Light Infantry Company of the 35th Regt., who was killed in the Attack on the American Entrenchments near Boston."

² The same who, in 1780-81, was prominent in the operations in the Carolinas, and in 1807 was Governor-General of Canada.

* Died of wounds.

10 NARRATIVE OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

	<i>Lieutenant</i> [Richard] Gold	K
	[Christopher] Hilliard	K
	Hilier	K
	[Poole] England	W
52d.	<i>Major</i> [Arthur] Williams	K
	<i>Captains</i> [Nicholas] Addison	K
	[William] Davidson	K
	(This should be <i>Davison</i>)	
	[George Amos] Smith	K
	[Andrew] Nelson	W
	<i>Lieutenants</i> [Robert Harpur] Higgins	K
	[Henry] Crawford	W
	(or Crawford)	
	[John] Thompson*	W
	<i>Ensigns</i> [Hon. William] Chetwynd	W
	———— Graeme	W
59th	<i>Lieutenant</i> [Walter] Haynes	W
63d.	<i>Capt.</i> [William] Horsford	W
	(This should be <i>Stopford</i>)	
	[Thomas] Foillett	W
	(This should be <i>Follett</i>)	
	<i>Lieutenant</i> [John] Dalrymple	K
65th	<i>Major</i> [William] Butler	W
	<i>Capt.</i> [William] Hudson	K
	[George] Sinclair	W
	<i>Lieuts.</i> [John] Pexton	W
	[John] Smith	W
	[John] Hales	W
67th.	<i>Capt.</i> [George] Sherwin	K
	(Aid de Camp to Major Gen. Howe)	

* Died of wounds.

MARINES

Marines

	<i>Major</i> [John] Pitcairn	K
	<i>Capt.</i> [Archibald or Duncan] Campbell	K
	[Stawel] Chudleigh	W
	<i>Capt.</i> [Stephen] Ellis	K
	[George] Logan	W
	[Thomas] Averne *	W
<i>Capt. Lieut. (and Adjt.)</i>	[David or James] Johnson	W
	<i>First Lieutenants</i> [William] Finnie	K
	[Richard] Shea	K
	[Francis] Gardner	K
	(probably <i>James</i>)	
	[Alexander] Brisbane	W
	[John] Ragg	W
	[William] Pitcairn ^a	W
	<i>Second Lieutenant</i> [John] Dyer	W
	<i>Engineer</i> [Thomas Hyde] Page	W

(The *Record of the Royal Marines* says Major James Short was also killed)

Artillery

	<i>Capt.</i> [John] Limoine	W
	(This should be <i>Lemoine</i>)	
	[W. Orch.] Huddleston	W
	<i>Lieut.</i> [Ashton] Shutworth	W
	(This should be <i>Shuttleworth</i>)	
	——— Campbell	W

<i>Field Officers</i>	Killed	3
	Wounded	4
<i>Captains</i>	Killed	9
	Wounded	25

^a Son of the Major. In Trumbull's picture of the battle, he is shown as catching his father in his arms as he falls backward, dead:

* Died of wounds.

<i>Subalterns</i>	Killed	11
	Wounded	40
		<hr/>
	Total of Officers	92
Non-commissioned officers and private men	Killed	200
	Wounded	749
		<hr/>
	Total of Officers and Men	1041

Regiments⁴ in the Field of Battle on the 17th of June, 1775.

Fifth.

Thirty-eighth.

Forty-third.

Forty-seventh.

Fifty-second.

First Battalion of Marines.

Thirteen Companies of Grenadiers.

Thirteen Companies of Light Infantry.

⁴ The regiments engaged were the following:

	<i>Colonel</i>		<i>Colonel</i>
4th (King's Own)	Hodgson	48d	Cary
5th	Lord Percy	47th	Carleton
10th	Sandford		(Col. Nesbitt in this action)
18th (only three com- panies)—		52d	Clavering
22d	Gage	59th	<hr/>
23d	Howe	68d	Grant
35th	F. H. Campbell	65th (only two com- panies)	Urmston
38th	Pigot		

It is singular that Clarke gives only a few in the list, though he gives all of them when reporting the casualties.—(ED.)

Besides these Regiments, which are now at Boston, there are only two more in all America; the Seventh, or Royal English Fuzilers; and the Eighth.

As it is very uncommon, that such a great number of Officers should be killed and wounded, more than in proportion to the number of Private men, the following discovery seems to account for it: Before the intrenchments were forced, a man, whom the Americans called a Marksman or Rifleman, was seen standing upon something near three feet higher than the rest of the Troops, as their hats were not visible: this man had no sooner discharged one musket, than another was handed to him, and continued firing in that manner for ten or twelve minutes; and in that small space of time, by their handing to him fresh loaded muskets, it is supposed that he could not kill or wound less than twenty officers; for it was at them particularly that he directed his aim, as was afterwards confirmed by the prisoners; but he soon paid his tribute, for, upon being noticed, he was killed by the Grenadiers of the Royal Welsh Fuzileers.

Another remarkable circumstance of the heat of this action, is, that all the Grenadiers of the Fourth or King's Own Regiment, were killed or wounded, except four: and of the Grenadiers also of the Twenty-third, or Royal Welsh Fuzileers, only three remained, who were not either killed or wounded. This disproportion also is very great, as, from calculations of most pitched battles, the proportion of the number of killed and wounded is only every eighth man.

As soon as the news of the battle being over, reached Boston, those persons who style themselves Friends to Government, instantly sent out every sort of carriage they had, as coaches, chariots, single-horse chaises, and even hand-barrows, to the water-side, to assist in bringing to Boston, the wounded and killed officers and soldiers to their respective homes: likewise all the Physicians, Sur-

geons and Apothecaries of Boston, instantly attended the wounded Officers, and gave them every assistance in their power.

Then followed a melancholy scene of several carriages, with the dead and dying officers; in the first of which was Major Williams bleeding and dying, and three dead Captains of the Fifty-second Regiment, but he lived till the next morning.

The second contained four dead Officers, then another with wounded Officers; and this scene continued until Sunday morning, before all the wounded private men could be brought to Boston.

Those soldiers who fell in the field, were instantly buried there; and on Monday morning all the dead officers were decently buried in Boston, in a private manner, in the different churches and churchyards there; Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie and Major Pitcairn were buried in the King's Chapel.

During the engagement, a Captain of Marines,* who had been in several, remarked to Major Pitcairn, that of all the actions he had been in, this was the hottest; first, from the burning of the houses in Charles-Town; next, the heat of the day; and thirdly, from the heat of the enemies' fire. The Major answered him, that soldiers should enure themselves to all manner of hardships, not to regard either heat or cold: "For my part, at present, (says he) "I have enough to do to mind my duty, which I shall do to the utmost of my power." Soon after, they were both of them shot through the body, and died instantly.

A report having prevailed, that Doctor Warren was not killed, I think it necessary to contradict it, as I saw a soldier, after the Doctor was wounded and lying in the trenches, going to run him through the body with his bayonet; on which the Doctor desired he would not

* This must have been Captain Ellis.—(Ed.)

kill him, for he was much wounded, and could not live a great while longer; on which the soldier swore that he would, for that he had done more mischief than any one else, and immediately run him through the body.⁵ The Doctor's dress was a light-coloured coat, with a white sattin waistcoat laced with silver, and white breeches with silver loops; which I saw the soldier soon after strip off his body.

He was supposed to be the Commander of the American army that day; for General Putnam was about three miles distance, and formed an ambuscade with about three thousand men.

As it was imagined that the Americans would give great encouragement to the King's Troops to induce them to desert, by offering them lands to cultivate; it had its effect upon some, as upwards of one hundred of the Eighteenth Regiment, or Royal Irish, deserted, and are still with them; two or three of these indeed returned to the Regiment, as the Americans had not performed their agreement.

A soldier also of the Fourth Regiment came to his Captain,

⁵ On this cold-blooded statement, Mr. Frothingham justly remarks: "If John Clarke could stand idle and see this barbarity, he must have been a fiend in human form. Both of these British accounts cannot be true." "The Doctor stood alone . . . he was observed in this situation, and known by an officer in the regulars, who, wresting a musket out of the hands of one of his men, took aim and lodged a bullet in his breast, of which he expired without a pang."—(*Almon's Remembrances*, Vol. 1, p. 250.)

General Ward (Oct. 20, 1775) told Dr. Belknap "that Dr. Warren was the last man in the trenches after they were forced, and died on the breast-work with his sword in his hand; that his body was stripped naked, and buried so; his coat was sold in Boston, by a soldier, for eight guineas."

His body was dug up several times, and buried again, to gratify the curiosity of those who came to see it." Frothingham—*The Command at Bunker Hill*.

and told him, that an offer was made him of ten dollars and a new suit of clothes, on condition of his deserting; that, if he approved of it, he would take the money, go as a spy, and at a short, but convenient opportunity, would return again to the regiment, and inform him how he was treated. The Captain approved of the Soldier's plan, and consented. The Soldier staid about a week with them, but had his money and clothes taken from him, and put to hard labour, instead of other encouragement.

The Quarter-Master Serjeant of the Thirty-eighth Regiment went off with about forty pounds of his Captain's money, and has been appointed a Lieutenant Colonel in their service, and is one of the most active men which they have.

A Corporal from the Marines on board the *Lively Man* of War also deserted, and has been appointed Captain and Adjutant.

Desertion however has now taken its leave; for since the Americans came to a resolution, on the nineteenth of April last, to abridge the King's Troops having fresh provisions from the country,*** the soldiers are so exasperated against them, that not one attempts to desert; nor does either Soldier or Sailor think of it now.

A remarkable instance of benevolence and humanity was shown by General Gage's Lady, the day after the action, which ought never to be forgotten. She sent all her fowls, fish, and what little fresh meat she had in the house, to the wounded Officers, scarcely leaving a sufficiency for herself and the General. This is not all: her goodness and charity to the Soldiers' Wives and Children have gained her immortal honour, which she very justly merits. As a general benevolence for the Army is the very characteristic of the English Ladies, I hope they will follow General Gage's Lady's most amiable example. Within this month are expected home some hundreds of poor unfortunate Soldiers and their Fami-

*** Referring to the Concord fight.

lies from Boston, some with one leg, others with one arm, some without either leg or arm: when you see any of these men, consider what they have suffered; if it were possible, it would draw tears from iron and steel.

On my arrival in London, I heard almost everybody declare their surprise that Earl Percy's name should not be mentioned by Lieutenant General Gage. With what propriety could he introduce the name of any officer, however distinguished his rank might be, if he was not in the action? I shall therefore explain the reason why, although his Regiment was in the action, he could not with propriety charge at the head of it.

On the arrival, at Boston, of the three Generals* lately sent out in the *Cerberus* Man of War the army, according to the military establishment, was divided into three Brigades, under each of their respective commanders. Every Brigade has a Brigadier General, but whose rank only exists while upon service:

Under Major General Howe was Col. Pigot.

Under Clinton, Col. Earl Percy.

Under Burgoyne, Col. Jones.

Brigadier General Earl Percy deserves the greatest encomiums that is possible for pen to write in his praise: his unbounded generosity and general benevolence exceed all I ever saw. When one considers the noble race of ancestors from whence he is descended, I cannot be at a loss to account for his noble and princely spirit; which causes him to be esteemed by his officers, and adored by his men, as he makes it his perpetual study to do all the good possible to every body.

A List of the Men of War now at Boston, where stationed, and the Number of Guns on board each Ship.

The *Preston*, of 50 guns, Admiral Graves, Captain Robinson, near Boston.

* Major General Howe, Major General Clinton, Major General Burgoyne.

The *Somerset*,^o of 70 guns, Captain Le Cras, between Boston and Charles-Town.

The *Lively*, of 20 guns, Captain Bishop, between the Islands, at the entrance of the Harbour.

The *Glasgow*, of 20 guns, Captain Howe, at the upper end of the river, between Boston and Charles-Town.

The *Falcon* Sloop, of 16 guns, Captain Linzee, at the mouth of Cape Cod Bay.

The *Boyne*, of 70 guns, Captain Hartwell, near the castle, about two leagues from Boston. With several schooners and armed ships, to examine all ships going in and out.

These ships, from the natural situation of Boston, are a very great defence to the town; nor can it be annoyed by the Americans, without a superior naval force: they however had the hardiness, on Sunday the 28th of May, whilst the chaplain on board the *Somerset* was at prayers, to come down to the shore from Williams Island, and fired several musket-shots, which hit the ship, but did no mischief: the compliment was returned by a discharge of grape-shot, but, they believe, without any effect, as none were seen to drop; and they immediately made a precipitous retreat, but in sight of us set Williams' house on fire.

A most horrid plot also was discovered of their intending to massacre all the Officers in Boston, in one night. The Officers being quartered in private lodgings, an alarm was to be given in the night, and as each Officer was coming out of the street-door, he was to be assassinated; but happily the affair was discovered before it was put in execution. A boy, seen swimming across the river between Boston and Charles-Town, gave a suspicion he was carrying some intelligence: he was accordingly taken up and examined, when, after some time, a letter was found in his stocking-foot, which led to the discovery.

^o The *Somerset* was afterwards wrecked on Cape Cod.

As everybody is anxious for the fate of the Town of Boston, on account of the King's Troops being in it, and their opinions being very various in regard to the possibility of its holding out against the American Army, an account of its situation, strength, etc., may not be improper, as from the account the public may form a better judgement of it.

BOSTON is the capital of New England, lies in long. $71^{\circ} 5'$ W. lat. $42^{\circ} 24'$ N. and although London is in lat. $51^{\circ} 30'$ N. yet the winters are much severer there than at London, and the harbour is generally frozen up: the summers also are hotter. It is situated on a peninsula, at the bottom of a fine bay, and is joined to the continent by a neck of land, which forms a road near one mile in length, which has lately been fortified in a very strong manner with redoubts, chevaux de frize, and a large number of cannon. This is the only avenue to the town on the land side.

The town contains between four and five thousand houses and about twenty thousand inhabitants; but near two thirds of these are supposed to have quitted it, and gone to other parts of America, or joined their army; and most of those who are left profess themselves steady friends to Government.

The laws relating to the poor are upon such a plan that there are no beggars in any part of America.

The account of the Scotch soldier being killed by his brother at Charles-Town, as mentioned in the Gazetteer of the 7th of August, I rather think, has been manufactured here by some news-collector, as I never heard the least account of it whilst at Boston.

About the harbour the town forms the shape of a crescent, and the country rising gradually behind it, affords a very agreeable prospect. It is surrounded by a number of islands; on one of which, at about a league distant, is built a castle, to command the entrance of the harbour, and is very well fortified.

The entrance into the harbour is not wide enough for above three sail at a time, but is capable of containing above five hundred sail.

A pier has been built at the bottom of the bay, near seven hundred yards long, on the north side of which is built a row of warehouses for the use of the merchants; and the water is so very deep that they can conveniently unload without the help of boats.

The streets are very commodious and large, particularly that which extends from the Town-house to the Pier. Across Charles river, directly opposite Boston, Charles-Town is situated on a peninsula, which contained about three hundred houses, a church, and some public buildings.

A ferry is established across the river, which is about two hundred yards wide, for the ready communication between the two towns.

The only possible method of annoying Boston was from this quarter; but since Lieutenant General Gage has been in possession of it, he has been fortifying it very strongly towards the peninsula; and whilst he keeps possession of it, Boston cannot be set on fire, except by those on the inside of it.

The American army have also begun to fortify a hill, at a small distance, called Prospect hill: at present they have not been uniformly clothed, but both Officers and soldiers wore their own clothes; nor did I see any colours to their regiments on the day of action: their firelocks are very long, some near seven feet; and they had fifes and drums. Their men are in general very robust, and larger than the English.

In this situation, by the latest accounts, are the two Armies; but if any material occurrences happen, the Author, having settled a correspondence at Boston, will give the Public a further account of them, and would take it as a very particular obligation to

be informed of any, by a line directed to him at Mr. Millan's, Bookseller at Whitehall.

As thirty-six years of the Author's life have been spent in the service of his late and present Majesty, he hopes that the indulgent Public, and the curious Critic, will therefore look upon him as a Soldier, not as a Writer, and excuse any incorrections in his language, or defect of style, as what he has aimed at has only been to give a plain narrative of real facts: if he gives satisfaction in that, he will think himself completely happy.

POSTSCRIPT

HAVING promised the Public, to communicate any intelligence that I might receive from America, I have the pleasure of presenting them with extracts from three letters just received; two from Boston, the other from Savannah in Georgia; the last of which shows how fast the spirit of opposition to Government is travelling through the whole Continent of America, as now the two Floridas only are wanting to complete the whole Continent, from Boston to the South, being engaged.

Boston, July 18, 1775.

“Every thing here at present is quiet; and it is thought by almost every body, that each side will remain on the defensive during the remainder of the summer, in order to see what pacific negotiations may produce during the winter, and particularly to wait the decision of the British Parliament.

The Americans still continue to throw up fortifications at a small distance from Bunker's Hill, to prevent the Regulars from advancing on that side.

It has been reported, that Lieutenant General Gage and Admiral Graves are ordered home; but you may depend upon it, that there is not the least foundation for such a report: however, Major General Burgoyne is certainly going to England very soon.

The following Anecdote of British valour, in a Grenadier of the Sixty-third Regiment, I am confident, will give you pleasure: Captain Horsford having been wounded, and Lieutenant Dalrymple killed, a Serjeant of the Grenadiers told the Private men, You now see, my Lads, that our brave Captain is greatly wounded, and the Lieutenant killed: now I have the honour to command you; therefore let us get into their trenches as fast as possibly we can, for we must either conquer or die. The Serjeant upon this, and the few men whom he had left, were the first who entered the Redoubt of the Provincial Army. Lieutenant General Gage, for this brave behaviour, has recommended him to his Majesty; and it is thought that his Majesty will honour the Serjeant with a commission in one of the Regiments here.

Boston, July 23, 1775.

“A Detachment from the Provincial Army has very lately made a descent on Long Island, carried off all the cattle, and burnt about sixty houses. They also destroyed the lighthouse at the entrance of the harbour; which will prove of great detriment to the shipping. As fresh provisions and vegetables have lately been so very scarce, it has had a bad effect on the health of the inhabitants; and they already feel it, by beginning to be afflicted with the scurvy: this has induced many of the best families to think of quitting, and they are preparing to sail for England.

Although the American Army does not seem to be disposed for acting offensively this campaign, yet they are taking every step necessary for making a vigorous defence against the next.”

Savannah, Georgia, June 10, 1775.

“This place is so involved in the American disputes, that I am afraid it will be ruined. A number of mad-headed fellows (who call themselves Sons of Liberty) headed by a Merchant or two of this place, two nights before the King’s birth-day, tumbled the cannons from the battery down the bank of the river, that they might not fire on that day, and spiked up the touch-holes of every one of them;

and because some Captains of vessels with their men, and other well-affected Gentlemen of the Town, with indefatigable pains, and after working the whole night, got them up again, they had the assurance to go to some, and write to others, to leave the Province in seven days. Next Tuesday the time expires; and they seem determined to compel them to go, but we are resolved to oppose them with all our power.

They even went to a house, on the Monday, when the Governor and Council were dining together; and a large body of them, having assembled, set up what they call a Liberty-Tree, with a white flag, under which they discharged forty-five guns, and drank Success to the American Armies. You may be sure I was not to be idle at seeing such proceedings, and, being a little elevated with drinking his Majesty's health, got into the scuffle, lost my hat and wig, and in return brought away a black eye, a swelled lip, and lost a little of the bark of my nose.

The Country People are flocking in to their assistance; but those who intend to support the Governor in opposing their unlawful attempts are to meet him and the Council to-morrow, to concoct methods for opposing them; and I assure you I intend to make one at the meeting; and our number will be nearly equal, it is imagined."

Officers dead of their Wounds.

Captain Averne of the Marines; Captain Lyon, of the 35th Regiment; Lieutenant Thompson, of the 52d; Major Spendlove, of the 43d; Lieutenant Verner, of the 10th.

PROMOTIONS IN
AMERICA

Since June 17, 1775.

REGIMENT.

4th, Halcott, *Lieut.*, vice Rooke, preferred; Fish, *Qr. Master*, Rooke; Butler, *Lt. Knight*, killed; Kemble, *Ensign*, Butler.

- 5th, Smith, *Capt.*, Downes, deceased; Baker, *Capt. Lt.*, Smith; Minchin, *Lt.*, Baker; England, *Ensign*, Minchin; Charlton, *Lt.*, Jackson, deceased.
- 14th, Browne, *Lt.*, Bruere, killed; Grant, *Ensign*, Browne.
- 22d, Campbell, *Lt. Col.*, Abercromby, deceased; French, *Major*, Campbell; Handfield, *Capt.*, French; Fenner, *Capt. Lt.*, Handfield; Porter, *Ensign*, French.
- 85th, Ross, *Lt.*, Pringle, deceased; Madden, *Ensign*, Ross; Lamb, *Lt.*, Burd, killed; Shaw, *Ensign*, Lamb.
- 88th, Sargent, *Lt.*, Dutton, killed; Dorcus, *Ensign*, Sargent; Moncrieffe, *Ensign*, Halcot, preferred.
- 48d, Dawson *Lt.*, Hull, deceased; Rivers, *Ensign*, Dawson.
- 47th, Poe, *Lt.*, Gold, deceased; Bunbury, *Ensign*, Poe; Baldwin, *Lt.*, Hiliard, killed; Dowling, *Ensign*, Baldwin.
- 52d, Humphreys,¹ *Major vice* Williams, killed; Neilson, *Capt.*² Humphreys; Crawford, *Capt.*, Addison, killed; Thompson, *Capt.*, Davison, killed; Rooke, *Capt.*, Smith, killed; Mackilwaine, *Capt. Lt.*, Neilson; Hunter, *Lt.*, Mackilwaine; Chetwynd, *Lt.*, Crawford; Fuge, *Lt.*, Thompson; Graeme, *Lt.*, Higgins, deceased; Harrison, *Ensign*, Hunter; Vans, *Ensign*, Chetwynd; Brookes, *Ensign*, Fuge; Mackay, *Adjutant*, Graeme.
- 59th, Gordon, *Qr. Master*, Owen, deceased.
- 68d, Roberts, *Lt.*, Dalrymple, killed; Drury, *Ensign*, Roberts.
- 65th, Watson, *Capt.*, Hudson, killed; Baylie, *Lt.*, Watson; Hardy, *Ensign*, Baylie.

¹ Captain-Lieutenant Andrew Neilson, who succeeded Captain Humphreys, was himself killed at the battle of Long Island.

² The 52d regiment, which lost so heavily, was afterwards conspicuous in the two midnight butcheries, of Wayne's troops at Paoli, and Baylor's at Old Tappan, N. J. It also shared in the action of Pell's Point, October 18, 1776. When it returned to England in 1778 it had only 92 effective men left.

MARINES

Majors (Stawell) Chudleigh, Pitcairn; (W.) Souter, Short.
Cpts. (Thomas) Lindsay, Chudleigh; (Archer) Walker, Souter;
(Robert) Ross, Campbell; D. Johnston, Ellis.
Capt. Lts. (Jesse) Adair, Lindsay; (Sir J.) Dalston, Walker;
(John) Hadden, Ross; (W.) Pitcairne, Johnston.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS

(James) Lewis, (Robert) Moore, (Theo.) Woodcock,
(Isaac) Potter, (Robert) Cary, (Ronald) McDonald, (Henry)
Tantum.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS

Bowman, Morrison, Moriarity, Dunbar, Forester, Dexter,
Fortescue.

NOTE.—The names in brackets have been supplied from the *History of the Royal Marines*.—(Ed.)

ADDENDA

Surgeon Grant wrote to a London friend—" I have scarce had time sufficient to eat my meals, therefore you must expect but a few lines. I have been up two nights, assisting four mates, dressing our men of the wounds they received the last engagement. Many of the wounded are daily dying, and many must have both legs amputated. The provincials had either exhausted their ball or they were determined that every wound should prove mortal. Their muskets were charged with old nails and angular pieces of iron, and from most of our men being wounded in the legs, we are inclined to believe it was their design, not wishing to kill the men, but to leave them as burdens on us, to exhaust our provisions and engage our attention as well as to intimidate the rest of the soldiery.—Ellis, *Bunker Hill Battle*.

In September three pestiferous vessels from here arrived at English ports, with sick and mutilated officers and men, and with the widows and children of the slain, wretched spectacles and wretched sufferers.—*Ellis*.

Just as the proof of this matter was being read, an important letter about Bunker Hill was sold at auction in Philadelphia. It was written to Elbridge Gerry, by Dr. Jackson Hall, a surgeon in the Continental Army, from Portsmouth, N. H., June 27, 1775.

We quote most of it:

The poison story he tells may be balanced by that found in Gordon (II:82) of the arsenic found mixed in medicine left by the British on the Evacuation of Charleston. No doubt many

“roorbacks” were afloat on both sides at the time—witness Clarke’s story of the Boston boy swimming the Charles!

EDITOR.

“In my way home I met with Mr. Roberts, who came out of Boston on Friday last, his Acc’t of the kill’d and wounded is much the same as that in Edds & Gill Watertown Paper. But when I arrived home I found that George Messerve our collector of the Customs had got from Boston, he left Boston Saturday, and gives the following infamous and damnable false representation of the affair; that 570 of the King’s Troops only were killed and wounded, that 84 officers were of the number, that most of the wounded were since dead, owing to the following circumstances, that all the Balls fired by our people were poisoned, they were (he said) first dipped in some glutinous matter then roled in white Arsnick and dried, that he himself saw a Box containing 60 pounds weight thus poisoned taken from off Bunker’s Hill. This Box was sent or is to be sent home. This story is believed here by the Government party, he further adds, that the Troops were highly enraged at this unnatural and savage conduct, and that they swere revenge. You see Dr Sr to what straights they are driven to palliate their disgrace and shagreen at so great a loss of Officers and Men, to enrage the Soldiers, to deceive the good people at home, they have continued this amominable Scheme, but I hope you will take such measures as will make this notorious falsehood add still more to their shame and confusion,” &c.



As near a *fac simile* of the original as possible

PULASKI

VINDICATED

FROM AN UNSUPPORTED CHARGE

Inconsiderately or Malignantly

INTRODUCED IN

JUDGE JOHNSON'S

SKETCHES OF THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF MAJOR GEN.
NATHANIEL GREENE.

By PAUL BENTALOU

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PULASKI VINDICATED

Deficient veracity may be the result of different causes, some of which involve a high degree of moral turpitude in a writer, while others impeach only his diligence or his capacity. The effects of these several causes are, however, nearly alike; and the credit of a person, or of an action, may be sent down to posterity as effectually obscured or destroyed by the ignorance which does not know, or the folly which cannot learn, as by the malignity and falsehood that designedly and mischievously misrepresent the truth.—*United States Magazine for January, 1823*; Review of Judge Johnson's Life of General Greene.

PAUL BENTALOU

OF the various organizations of Washington's Army, Pulaski's Legion is perhaps the least known. Longfellow's "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner" has done as much as anything else to preserve the name of the brave Pole who was probably the best cavalry officer in the army.

The muster-rolls and other records of the Legion have disappeared or are mere fragments—the full or exact names of some of its officers are in doubt, and few or none of its services are recorded in detail.

The monument to Pulaski's memory, voted by Congress, was never erected, and the only tangible object which preserves his name to the future, is the monument at Savannah, erected by its citizens jointly to his memory and that of Greene—perhaps the only instance of such a joint memorial.

Even his burial-place is uncertain. Lieutenant Charles Litomski, a fellow-Pole, of the Legion, is recorded as stating that he buried his commander at the foot of a large tree on Saint Helena Island, off the South Carolina coast, about fifty miles from Savannah. On the other hand, Captain Bentalou, who was present at his death, on the armed brig *Wasp*, declared that he was buried from that vessel, at sea. (There does not seem to be any log-book extant of the *Wasp*, which would settle the question.)

Of the Legion's Colonel (after Pulaski was made a brigadier-general) absolutely nothing appears in official records, save the bare fact of his appointment, and death at the siege of Charleston, May 11, 1779. Even his name is spelled wrong in the records—

“Cowatch.” Dr. Johnson, in his *Traditions*, gives it probably correctly, as Michael De Kowatz, and adds that he was a Hungarian officer of great merit, who had been a Colonel of Hussars under Frederick the Great, and was buried near where he fell, at the corner of Huger Street, Charleston.

The late General W. S. Stryker, in his monograph on “The Affair at Egg Harbor, N. J.,” gives the only detailed account of any of the actions in which the Legion figured, where its Lieutenant-Colonel, Baron de Botzen, a Pole, was killed.

In view of this meagre record of facts, it gives me pleasure to re-publish a pamphlet devoted to a defence of Pulaski, which was originally published in 1824 and is now very scarce—a copy bringing \$5 at the Brinley sale.

The author was Paul Bentalou, a French officer of the Legion. Its object was to clear Pulaski’s record from the charge of having slept on duty, and thereby caused disaster to the American armies at the battle of Germantown—a conflict which it is familiar history, was expected to result in a British defeat.

Nothing had been heard of the charge in the forty-five years which followed, when Judge William Johnson of the United States Supreme Court—a brother of Dr. Joseph Johnson, whose *Traditions of the Revolution* we have referred to—published his *Life of General Greene*, which contained the charge. He gave as his authority General Charles C. Pinckney (whom Bentalou claims was a bitter opponent of Pulaski), but the general being then dead, no one else appears to have been able to testify. Bentalou chivalrously defended the reputation of his old commander, whose last hours he had witnessed; and in a second pamphlet (1826) (which we have not thought necessary to publish) cites Lafayette as emphatically replying to the question, whether he had ever heard Pulaski charged with the neglect of duty, “No—never.”

Of Bentalou himself we may record, from this same pam-

phlet, " I embarked at Bordeaux for America in November, 1776, and landing at Philadelphia, proceeded to Head Quarters at Morristown, N. J., where I tendered my letters of recommendation to General Washington, and asked for a commission in the horse. But being informed by the General that I could not possibly obtain one, as there were but four regiments raising, and all the commissions were already bestowed, I said that rather than be disappointed, I would serve as a volunteer in the infantry. On this the General granted me a lieutenancy in the German Battalion then forming a part of Brigadier General Maxwell's brigade; and I immediately joined the corps at its winter quarters at Quibbletown, (New Jersey), where, in the spring of 1777, the army was organized for the campaign, the German Battalion was assigned to Muhlenberg's brigade of General Greene's division, and therefore his biographer may perceive that I was both at the battle of Brandywine and that of Germantown."

It may be added here, that this battalion consisted of eight companies, four raised in the German counties of Pennsylvania and four in Maryland. It did good service, though its first colonel, Hausegger, deserted within a year after its organization. Mr. John W. Jordan of the Pennsylvania Historical Society informs us that DeKowatz was a recruiting officer for it, in Pennsylvania, during its formation (1776).

I quote from *The Baltimorean* of January, 1880, an article by James R. Annan:

The writer expected to have found the material for an interesting sketch of the most noted citizen of Baltimore in the latter part of the eighteenth, and early part of the nineteenth century; but he was greatly disappointed on learning of the destruction of some family papers from which he expected to glean many particulars of a remarkable personage. One of the gallant spirits who accompanied the Marquis de Lafayette to our shores in " the times that tried men's souls " was PAUL

BENTALOU. An obscure street in Baltimore, bearing his name, and described in the Directory as running "south of Hollins and west of Smallwood," is the only monument of one of the brave Frenchmen who came to our assistance in our early struggle for Independence.

When Lafayette visited Baltimore in 1824, Bentalou was one of the persons who rode with him in an open carriage through the streets of the city. The meeting between the two, after a lapse of fifty years, and under such happy circumstances, was enthusiastic and joyful. A few weak Colonies had grown into a great and happy Nation. Under Westminster Church, Baltimore, is the family vault of the Bentalous; the family is now extinct. Inserted in the front wall of the vault are two tablets. One of them records that "Katherine, daughter of Jacob Keeports, was born in 1759 and married to Paul Bentalou, December 20th, 1780; died January 11, 1813." The other slab was intended for her husband, but there is no inscription on the marble. Paul Bentalou's epitaph, like the patriot Emmet's is unwritten.

Bentalou was attached to the command of his personal friend, the Count Pulaski, and the brave Pole died in the arms of his friend. For gallantry at Savannah, Bentalou was promoted to a Captaincy, by which title he was known up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1830. In 1806, accompanied by Madame Bentalou he made a visit to his native land, and soon after his arrival in France, by the arbitrary orders of Napoleon, was thrown into prison on account of some connection with the Bonaparte-Patterson marriage. He was treated with great rigor, and was not permitted to see his wife unless in the presence of the jailor.

The family papers, which were destroyed, would doubtless have thrown light on the tyrannical act of the Emperor.

In 1824 Bentalou published a pamphlet in vindication of Pulaski.

He was a shipping merchant and also held some Federal appointment under Mr. Jefferson, for whom he had a great admiration. While Bentalou was in Paris, he had portraits made of himself and wife. They are about the size of our modern photograph, and represent a very fine looking couple in the attire of that day. These pictures are in the possession of our townsman, Mr. John S. Heckrotte, who is a grand-nephew of Madame Bentalou. The writer has had some conversation with one of the oldest citizens of Baltimore, who has a perfect recollection of the subject of this sketch and his peculiarities.

The portrait of which mention is made, was probably made by one of St. Memin's pupils or contemporaries, as it is exactly in his style, though not found in his collection. We are enabled to reproduce it by the kindness of Miss Alice Finckel, a great great grand niece of Mme. Bentalou.

The Government office to which Mr. Annan refers was that of United States Marshal, to which Captain Bentalou was appointed in 1794 by Washington, and to which he was apparently re-appointed by Presidents Adams and Jefferson.

After Pulaski's death, Bentalou took the corps banner to Baltimore, where it now is, in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. He became a prominent citizen of Baltimore, was one of the eleven signers of the congratulatory address to Washington when he passed through the city in 1789, on his way to be inaugurated President at New York, and raised a company of volunteer cavalry in 1798.

His death was noticed at the time as the result of a fall in a warehouse.

Such are all the items which I have been able to collect regarding the life and service of a chivalrous French gentleman, one of our foreign allies when we were struggling for Independence, one who served creditably for five years and maintained for half a century thereafter an honored name in the mercantile community, a comrade and friend of Lafayette, and a vigorous defender of the reputation of his old commander, of whom the King of Poland is said to have exclaimed on hearing of his death "Pulaski has died as he had lived—a hero."
EDITOR.

"BENTALOU, PAUL (Maryland) 2d Lieutenant German Regiment, 25th September, 1776; resigned 10th December, 1777; Captain 1st Cavalry Pulaski Legion, 12th April, 1778; wounded at Savannah, 9th October, 1779; retired 1st January, 1781."—Heitman's *Officers of the Continental Army*, p. 84.

From *National Intelligencer*, Washington, 1830. Died — "In Baltimore, on the 10th inst. Col. PAUL BENTALOU, Marshal of Maryland. In the War of the Revolution, he served in the Legion of Pulaski, with distinguished bravery and good conduct; during the late war he filled the office of Quarter Master General, in Baltimore District, with great credit."

PULASKI

IN 1822, a work was presented to the American public, under the following title:

“Sketches of the life and correspondence of Nathaniel Greene, Major General of the armies of the United States, in the war of the Revolution, compiled chiefly from original materials. By William Johnson of Charleston, South Carolina.”

Upon the annunciation of that work, every circumstance led the lovers of national history to augur well of its contents. The modesty of the title was prepossessing; the very name of the illustrious subject of the narrative sufficed to inspire respect, to excite interest, to rivet attention; the writer was known to have matured his undertaking under extraordinary advantages and enviable opportunities; he was moreover presumed to possess rare talents, and equally rare industry; and as a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States thoroughly acquainted with the rules of evidence, and accustomed to issue his decisions upon strict and patient inquiry, competent testimony, mature and dispassionate consideration—in fine, with rigid, undeviating, and even jealous impartiality—he was deemed incapable of hazarding statements and assertions not supported by the most respectable authority—and by that authority, too, presented in the clearest and strongest light, and exhibited in the most unquestionable shape. It is true, that the size of the work appeared, at the first glance, rather formidable. Two massy quartos of about five hundred pages each, for a single biography!—Surely, the most intrepid readers might well be alarmed—and indeed many were so—for although modern historical and biographical authors, making every trifling incident a pin whereon to hang the common-place lumber of their erudite

brains, seem inclined to reproduce the antiquated fashion of endless folios, with notes, quotations, illustrations, supplements, &c., still the popular taste continues either so felicitously correct and unsophisticated, or so perversely blunt, depraved and untractable as to prefer a brief, animated, straightforward, unaffected narrative to their special, long winded, elaborate, somniferous details.

This alarm, however, was in most cases, quickly dispelled by the alluring expectation of finding the work interspersed with many of those precious relics which the author informed his readers "lay in piles before him" while composing it—and with at least a due proportion of those "four thousand original letters behind the mass of which he was all the while entrenched—letters written by the hands of all the distinguished men of a period the events of which are destined to change the face of the world."—(*See his preface.*) If concentration was either below or above his powers—if he preferred the manner of Clarendon to that of the masterly Roman historian* whose graphic touches are every where admirable, but no where so admirable as in that inestimable *antique*, the life of Agricola—it was hoped that like Clarendon, he would amply atone for his prolixity by a profound insight into human nature—by a faithful delineation of individual characters—by a luminous exposition, not only of facts but of their causes—by skilfully grouping in this immense and circumstantial picture of revolutionary scenes, the principal hero of the narrative with the commander in chief, and other eminent persons—each, in his characteristic attitude, and with his distinctive features—finally, by the author catching to such a degree the tone, impulse and colour of his subject, as to communicate the warmth and enthusiasm of his own feelings to his fascinated, sympathising readers, and to carry them with increasing intensity of excitement and with progressive interest, through the multiplied and ever shifting situations which such a subject must naturally furnish—from the bustle and tur-

* Tacitus.

moil of camps—from the “pomp and circumstance of war,” at once so glorious and so mournful—to the enviable stillness and elysian shades of domestic life.

Such were the expectations created by the appearance of the “*Sketches*.” Have these expectations been surpassed? Have they, at least, been fulfilled, or have they not rather been wofully disappointed? Let these questions be answered by professed critics.

1. In the *North American Review* for October, 1822, appeared strictures on the “*Sketches*,” of a character evidently indulgent and benign. Indeed, no one can justly impute to the *North American Reviewers* undue severity. If they err, it is rather in the way of gentleness and forbearance. Towards our southern author, the learned critics of the North are, in the strictures alluded to, singularly mild. Yet they charge him with misconception, in regard to the lurking resentment stated by him still to exist in Rhode Island, on account of the former bigotry, fanaticism and persecutions of the men of Massachusetts. And surely it was not very liberal in the Judge, nor very consistent with the better spirit of our days, to revive topics long since consigned by the philanthropic and the wise to utter oblivion. They further advert to his want of skill and taste in the arrangement of his materials—to the invidious comparisons, too often found in his work, between the troops of Virginia and Georgia, and those of the Carolinas. For very substantial reasons, they refuse to acquiesce in his novel and untenable conclusion “That the celebrated *Newburg letters* were written by Gouverneur Morris.” The style of the work, they pronounce to be *quite below the dignity of the subject*—they represent it as *tumid, involved*, and abounding in figures of speech which will hardly *bear the test of criticism*; in fine, they wish the author had curtailed his tedious descriptions of military operations to give place to more of the letters of General Greene, and of his illustrious contemporaries and brothers in arms.

2. The first number of the *United States Magazine*, published at New York by C. Wiley, January, 1823, presents, at the very threshold, a review of Judge Johnson's *Life of General Greene*. That review, indisputably is a model of sound criticism—elegant writing—close, powerful and resistless argument—it evinces in the writer a vigorous, soaring, gigantic intellect in whose grasp the appalled genius of William Johnson writhes in confusion and dismay. The reviewer has examined the *Sketches*,

1st. As a literary composition; and,

2d. As a chronicle or register of public events.

Under the first point of view, the work is irrefragably proved, by abundant specimens and quotations from it, to want *method*, and *arrangement*—its *language* to be vulgar, *grammatically corrupt*—frequently *foppish* or *affected*—sometimes *bombastic*—often bordering on the *extravagant* or *hyperbolic*; the *sentences*, occasionally *involved* and *obscure*—and many of the *terms* though sufficiently common, *totally and shamefully misapplied*. It must be confessed that so many verbal absurdities and deficiencies have seldom, in a single work, provoked the lash of honest criticism; and to use the words of the New York *Aristarchus*, “*such a writer as the author of the ‘Sketches’ ought to be put into a short jacket and petticoat and sent to school with a horn book and primer, to begin his education.*”

Turning from the style to the logic of Judge Johnson, and scrutinizing the faults of his work as a *chronicle* or *register of public events*, the same reviewer becomes more severe, and justly so—because *things* are more important than words, and deficient veracity more reprehensible than incorrect phraseology. In this part of his remarks, the critic victoriously confutes the relation of what our biographer denominates the two *conspiracies* which disfigure our revolutionary story; the one “to put down General Washington;” the other “to close the war in usurpation and monarchy.”

Of the first of these two *atrocious* conspiracies, the whole is resolved by the vigorous and clear analysis of the reviewer into a vague, baseless, airy fabric, not having substance enough even to fix the opinions of the historian himself, as to the leader of the plot. Mifflin is acquitted for the want of evidence. C. Lee, that decided vilifier of Washington, he absolves, on account of the intercourse kept up between him and Greene during their lives. Gates and Conway, the other military conspirators, not having such intercourse with Greene to plead, are mercilessly pursued by the biographer. The French-Irish knight of St. Louis, Conway, is asserted to have written to the conqueror of Burgoyne a letter containing many irreverential expressions in regard to the military character and conduct of General Washington—"But," says the critic, "where shall we seek for this obnoxious letter?" Has our biographer seen it? No: but Wilkinson saw it, and "in a moment of indiscretion" stated its contents to McWilliams, who communicated them to Stirling, who reported them to Washington, who sent a copy of them to Gates. And what then? Did Gates acknowledge the correctness of the copy transmitted to him? Just the reverse; he declared it to be "*spurious*," and that in both words and substance, it was a "wicked forgery." Indeed! and what said Wilkinson to this? Did he attempt to make good the statement he had furnished? No—He at length came out with a full and unqualified declaration that the "*whole story transmitted by Stirling to Washington was a falsehood.*" The two anecdotes related, one by A. Graydon, and the other by H. Lee, in regard to this affair, prove little or nothing. Indiscretion, vanity, censorious garrulity, are far from amounting to conspiracy. The circumstances, the events of that day forced upon every mind reflections, comparisons and conclusions, whether erroneous or correct—and if speaking or writing with honest candour, with manly independence of character and feeling, and solely with a view to the public good, about men and measures, constituted high treason in "those times that tried men's souls," of the trio who, according to Judge John-

son, were to grace the banks of the Savannah by a common residence, two have involved themselves in the alleged guilt by letters to the supposed head of the conspiracy under view.—(See in the *MEMOIRS of the life of Gen. Charles Lee*, p. 178, a letter from Gen. J. Read, of Pennsylvania, dated Hackensack, Nov. 21st, 1776; and in *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, a letter from Gen. Wayne to Gen. Gates, dated Camp at White Marsh, Nov. 21st, 1777.)

As to the members of Congress implicated in that pretended conspiracy by Judge Johnson, viz.: Samuel Adams, R. H. Lee, James Wilson, &c., was it not their right, nay, was it not their duty, not only in their representative but also in their individual capacity, to judge of military character and conduct? Their opinions might be founded in error; but “without the right of *forming* and *delivering* them,” adds the reviewer, “the government of the Union would have been as much a despotism as the government of Turkey.” He therefore concludes that the “*Slander* founded on the supposed contents of Conway’s letter, propagated and believed for half a century, and now adduced by our biographer as a proof that two distinguished officers of the army of the revolution had conspired to put down the Commander in chief, is an impudent and vile falsehood from beginning to end;” and that the collateral proofs of that conspiracy introduced by our biographer, only serve to evince his own miserable dialectics.

The sturdy reviewer then examines the grounds on which Judge Johnson asserts, that, about the close of the war of the revolution, “the boldest and most portentous intrigue took place that ever threatened the liberties of this country, which,” says he, “had for its object the substitution of a military despotism for our present free institutions; and which was more deeply and dangerously combined than historians appear to be aware of.” To form an adequate idea of the singular contrast between the powerful and overwhelming logic of the critic, and the puny and fallacious induction of the author smarting under his rod, the reader must peruse the

whole of his highly interesting and admirably finished strictures, in the number of the *United States Magazine* before alluded to, which has unfortunately become extremely rare. By thus expunging from our national history the foul stain of early plots and conspiracies against Washington and liberty, the author of that review has certainly deserved well of his country. Why should our annals be polluted by imaginary imputations of guilt? by phantoms of dark purpose and dire intent, without adequate proofs of their existence? But, heaven be thanked, those grim visions have disappeared!—A claim of justice at the hands of Congress by the revolutionary army has been clearly proved to have involved no design of rebellion, no parricidal views, no scheme subversive of the liberties of America. The author of the *Newburg letters* is no longer shrouded in mystery; and that author, notwithstanding the elaborate hypothesis of our ingenious biographer, happens to be—not Gouverneur Morris, but a revolutionary officer* to whom those celebrated letters had long since been ascribed. Thus much for the depth, extent, and accuracy of our biographer's historical researches!

8. In the beginning of the present year, (1824), the son of the late General Henry Lee has published, in Philadelphia, "The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas, with remarks historical and critical on Johnson's life of Greene." This work, replete with interest and consecrated by the laudable effort of a son to defend the memory of his father, inflicts on the unlucky biographer severities at least equal to those of the New York review. It is a large octavo of more than 500 pages; and there is scarcely one of these that does not reveal some absurdity—detect some error—expose some slander of Judge Johnson. Under the unsparing scalpel of the young and dexterous critical anatomist, how small a portion of sound matter is left in the ponderous quartos of our biographer, after the diseased and putrid parts have been removed!

Every one who reads the "Sketches," should, at the same time,

* General John Armstrong.

have before him the three works just mentioned. They will furnish him with the necessary antidotes against the poisons so abundantly administered by the ignorance, rashness or malignity of Mr. Johnson.

And this is the writer who has presumed to calumniate Pulaski!

“The Americans,” says Judge Johnson, speaking of the battle of Germantown, (*Sketches, &c.* vol. 1, page 83,) “are not a little at a loss also, to account for some events, merely because they were under the erroneous impression that the surprise was complete. Yet the British assert, and on this point their assertion is not to be controverted, that their patrols had given them an hour’s notice of the approaching attack. It is not to be wondered at that the Americans doubt this, upon the supposition that the British patrol could not have approached the American army without being discovered by their own. *But it is a melancholy fact, of which few were informed, that the celebrated Pulaski, who commanded the patrol, was found by General Washington himself asleep in a farm house. Policy only, and a regard to the rank and misfortunes of the offender, could have induced the General to suppress the fact. Yet to this circumstance, most probably, we are to attribute the success of the enemy’s patrol in approaching near enough to discover the advance of the American column.*”

With great propriety might such an accusation, made by the biographer of General Greene, without any special, positive and satisfactory proof of the obnoxious fact—an accusation rendered incredible by a variety of impressive circumstances; and above all, by the previous and by the subsequent conduct of Pulaski—rouse the indignant feelings of any disinterested friend of historical truth—of any admirer of the heroic and chivalrous character of the gallant Pole—of any patriot grateful for the generous and efficient devotedness of that distinguished foreigner to the American cause.

In the present case there is more. He who now deems himself called upon to vindicate the fame of the injured Pulaski, is one of his surviving officers—one whose pride it shall ever be to have served his country under that celebrated commander, indisputably the most active and the greatest partisan of his time—one who was by his side when he received his mortal wound, and who attended him till the moment when his noble soul departed from the gangrened body to reascend to its native heaven. The stab aimed at the reputation of his beloved and honoured commander has sunk deeply into his heart; and he cannot rest satisfied until he has done justice both to the memory of Pulaski and to his own feelings, by solemnly protesting, before heaven and before man, against an assertion which every circumstance leads him to think utterly destitute of foundation!

Two considerations further urge him to such a protest. The work of Judge Johnson, numerous and glaring as its defects certainly are, still may find in an illustrious name—a name justly venerable and dear—the name of the immortal Greene—a passport to posterity; and calumny may, if not contradicted in time, acquire substance by extensive circulation; for there is in most readers an unlucky propensity implicitly to believe any statement, upon the mere assertion of an author—because they are either too honest to suspect his veracity, or too indolent to scrutinize his story. Thus it is that, after the death of a hero whom no one would have dared to slander or calumniate when living, currency is frequently given to erroneous opinions unfavourable to his memory.

In his fondness for novelty, in his desire to account for events in a manner different from that of other historians, in his anxiety to rescue the fame of Greene from evanescent aspersions which grew out of the momentary discontent of the army, exasperated by the mortifying result of the affair at Germantown—aspersions which Lee, who was present in the suite of Washington, very properly denominates “attempts to censure too feeble to attract notice”—

our biographer has given an account of the battle, as misty as the morning on which it was fought. This part of his narrative is a perfect *imbroglio* unintelligible to the reader, and, perhaps not understood by the writer himself, who ought besides to have reflected that the less was said of it the better.

According to other historians, such as Ramsay, Marshall, Lee, Botta, &c., the causes of the disaster at Germantown were—remotely, the undisciplined and dispirited condition of the army, the inexperience of the Generals, and the complication of the plan—proximately, the want of simultaneous movements in the American columns, the irregularity of their attacks, the injudicious pause before Chew's house, and the darkness of the morning. Judge Johnson, not satisfied with causes so evidently true and so fully adequate to the effect under view, ascribes the disasters of that fatal day partly, as already seen, to the slumbers of Pulaski; partly to the cowardice or treachery of Conway; and partly to the inexplicable oversight of Washington, in not making the enemy's left the object of his principal attack.

The charge against Pulaski is the only point intended to be considered here.

“The British,” says Judge Johnson, “assert, and on this point their assertion is not to be controverted, that their patrols had given them an hour's notice of the approaching attack.”

Admit this to be true. Does it necessarily follow, that to obtain the information thus conveyed, those patrols must have come, as it were, in contact with the American Army? Could not they derive it from some of those disaffected persons with whom that part of the country is well known to have abounded at that critical period? Again, may not the British, for obvious reasons, have ascribed to their patrols intelligence for which they were in reality indebted to the vigilance and address of some spy who, favoured by that dark night, found his way unperceived to the enemy's camp?

But notwithstanding all that the British and the Judge may say to the contrary, the surprise was complete; and of that fact, any one who was in that army will assure him *upon legal oath*, if required—and moreover, that had it not been for the unfortunate pause before that insignificant obstacle, Chew's house, a most glorious victory would have been the result of the day.

“But,” adds the Judge, “it is a melancholy fact, of which few were informed, that the celebrated Pulaski, who commanded the (*American*) patrol, was found by General Washington himself asleep in a farm house.” “A melancholy fact of which few were informed!” Mark how cautious, how guarded the biographer is in this place. Those who know any thing of Pulaski may probably exclaim, upon being told of this unaccountable drowsiness in the most watchful, the most indefatigable, the most active military commander that ever was—“What! Pulaski asleep at such a moment! at the approach of a battle likely to prove bloody and decisive!—and when so much depended on his vigilance!—The thing is incredible!—and, indeed, no other historian has ever mentioned it.” “Oh!” says the Judge, “it is a melancholy fact of which few were informed.” Excellent proviso! Admirable subterfuge! But, let the world depend upon it, had such a circumstance ever occurred it must soon have been not only circulated in cautious whispers, but loudly proclaimed. Too many persons were interested in probing to the quick this galling sore of the failure at Germantown, not to have promptly discovered the seat of the evil, if it had existed where our biographer has placed it. Too many jealous eyes were fixed on Pulaski, for such an act on his part to remain confined to the knowledge of a *discreet few*. Not to speak of his own men, if, on that occasion, he had indulged in preposterous slumbers at a farm house, the master of that house, his wife, his children, his servants, or some of them at least, must have been apprised of it; and generally, such persons are loquacious and communicative in the extreme. An injunction of secrecy would only have stimulated their garrulity

the adventure would long since have found its way into some military memoirs—some voluminous biography—some revolutionary anecdotes, &c.; and Mr. Johnson would have been spared the trouble of removing the mysterious and impenetrable veil which, according to him, had concealed from the public eye the chief, if not the sole cause of the misfortune experienced at Germantown, until his wonderful sagacity discovered the hidden record to which we are indebted for the *melancholy fact!*

“Washington found Pulaski asleep in a farm house!” Who gave the Judge that information? Was it Gen. Washington himself—the only person on whose assertion he could have safely relied? That cannot be! The Judge does not think proper to state his authority. The case was, however, of sufficient importance to require some definite information, some luminous development, some satisfactory reference, some irrefragable testimony; and until our biographer shall adduce such evidence in support of his assertion, it must be considered as foul, malignant and groundless calumny—and surely, could the shade of the magnanimous Greene be conjured up from the tomb, it would indignantly frown upon the rash and clumsy biographer who has thus sullied with inconsiderate defamation, a work dedicated to his memory!

Although the Judge has not thought it expedient explicitly to state his authority, perhaps he intended to furnish a clue to it by the distinguished notice taken, in his work, of one† who acted a conspicuous part in those scenes, and who is now no more. If so, had he known the bitter enmity which that person bore to Pulaski (from what motives it is at present, needless to tell) surely, the testimony of so prejudiced and so decided a foe, must have had very little weight with him! But, on this subject, no more—It is not intended to disturb the ashes of the dead; and heaven forbid that the feelings of the surviving family even of an enemy should be unnecessarily wounded! Nay, it is a matter of sincere regret that the Judge should have forced recrimination against himself!

† Gen. Pinckney of South Carolina.

“Policy only” adds the biographer “and regard to the rank and misfortunes of the offender could have induced the General to suppress the fact.” What policy? For Washington there could be, in such a case but one line of conduct to pursue. True policy, the policy of the highly responsible chief to whose hands America had confided the direction of her physical strength, that is, in an eminent degree, the decision of her political destinies, was firmness, unbending firmness; it was a regard to the great interests of the country superior to all personal considerations; it was, by all practicable means and if necessary by exemplary severity, to infuse discipline, unity of efforts, vigilance, promptitude, system, subordination—in short, all those qualities which make of a large military mass, a well organized body, obeying one mind, impelled by one will, and tending to one end—into an army then more distinguished for natural bravery and enthusiastic attachment to the cause of liberty, than for technical soldiership. And that Washington was faithful to that policy, is placed beyond all doubt by the whole course and tenour of his military life. Was not Stephen* brought to trial, after the very affair under consideration—the unfortunate battle of Germantown?

To the dictates of policy, our biographer adds, “a regard to the rank and misfortunes of the offender.” Now, is it not more than probable that whatever the sensibilities and sympathies of Washington might, in such a case, have suggested to his heart, two paramount sentiments—an ardent love of country and an inflexible adherence to duty and principle—would have silenced, in his breast, feelings in themselves so amiable and so respectable—and prevented him from suppressing a fact attended with consequences so fatal to the army and to America? Nor is this all. The proud and generous soul of Pulaski would have disdained such pity. The higher his rank, the greater his misfortunes, the more stern his noble spirit! A soldier in the full sense of the word, and incapable of a

* General Adam Stephen, of Virginia. He was dismissed from the army.

compromise with honour, he never would have consented to owe to mere policy, and to mere regard to his rank and misfortunes, employment in the American army—he would peremptorily have urged a trial, and cheerfully submitted to that military code which he always was ready to obey, as well as to enforce.—No, there is in this suppression, and in its motives, an implied absurdity; nor can the subsequent attentions of the commander in chief to Pulaski, his recommendation of him to Congress, his avowed admiration of his prowess and activity, be reconciled with his alleged consciousness of “*slumber*” so injurious to the American cause, and which, even if concealed through policy, &c., never could have been forgotten by him.

Again, let us for the sake of argument, suppose that Pulaski was found asleep—what will be the inference? He had been sent in advance with a body of cavalry. He, no doubt, proceeded as far as he could without exposing himself to being discovered by the enemy. If then, after stationing his pickets, his videttes, and making himself perfectly secure he had taken his quarters in a farm house, thrown himself on a bed, and courted and enjoyed, for a few moments, the balmy and invigorating sweets of repose, with a view to enable himself the better to undergo the fatigues, and breast the storm of the approaching battle—who could, on that account, attach to him the least portion of blame? Is a military man never to sleep? It is only in works of romance or of poetical fiction, that we meet with heroes thus transcendent, thus aërial, thus free from the wants, exigencies, and weaknesses of poor human nature; eating and sleeping heaven knows when; ever running over hills and mountains, through plains, valleys and forests; stopped by no weather, no flood, no cataract, no precipice; with their lances ever in rest; eternally transfixing or cleaving giant or wizard foes, &c. But the Judge wrote history, not romance; he might have allowed Pulaski to indulge for a moment in innocent repose, when a favourable opportunity was offered, after he had taken every precaution

for his safety, and while the march of our columns was retarded by so many mistakes and difficulties, created by the darkness of the night. We repeat it, however—this is observed merely for the sake of argument—for we cannot believe that Pulaski was at all found in the situation mentioned by our sagacious biographer.

It has been shown, satisfactorily, we presume, that there is stamped on the very face of the charge under consideration, a character of improbability, nay, of impossibility, sufficient to convince of its futility, every honourable, unprejudiced and reflecting mind. This conviction will derive additional strength from a rapid, accurate and impartial retrospect of Pulaski's conduct both before and after the affair at Germantown.

To those who are in the least degree conversant with the history of modern Europe, it is well known that for several years previous to the first flagitious partition of Poland, in 1772, by Russia, Austria and Prussia, that unfortunate country was a scene of turbulence, anarchy, devastation and bloodshed. Stanislaus Augustus, the reigning monarch, had been raised to the throne not by the free and unanimous choice of the nobles, but by a corrupt and degenerate faction, and by the intrigues and even the violence of Russia, whose troops, stationed at a small distance from the plain where the diet of election was held, had overawed his numerous opponents. Among these was Count Pulaski, a nobleman no less distinguished by his talents and his courage than by his birth and his rank. Firm, incorruptible, undaunted, he had uniformly resisted the insolent dictation of an ambitious and faithless neighbour, and in Stanislaus he saw a Russian viceroy rather than the chief of an independent nation.

In those confederacies which were soon formed in various parts of the country to defend and vindicate its insulted sovereignty, the ardent patriotism of the Count, his implacable hatred of foreign usurpation, his indefatigable zeal, his unshaken constancy, his heroic

intrepidity—in short, his towering genius and his stoical and truly republican virtues, rendered him the scourge and terror of the Russians. “During eight succeeding years of a bloody war,” says a writer who has eloquently described the situation of Poland in those calamitous times, “the operations of Pulaski were such as almost to challenge belief. Sometimes vanquished, much oftener victorious, equally great in the midst of a defeat as formidable after victory, and always superior to events, Pulaski attracted and fixed the attention of all Europe, and astonished her by his long and vigorous resistance. Obligated to abandon one province, he made incursions into another, and there performed new prodigies of valour. It was thus that, marching successively throughout all the palatinates, he signalized in each of them that eternal hatred which he had sworn against the enemies of Poland.” It was Pulaski who, in 1771, conceived and organized the bold design of forcibly carrying off Stanislaus from Warsaw, and bringing him to his camp; not indeed, to assassinate him, as has been basely and falsely asserted by partisans of Russia, but with a view to make him a rallying point for the nobles and all the patriots of Poland, and by means of this union of the monarch with the nation, to crush, or at least to drive away from the territory of the republic the satellites of that unprincipled and perfidious power, by whose haughty mandates it had too long been governed. The enterprise, confided to forty brave patriots, succeeded only so far as to seize on the monarch, in the very bosom of his capital, and to convey him away to some distance from it, in spite of every obstacle and danger. The darkness of the night, and other unforeseen casualties, prevented the final execution of a plan which might eventually have saved Poland from that political annihilation which has since become her lot.

When, from nearly the same motives as induce robbers to disguise or suspend for a time their jealousies and animosities, and to unite their efforts and their strength, the more easily to secure a

common prey, Russia, Prussia and Austria jointly invaded Poland, in 1772, and at a "fell swoop" seized upon the fairest portion of her territory, which they divided among themselves by that right which only kings and freebooters dare to claim—the right of superior physical force—the Polish confederates were compelled either to acquiesce in the degradation of their enslaved, plundered, partitioned country, or to flee from the beloved and hallowed land which had given them birth—from the land which they had disputed, inch by inch, with the lawless potentates who have since entirely erased it from the map of independent nations. Very few submitted; many fell into the hands of the Russians or of their adherents, and died martyrs to that noble cause which they had so strenuously supported; others escaped to foreign climes. Pulaski was the last to retire from the glorious contest. In a desperate and bloody engagement with the Russians, his army, vastly inferior in numbers, was routed, annihilated; but his courage still remained. To rush furiously on death would have been useless to his country; he chose to live in the hope of again serving it, should heaven and time favour his wishes. Through countless fatigues, difficulties and perils, and after a variety of singular disguises, wonderful adventures and hair-breadth escapes, he reached Turkey, whose hostilities against Russia accorded with his hatred of that power, and at the same time, flattered the patriotic schemes which his ardent spirit had not ceased to cherish. On that side, however, his hopes were frustrated by the peace concluded between Russia and the Porte, in 1774.

In the mean time the situation of Poland had become more deplorable than ever—her king, her senate, her people, yielding to foreign oppression had sunk into the torpor and apathy of the most abject servitude. Envoys from the Courts of St. Petersburg, Vienna and Berlin swayed her destinies; and, far from assuming a brighter aspect, her horizon daily portended more violent and more tremendous tempests. By the Russian faction Pulaski had,

long since, been deprived of his estates, degraded from his rank, condemned to lose his head—in short, outlawed. Unable to rouse Turkey to any measure auspicious to his country, he passed into France about the time when the declaration of American independence kindled in every generous breast a holy enthusiasm. The native land of Pulaski had lost her liberties—he resolved to fight for the liberties of America. With him, to resolve and to execute, were almost simultaneous.* In 1777, Philadelphia beheld him tendering his services to the American Congress. The inherent ardour of his warlike spirit, his habits of activity and the desire of efficiently

* The following homage from one who was a professed admirer of Stanislaus, and consequently no friend to Pulaski, proves, at least, that the latter was neither deficient in vigilance, nor subject to *sleepy fits*.—N. Wrasall, in a paper communicated to Coxe, on the subject of certain remarkable events in Poland, says:

“Pulaski, who commanded one of the many corps of the confederate Poles, then in arms, is still alive, though an outlaw and an exile. He is said, even by the Russians, his enemies, to possess military talents of a very superior nature; nor, were they ever able to take him prisoner during the civil war. After the conclusion of the troubles, Pulaski escaped from Poland, and repaired to America; he distinguished himself in the American service,” &c.

Our venerable Franklin (*see his Works*, vol. v. page 5), pays a still higher compliment to the Count.

Extract of a letter from Dr. Franklin to Gen. Washington.

PARIS, June 13, 1777.

“The bearer, Mr. le Comte Kotkouski, a Polish officer, is recommended to me by several persons of worth here, as a man of experience in military affairs, and of tried bravery; he has lost his family and estate in Poland by fighting there in the cause of liberty; and wishes, by engaging in the same cause, to find a new country and new friends in America. Count Pulaski, who was a general of the confederates in Poland, and who is gone to join you, is esteemed one of the greatest officers in Europe. He can give you the character of this Mr. Kotkouski, who served under him as lieutenant colonel,” &c.

-serving the cause which he had so warmly embraced, did not permit him to wait for the decision of that body on his application—but, he immediately joined the army. He was at Brandywine, on the day of the battle, with the Marquis De La Fayette, and other distinguished foreign officers, in the suite of General Washington. At the time when our right wing was turned by the victorious enemy pressing upon us, and the rapid retreat of the right and centre of our army became the consequence, Count Pulaski proposed to Gen. Washington to give him the command of his body guard, consisting of about thirty horsemen. This was readily granted, and Pulaski with his usual intrepidity and judgment, led them to the charge and succeeded in retarding the advance of the enemy—a delay which was of the highest importance to our retreating army. Moreover, the penetrating military *coup d'œil* of Pulaski soon perceived that the enemy were manœuvring to take possession of the road leading to Chester, with the view of cutting off our retreat, or, at least, the column of our baggage. He hastened to General Washington, to communicate the information, and was immediately authorised by the commander in chief to collect as many of the scattered troops as he could find at hand, and make the best of them. This was most fortunately executed by Pulaski, who, by an oblique advance upon the enemy's front and right flank, defeated their object, and effectually protected our baggage, and the retreat of our army.

This important service was justly appreciated by Gen. Washington, who did not fail to recommend Pulaski to Congress; and that body passed the following resolution, on the 15th of September, 1777:

“Resolved, that a commander of the horse be appointed, with the rank of a Brigadier.

The ballots being taken, Count Pulaski was elected.”

On the next day after the battle of Brandywine, 12th of Sep-

tember, the army rested about Chester; on the 13th, it passed through Philadelphia, and proceeded as far as Germantown; on the next day, it re-crossed the Schuylkill, and halted on the Lancaster road, about what was then called the Warren tavern. On the 16th, Pulaski's indefatigable activity preserved the army from a complete surprise. This is a most interesting fact, and one highly creditable to Pulaski. Of this fact, our biographer does not seem to have been apprised; nor, indeed, does he appear to have possessed any accurate knowledge of the occurrences of the day, as the annexed account, copied from his 1st vol., page 78, evidently shows:

“Washington,” says Judge Johnson, “prepared again to give his enemy battle. But with an army inferior in numbers, deficient in cavalry and artillery, and dispirited with defeat, he could not venture on an engagement, except under advantages which his prudent adversary was resolved not to accord him. On the 16th of September, in the neighbourhood of Goshen, the two armies again approached each other with an intention to risk another battle. A deluge of rain separated them, and so damaged the arms and ammunition of the Americans that Washington was compelled, for the present, to decline fighting, and give up the hopes of defending Philadelphia.”

Far from Washington being “prepared to give his enemy battle,” his army was then in a most deplorable condition; not only “dispirited with defeat,” but, harassed with fatigue and hunger. The men were here served with rations, of which they had been for a long time deprived. They wanted rest. Pulaski, who could not for a moment remain inactive, went out with a reconnoitering party of cavalry and did not proceed very far, before he discovered the whole British army in full march upon our camp; he retreated in full speed—went to headquarters—communicated the important intelligence to Gen. Washington, who, as can well be imagined, received it with equal surprise and uneasiness—for, he had not the most distant idea of such a movement from the enemy—At his re-

quest, Pulaski expressed his opinion. It was, that a detachment of about three hundred infantry, with his cavalry, would be sufficient to retard the approach of the enemy long enough to enable the commander in chief to make his dispositions to receive them. The command of that detachment was given to Brigadier General Scott, of Virginia; and they were scarcely engaged, when a tremendous easterly storm came on, which brought upon us that deluge of rain mentioned by the Judge, and which continued the whole night without any interruption. The consequences were not exactly as he says, viz.: "that the arms and ammunition of the Americans were so damaged that Washington was compelled for the present to decline fighting." The arms and ammunition of the enemy were not in any degree better protected; the continual rain respected neither side; it fell tremendously upon both, and placed between them an insurmountable obstacle to fighting; and however great the sufferings of the Americans were that night, they were not the less fortunate—as probably this circumstance saved our army from total destruction.

We will not follow Pulaski throughout that campaign, in his active services at the head of his cavalry. On the day of the battle of Germantown, he was sorely disappointed and mortified. There were but four regiments of horse raised, and not one of them completed. Three of them only, such as they were, had joined General Washington's army, and on the day of the battle guards were furnished out of those regiments, to attend on the commander in chief, and on other generals—or employed in other service so that Pulaski was left with so few men as not to have it in his power to undertake any thing of importance. This was to him a matter of deep regret and bitter chagrin.

When General Washington had taken his winter quarters at Valley Forge, the cavalry were sent over into New Jersey, on account of forage, and for other service on that side of the Delaware. Pulaski made Trenton his headquarters. Thence he represented

to Congress the situation in which he had been placed at the battle of Germantown, where he had, in reality, found himself a mere nominal commander. He therefore proposed that Congress, to enable him to be more useful, should give him the command of an Independent Legion, to act with it as a partisan. On the 28th of March, 1778, Congress, after reading his letter and taking into consideration a report of the 19th of that month, from the Board of War, passed the following resolution: "Resolved, that Count Pulaski retain his rank of Brigadier in the army of the United States, and that he raise, and have the command of an independent corps of horse and foot; the horse to be armed with lances, and the foot equipped in the manner of light infantry: the corps to be raised in such way and composed of such men as General Washington shall think expedient and proper; and that it will not be injurious to the service, that he have liberty to dispense, in this particular instance, with the resolve of Congress against enlisting deserters."

The legion was accordingly raised, organised and brought into the field as speedily as possible. It is needless to lengthen this narrative by a minute recital of what passed during the remainder of this campaign. Suffice it to say that Pulaski acted when and where the service called for his talents and his courage—that his lieutenant-colonel* was killed at Egg-harbour, in Jersey, and that the legion went into winter quarters over the mountains, at the Minisink, on the Delaware.

A new career of active operations was soon opened in the South for the indefatigable partisan. On the 2d of February, Congress passed the following resolution: "Resolved, that Count Pulaski be ordered to march with his legion to South Carolina, and put himself under the command of Gen. Lincoln, or the commanding officer of the southern department."

In obedience to the foregoing resolution, the legion departed

* Baron De Botzen.

for that long march as soon as every necessary preparation could be made, and reached Charleston at the very time when the British general Prevost, having suddenly and rapidly advanced from Savannah, appeared before that city, on the 11th of May, 1779, in the confident expectation that it would surrender to him on the first summons. The unlooked for arrival of Pulaski baffled all his hopes. Already, had the Governor and council agreed on terms of capitulation, not the most honourable, when Gen. Pulaski, accompanied by the brave Col. Laurens, repaired to the council chamber to protest against that precipitate measure—declaring that as a continental officer, he would defend the city for the United States. Prevost was immediately informed of that determination. Pulaski saw the necessity of reviving the drooping spirits of the inhabitants; accordingly he sallied out with the legion, who had just arrived. In that sortie the Colonel of the legion was killed, but Prevost abandoned his enterprise, and retreated over the islands.

On the first of September, 1779, Count D'Estaing appeared on the coast of Georgia, with a large fleet, and about six thousand troops. While cruising in the West Indies, he had been informed of the situation of the southern States; and he now visited this part of the American coast for the purpose of co-operating with Lincoln in some signal and decisive enterprise. An attack upon Savannah was quickly concerted between them.

Savannah was neither a fortress nor a walled city. It was merely a town fortified with batteries, redoubts and abatis. When summoned by D'Estaing to surrender the place, Prevost requested time to deliberate, and this was inconsiderately granted. The interval was employed in introducing into the town a considerable reinforcement, and in strengthening its defences. Resistance was then resolved upon. A storm or a siege, therefore, became inevitable. The latter was preferred. After the necessary preparations, a heavy cannonade was opened upon the enemy's works, and briskly kept up for several days, but without the desired effect.

D'Estaing's marine officers remonstrated against his continuing to expose so valuable a fleet to the fury of the elements at this tempestuous season, or to the possible arrival of a superior British naval force—and loudly urged his departure. An assault was consequently resolved upon. This assault was to be made on the right of the British lines. Two columns, one French and the other American, were to attack, at the same time, each a particular redoubt. In the rear of the columns the whole cavalry, American and French, was to be stationed, under the command of Count Pulaski. Should, as was confidently expected, the redoubts be carried and the way opened, that intrepid leader was, with these united troops of horse, to enter the place sword in hand, and to carry confusion and dismay among the garrison. D'Estaing led in person the French corps of attack. Wishing to avoid a circuitous advance round a swamp, and supposing the ground at the bottom to be sufficiently firm, he marched directly through it. The enemy had been informed of his plan by spies. They knew the intended point of attack, and the direction in which the approach of the assailants was to be made. Accordingly, they collected all their force where it would be required, and at the first alarm opened a tremendous and deadly fire. Pulaski, impatient to know when he was to act, determined, after securing his cavalry under cover as well as the ground would admit, to go forward himself, and called to accompany him one of the captains of his legion, who is yet living but far advanced in years.—They had proceeded only to a small distance, when they heard of the havoc produced in the swamp by the hostile batteries. D'Estaing himself was grievously wounded. Aware of the fatal effects which such a disaster was likely to produce on the spirits of French soldiers—and hoping that his presence would reanimate them, Pulaski rushed on to the scene of disorder and bloodshed. In his attempt to penetrate to the murderous spot he received a swivel shot in the upper part of his right thigh; and the officer who had accompanied him, was, while on his way back, wounded by a musket ball.—The enterprise upon Savannah

was abandoned by the allied armies. The Americans and the French, having witnessed each other's zeal and courage, and acquitting each other of any intentional share in this disastrous result, separated in perfect harmony. Count D'Estaing re-embarked his troops and artillery, and Pulaski, with his wounded officer, was conveyed on board the United States brig, the *Wasp*, to go round to Charleston. They remained some days in the Savannah river; and during that time the most skillful surgeons in the French fleet attended on Count Pulaski. It was found impossible to establish suppuration, and gangrene was the consequence. Just as the *Wasp* got out of the river, Pulaski breathed his last, and the corpse immediately became so offensive that his officer was compelled, though reluctantly, to consign to a watery grave all that was now left upon earth of his beloved and honoured commander.

The *Wasp* entered the harbour of Charleston with her flag half hoisted. The mournful signal was repeated by all the shipping in the port—and all the forts and batteries responded to it in the manner usual on occasions of deep and universal sorrow. The Governor and Council of South Carolina, and the municipal authorities of Charleston jointly adopted resolutions to pay to the memory of General Pulaski the most respectful and the most splendid funeral honours. A day was set apart for the celebration of the obsequies—and the Quarter-master General of the United States, at Charleston, directed to make and to defray all the preparations necessary for that melancholy solemnity. The procession was grand, magnificent, suited to the occasion. The pall was carried by three American and three French officers of the highest grade—followed by the beautiful horse which Pulaski rode when he received his mortal wound, with all the accoutrements, armour and dress which he then wore. So immensely large was the mournful procession that it was found necessary to make a circuit round the whole city to the church, where an eloquent and impressive discourse was delivered by the chaplain of the army.

In Congress the subject was taken up on the 29th of November, as follows:

“ A letter of the 31st of October, from Major General Lincoln, was read, enclosing a letter, of the 15th of the same month, from Lieutenant Colonel Bedaulx, giving information of the death of Brigadier Count Pulaski.

Resolved, that a monument be erected to the memory of Brigadier Count Pulaski, and that a committee of three be appointed to bring in a resolution for that purpose.

The members chosen, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Harnett.”

In the foregoing plain, rapid, unambitious sketch of the military career of Pulaski, both in Poland and in America, many particulars have necessarily been omitted which would further prove the high endowments of that truly wonderful man—his zeal in the cause of national independence—his almost supernatural foresight—his indefatigable vigilance—his unparalleled constancy—his patience never to be shaken—his lofty magnanimity—and many other virtues of an *antique* cast, which made him a living transcript of what has been termed the *beau ideal* in the military character.

Such was the man whom the author of the “ Sketches of the life and correspondence ” of one of the greatest heroes of our revolution, has, if not malignantly at least very inconsiderately, charged with neglect of duty on a most important occasion; on an occasion when his usual vigilance must, if possible, have been increased by his consciousness of the momentous interests then at stake, and by a laudable solicitude for his own reputation and character. Surely, when the biographer alleged such a charge—a charge in itself highly improbable—a charge confuted by every trait in the life of Pulaski—a charge never exhibited by any other historian of the revolution—and now resting merely on the authority of the accuser

himself—he must have been quite off his guard, and lamentably deficient in common prudence—as well as in common delicacy!—Ought he not to have reflected that there might still be living some of Pulaski's companions in arms—who still held his memory in profound veneration—whose glory it was to have served America under so distinguished a leader—and whose souls would be harrowed up by an imputation no less cruel to their feelings, than repugnant to all those probabilities from which historical, as well as moral truth results? Pulaski had been a soldier—a patriot—and an unfortunate one. Rank, wealth, native home, family—he had lost every thing—except honour. That, at least, should have remained unsullied. He slept in the deep—his shade should not have been disturbed.

And then, in making the obnoxious charge without that strong and incontrovertible evidence which the severity of the historical muse requires, where was the gratitude of the American for the services rendered by Pulaski to the cause of our country—at the battle of Brandywine—on the Lancaster road—and on various other occasions recorded in our revolutionary chronicles?—Where the gratitude of the citizens of Charleston for the hero, who, as has been related, saved that city from an humiliating surrender to the British arms? If our biographer could be thus ungrateful—thank heaven! the nation cannot—Oh! no—witness the enthusiastic reception given, at this very time, to her illustrious guest—to one who knew, who esteemed, who admired Pulaski—to the the gallant La Fayette! Witness the affectionate embrace of the old—the fervid gaze of the young—the glistening eye of beauty—the raptures of all!—Witness the emulous efforts of our largest cities to surpass each other in the splendour of their homage to the early champion, to the persevering friend of American liberty—to the patriot of both worlds—to him who, whether the hero, or the martyr of freedom, has never ceased to love, to cherish, to support her cause!—Witness, in fine, that explosion of national feeling, which absolves

republics—which honours, not only the brave and amiable La Fayette—not only ourselves—but the human species—which will excite the envy of monarchs, in their cheerless palaces—and revive the drooping spirits of nations, by recalling them to a consciousness of their unalienable dignity!*

The splendid funeral honours paid by the citizens of Charleston to the memory of the brave Pulaski—the united regrets of the people and of the army at the loss of an officer no less beloved than he was useful—and the last tribute of respect offered to his shade by Congress—had already evinced the sensibilities, the gratitude of our infant republic. The gallant son of Poland had, like the gallant son of France, enthusiastically espoused the cause of America. He served that cause—not, indeed, to the same extent as the chivalrous La Fayette, who to the aid of his sword joined that of his influence in the councils of a powerful ally—but with the same zeal, the same ardour, the same fidelity. And had he lived to this day, he, too, would no doubt have enjoyed a considerable share of that veneration and love which our nation bestows on her early friends—on the active and intrepid warriors whose blood has sealed the imperishable charter of her liberties!

To conclude—Either Judge Johnson possesses proofs of an accusation, which to us appears utterly improbable and groundless—If he has such proofs, let him exhibit them to the world—fairly, honourably, candidly—“nothing extenuating, nor setting down aught in malice.” If not, let him acknowledge his error. Infalli-

* There is in the present visit of General La Fayette to the United States, and in the enthusiastic, unprecedented reception of that good and great man, something connected with the dearest and highest interests of nations—something which exhibits the human character in its brightest lustre. In fact, the ingratitude with which republics have often been charged, was, wherever it occurred, the crime of parties and factions, not the crime of the people. For obvious reasons, the charge has been propagated by the Machiavelism of kings, and the sophistry of their sycophants.

bility is not the lot of man—but as soon as an historian becomes aware of a mistake, he owes to truth a public homage. In no other way, can the writer who has involuntarily or heedlessly erred, preserve any claim on the esteem of society.

BALTIMORE, *September 22d*, 1824.

APPENDIX

REVIEWERS, CRITICS, &c.

WHO HAVE ANIMADVERTED ON THE "SKETCHES."

Besides the three works mentioned in the foregoing Vindication of Pulaski, viz.: the *North American Review*, the *United States Magazine*, and "The Campaign of 1781, in the Carolinas," in which the "Sketches" have been handled with just severity—there have appeared, at different times, and in different places, other criticisms, strictures, remarks, &c., on the whole, or on certain parts of that publication.

Mrs. Gouverneur Morris has ably and victoriously defended the memory of her late husband against the unfounded aspersions of the biographer.

Major Garden, author of the "Revolutionary Anecdotes"—Doctor Irvine, of Charleston—Judge Johnston, of Abingdon, in Virginia, and, we think, the Editor of the *National Gazette*, for having observed that the "*Sketches would not find as many readers as they contained chapters*"—have been engaged in controversies with our historian.

BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN

The following is the concise account given by David Ramsay of the battle of Germantown, vol. ii, page 15.

"The Americans began their attack about sun-rise, on the 40th regiment and a battalion of light infantry. These two corps

being obliged to retreat, were pursued into the village. On their retreat, Lieutenant Colonel Musgrave, with six companies, took post in Mr. Chew's strong stone house, which lay in front of the Americans. From an adherence to the military maxim of never having a fort possessed by the enemy in the rear, it was resolved to attack the party in the house.

In the mean time General Greene got up with his column, and attacked the right wing. Colonel Matthews routed a party of the British opposed to him, killed some, and took 110 prisoners; but from the darkness of the day lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged, and having separated from it, was taken prisoner with his whole regiment, and the prisoners which he had previously taken were released. A number of the troops in Greene's division were stopped by the halt of the party before Chew's house. Near one half of the American army remained for some time at that place, inactive. In the mean time, General Grey led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked with vigour; a sharp contest followed. Two British regiments attacked at the same time, on the opposite side of the town. General Grant moved up the 49th regiment to the aid of those who were engaged with Greene's column.

The morning was extremely foggy. This, by concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary, as to give the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprise. From these causes, the early promising appearances on the part of the assailants, were speedily reversed. The Americans left the field hastily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a party of light horse, and joined in the pursuit; this was continued for some miles, &c."

SINGULAR MISTAKE OF JUDGE JOHNSON

It was not enough for Judge Johnson to swell up his work

with erroneous accounts of military operations; he has committed palpable mistakes, in the most trifling facts; for instance, he says, (vol. 1, chap. iv., page 80) "much blood and treasure was expended on the one side in defending, and on the other, in reducing the *Forts*, called *Mud Fort* and *Fort Mifflin*." Now, what is the fact? There is in the river Delaware, six miles below Philadelphia, opposite to the mouth of the Schuylkill, an island called Mud Island. A fortification was erected thereon, and was called at first Mud Fort, or *Mud Island Fort*, and at last Fort Mifflin, in compliment to General Mifflin; so that the Judge is making two forts out of one. Such a mistake, however, is harmless, and only shows the pitiful ignorance, or extreme carelessness of the writer; but, the same writer no longer deserves indulgence when, unmindful of the reputation of distinguished characters, he introduces, in his work, assertions and accusations injurious to their memory, without condescending to give the requisite evidence.

DEATH OF PULASKI

If Pulaski has been accused by Judge Johnson of slumbering in presence of the enemy, his well directed bravery, as a partisan, has been, by others, converted into inconsiderate rashness. Several persons, hearing that he had been mortally wounded at the assault on Savannah, conceived the idea that, in a fit of reckless frenzy, he must have attempted to storm the place, at the head of his cavalry; and what was, at first, the surmise of the ignorant, passing from mouth to mouth, became the fixed opinion of the credulous. The statement of the melancholy occurrence, given in the foregoing pages by an ocular witness, must remove every erroneous preconception of that sort.

When the king of Poland was apprised of the death of Pulaski, he is said to have exclaimed: "Pulaski has died as he had lived—a hero—but an enemy of kings!"

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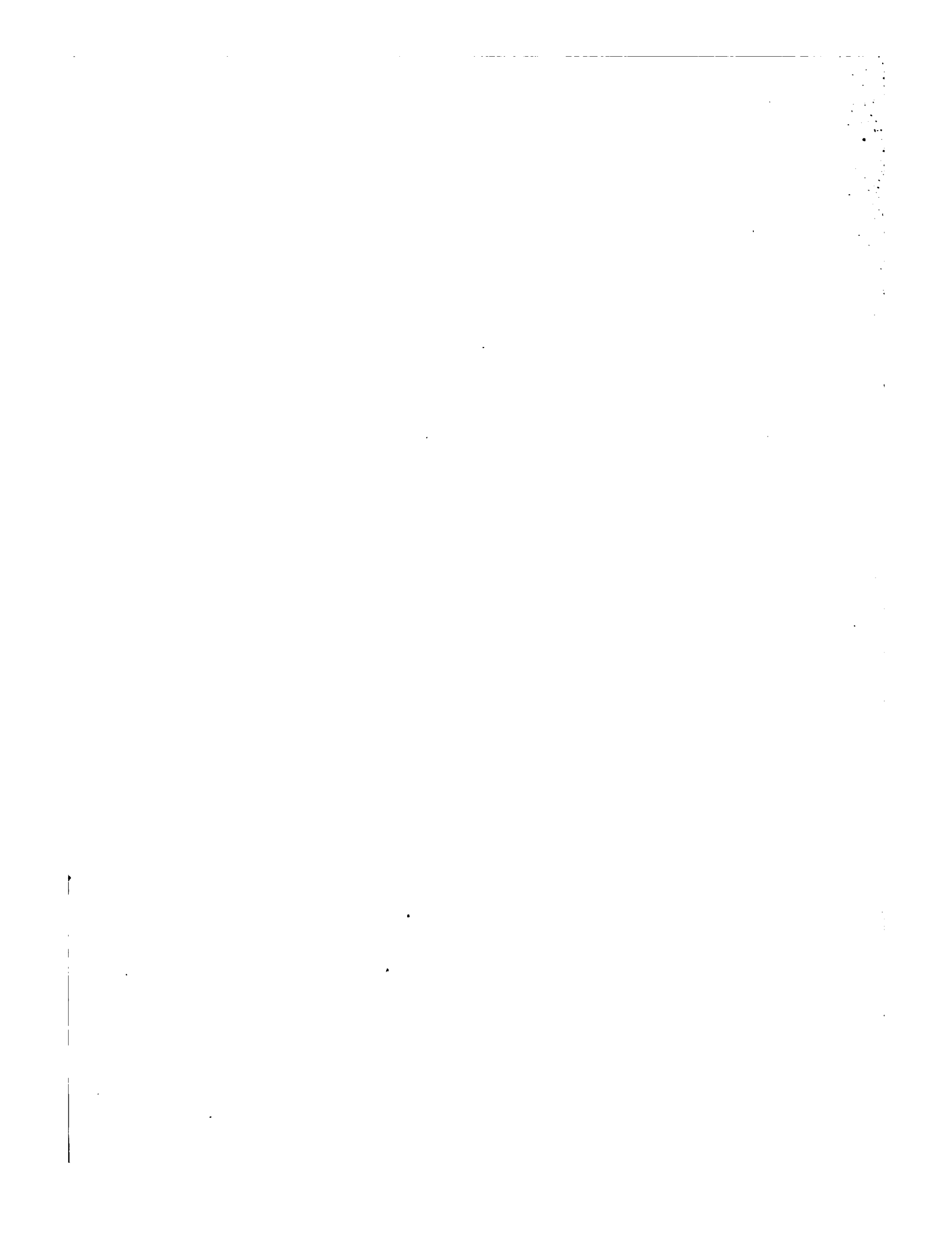
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